TSUKIJI

The landmark dissolution

Davide Raia
築地市場
ランドマークの消失
TSUKIJI
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"TSUKIJI La dissoluzione del landmark"
「築地市場 ランドマークの消失」

Politecnico di Torino
Master Thesis (academic year 2019/2020)

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Just 10 days after my arrival in Tokyo, precisely on September the 29th 2018, I visited the Tsukiji market, still unaware of what would happen in just less than 2 weeks. “The organism”, inserted within the dense urban fabric of the city, appeared to be a reality in its own right, far from the rigid and frenetic schemes imposed by the metropolis; the atmosphere inside was disorderly and chaotic, in what appeared to be an act of opposition to conformist Japan.

The thesis addresses the issue of Tsukiji’s market, one of the most significant changes that the city of Tokyo has experienced in recent years, highlighting and understanding the dynamics and phenomena that have affected it, from its establishment to its demolition and beyond. The interest arose after two experiences in Tokyo - eight months in total - which allowed me to get closer to the case study and to get into the local culture; the issues that attracted my attention and pushed me to write this thesis were; the apparent ease of the choice made for the demolition of the market, the lack of interest shown by the local community for the event, but above all the reason for behind it.

Ad appena 10 giorni dal mio arrivo a Tokyo, precisamente il 29 settembre 2018, mi recai presso il mercato di Tsukiji, ancora ignaro di quello che sarebbe successo da lì a poco meno di 2 settimane. “L’organismo”, inserito all’interno del denso tessuto urbano della città sembrava una realtà a sé, lontana dai rigidi e frenetici schemi imposti dalla metropoli; l’atmosfera al suo interno era disordinata e caotica, in quello che appariva come un atto di opposizione al Giappone conformista.

La tesi affronta il delicato tema del mercato di Tsukiji, uno dei cambiamenti più significativi che la città di Tokyo ha vissuto negli ultimi anni, andando a evidenziare e comprendere le dinamiche e i fenomeni che lo hanno interessato, dalla sua istituzione alla sua demolizione e oltre. L’interesse nasce in seguito a due esperienze a Tokyo – otto mesi in totale –, che mi hanno dato modo di avvicinarmi al caso studio e di entrare in contatto con la cultura del luogo; le questioni che però hanno attirato la mia attenzione e mi hanno spinto a scrivere questa tesi sono
I tried to understand, through a process of research backwards, the dynamics and vicissitudes that were at the origin of what seemed to be another case of tearing down, dictated by the rapid process of modernization and the high prospects for profits, so typical of the Japanese context; what emerged, however, was the result of a range of conditions and events from different areas layered over time, which led Japan to develop a parallel vision from the European one, focused purely on economic aspects related to international competitiveness at the expense of the built environment.

To make the discussion as clear as possible from a chronological point of view, given the many aspects of the Tsukiji "phenomenon", the thesis is divided into 4 thematic chapters - excluding the conclusion; origin and formation of the central fish market; the years of relocation and consequent demolition; urban economic trends of the city and the nation; a new proposal for the site.
日本は、私を受け入れてくれた素晴らしい国です。感謝の念が絶えません。この国に与えてくれたもの、私の中に強く残してくれたもの。これらは、私の人生の中で大変重要な部分となっています。改めて東京というまちに感謝したいと思います。
in Tokyo and to whom I will be eternally grateful for the help they have provided me for research and for everything that has been involved during the eight months I spent in Japan.

Thanks to the Politecnico di Torino and Toyko’s Waseda University for giving me this opportunity.

Once again, thanks to all those people and professors who, in their way, have contributed directly or indirectly to the development of this thesis:

WASEDA UNIVERSITY
Professor Yukio Komatsu; Professor Tetsuya Yaguchi, Associate Professor Yuri Fuji, Lecturer Kosei Ishida, Associate Researcher Yamada Hiroshi, Associate Researcher Wang Xinpeng, Contract Researcher Yankowski Alexander, Hinako Aoki, Tokiko Harada, Ryosei Kojima, Takahisa Mitomo.

UNIVERSITY OF TOKYO
Associate Professor Akito Murayama, Associate Professor Fumihiko Seta.

POLITECNICO DI TORINO
Professor Monica Naretto, Professor Mauro Berta, Professor Filippo De Pieri, Professor Giancarlo Cotella, Alessia Bertacco, Ling Xiang.

NASCA STUDIO
Thanks to all the staff of the studio for providing me with the resources and work environments to conduct the research.

TOKYO METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT
Thank you to the Tokyo government for providing me with the archival material related to the Tsukiji market.

Finally, thank you to Japan and the city of Tokyo for accommodating me and make me feel at home.

sta a Firenze di contorno negli otto mesi trascorsi in Giappone.

Un ringraziamento al Politecnico di Torino e la Waseda University di Toyko per avermi concesso quest’opportunità.

Un grazie ancora a tutte quelle persone e professori che nel loro “piccolo” hanno contribuito in maniera diretta o indiretta alla realizzazione di questa tesi:

WASEDA UNIVERSITY
Professor Yukio Komatsu; Professor Tetsuya Yaguchi, Professoressa Associata Yuri Fuji, Docente Kosei Ishida, Ricercatore Associato Yamada Hiroshi, Ricercatore Associato Wang Xinpeng, Ricercatore a Contratto Yankowski Alexander, Hinako Aoki, Tokiko Harada, Ryosei Kojima, Takahisa Mitomo.

UNIVERSITY OF TOKYO
Professore Associato Akito Murayama, Professore Associato Fumihiko Seta.

POLITECNICO DI TORINO
Professoressa Monica Naretto, Professor Mauro Berta, Professor Filippo De Pieri, Professor Giancarlo Cotella, Alessia Bertacco, Ling Xiang.

NASCA STUDIO
Grazie a tutto lo staff dello studio per avermi messo a disposizione i mezzi e gli ambienti di lavoro per condurre le ricerche.

TOKYO METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT
Un grazie al Governo di Tokyo per avermi fornito il materiale archivistico relativo al mercato di Tsukiji.

In fine un grazie al Giappone e alla città di Tokyo per avermi accolto e fatto sentire a casa.
In 1590 General Tokugawa Ieyasu, who had left from southern Japan with the purpose of unify the country, ascended to the province of Kanto, more precisely to Edo, where he assumed the control of the castle after removing the previous local lord and from which he conducted all the operations. In 1603 the reunification was successful and the general was awarded with the title of shogun; through this act the emperor was deprived of his power, which would mark the start of what we identify as the Edo period. After becoming the daimyo of the eight provinces of Kanto, Ieyasu intensified the operations inside the city of Edo, making it in just a few years the most important centre of its territory and turning it into the official capital. The premodern city in those years saw a strong increase in population; the new inhabitants settled around the castle giving shape to the first

**GENESIS AND EVOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL WHOLESALE FISH MARKET OF TOKYO**

**GENESI ED EVOLUZIONE DEL MERCATO CENTRALE DEL PESCE DI TOKYO**

1.1 Nihonbashi, history of a spontaneous marketplace

1.1 Nihonbashi, storia di un mercato spontaneo

All currency values, when converted, are at the exchange rate of the 11th October 2018, Toyosu’s opening day (1 EUR = 129,278 JPY). Tutti i valori monetari, quando convertiti fanno fede al tasso di cambio dell’11 ottobre 2018, giorno dell’apertura di Toyosu (1 EUR = 129,278 JPY)
distances, including the one of Nihonbashi\(^2\), where are regularly traced back the origins of the central fish market in Tokyo.

At first, Edo was a village of fishermen which took advantage from the presence of several markets\(^3\), even before the arrival of the Shogun; commonly, they were located near the waterways with which they established strong relations, as it was the main infrastructure of the time.

According to the legend, the Nihonbashi market originated from the relationship between Tokugawa Ieyasu and Mori Magoemon\(^1\), a fisherman native of the province of Settsu\(^2\); the two met in 1582 when Magoemon became part of the General’s entourage, supplying the army with provisions during the earlier civil wars; considering the loyalty shown during the previous years, Magoemon was involved with his crew of fishermen in the reunion of the country, with the promise of a reward in case of triumph. Once the unification was accomplished, was donated to Magoemon and his entourage the island of Tsukudajima\(^3\) where to settle, also they were granted with the monopoly of the rights in the upper part of the bay of Edo in exchange for a percentage of the catch to the shogun; becoming the official suppliers of the court as the first owners of the fish markets. As soon Ieyasu arrived in Edo, he immediately began to shape the landscape, enhancing the network of canals, diverting rivers, changing the eastern part of the ancient city and the area around the castle; all these operations produced large volumes of soil, promptly poured into the swampy areas around the bay, starting the process of expansion of the city towards the coast.

As a part of the various works, in 1603 Ieyasu started to build a bridge within the new Nihonbashi district; located in the heart of Edo, the bridge\(^4\) crossed one of the busiest canals of the city, making the movement of goods between the two banks easier; over the time it became so important that was established as the starting point of the Gokaido\(^5\). The Nihonbashi market probably arose in an area very close to the bridge - near the Mitsukoshi building\(^6\) - and like the markets of that period, along the waterways; favoured by the central location and the proximity to one of the most important and largest kashi\(^7\) in Edo. In that period the population kept growing, rising to half a million inhabitants in 1650\(^8\); on this wake, also Nihonbashi grew, and in just a few years it overcame all the other markets of the city, for size and volume of trade, becoming the most important trading centre of the city, a record that he held for the whole Tokugawa period\(^9\). The Nihonbashi market was not simply a prosecution of its ancestors, but a spontaneous phenomenon of aggregation of traders and fishermen who gathered on the shores of the canals.
and docks in the heart of the young Tokyo. Against the backdrop of Edo’s exponential growth, during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the merchant classes prospered accompanied; this wealth led many merchants and fishermen to become wholesalers (ton’ya), that instead of fishing, many merchants and fishermen to become wholesalers (ton’ya), that instead of fishing, purchased and then sell. Then followed a period of complexification of fisheries policy, forced by the Shogun; one of the strongest changes was concerning the allowed tonnage, in other words, the establishment of a fixed percentage of catch that could be sold, defined by the Jono, a system based on the issuing of trade licences in exchange of free supplies to the Tokugawa court. Besides, were established three fish offices (Uokaijo) within the market, to monitor the fishermen’s guilds and ensure the continuous flow of goods to the castle; inspections became mandatory for all vessels entering the bay. Among the various actors of the market there were also intermediaries, a category that did not have a permanent place of business but carried out its commercial activities in the alleys in front of shops and offices in the Nihonbashi area; these peddlers were interfering with the activities of the traders, to the point that the Shogunal government was forced to act and the keystone was to grant the intermediaries the rights to rent the areas in front of the shops, the so-called “rights of board” (itafuneken), this gave the possibility to place, only in the early hours of the morning, the improvised workbenches, made of wooden planks facing the street; over time these activities moved inside structures, creating a series of compact shops arranged in rows on the foot of the bridge.

A group of feudal lords, supporters of the empire, in 1866 joined together and established an alliance against the Tokugawa Shogunate, which had been in control of Japanese politics and the army since 1603; This was the beginning of a period called the Meiji Restoration, which ended in 1868 and culminated in the permanent change of the political and social structure of the country when, on November 9th 1867, the Bakufu was officially abolished and the 15th Shogun, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, gave back the power to the emperor and the town of Edo was named Tokyo. With this change at the top of the country, the leadership rushed to establish a new central power - the Meiji government - to unify and reinforce the nation to defend itself and keep pace with the Western governments’ strong powers. The first actions tackled by the new government in 1872, were the abolition of the fish offices and the long-de-
The map shows the network of the Edo's canals and the location of the banks, in the 19th century.

FIGURE 07.

the dual function of wholesalers and intermediaries (ton’ya-nakagai). In the 1880s with the transformations taking place in the city, particularly within the Nihonbashi district, the area where the market stood was no longer the right place. In 1889 this issue came into the city’s debate as an urban planning issue; many of the employees outside the market were complaining about the presence of a messy and chaotic place in the middle of what was becoming a thriving financial district; there were also big problems of accessibility, which complicated the transport and delivery of goods into the area. The initial idea of the Tokyo administration was to remove the market from its location and move it outside the centre to ensure the growth and transformation of the neighbourhood. Many of the traders, unaware of these problems, immediately expressed strong perplexity and resistance to the pressure that the Government was doing for the relocation of the market; the various proposals were postponed or hampered continuously. Within a few years two sides came up, one pro-relocation and one against; at the end the traders against the relocation, with the support of political allies, managed to block any action from the municipal government, putting an end to the matter. On September 1st 1923, just before noon, Tokyo was struck by the Kanto earthquake; with a magnitude of 7.8, the seisim destroyed about fifty per cent of the city, causing more than one hundred and forty thousand deaths and the destruction of more than seven hundred thousand buildings among collapses and fires favoured by the high number of wooden buildings. Like the city, even Nihonbashi’s was reduced to a pile of ruins, marking the end of the centre of merchant life of the old Edo. The city deprived of its main source of supply had to find a solution; in the following days after the tragedy, the traders of Nihonbashi survived, met and on September 17th planned the opening of a temporary market at the Shibaura23 area; the market stayed there until December before moving to the Tsukiji24 district on what was a former naval training base. Considering that the historic market was reduced in ruins, the earthquake became the opportunity to discuss again about the issue of the relocation of the market, within a modern structure able to meet the safety and hygiene requirements of the time; the traders and the municipality agreed on the suitability of the Tsukiji site as a place to host the future permanent market. An anti-replacement faction of traders, despite Nihonbashi’s conditions, reopened the activities in the ruins of the market, but

finò da subito forti perplessità e opposizione alle pressioni che il Governo faceva per la delocalizzazione del mercato; le varie proposte furono rimandate e ostacolate di continuo. Nel giro di poca anni si vennero a creare due schieramenti uno pro trasferimento e uno contro; alla fine i commercianti contro il trasferimento, con il sostegno di alleati politici riuscirono a bloccare qualsiasi azione da parte del governo municipale, chiedendo la questione.

Il 1 settembre 1923, appena prima di mezzogiorno, Tokyo fu colpita dal terremoto di Kanto22; con una magnitudine di 7,8 il sisma rase al suolo il cinquanta percento della città provocando più di centoquaranta mila vittime e la distruzione di oltre settecentomila edifici tra crolli e incendi favoriti dall’altissimo numero di edifici in legno. Come la città anche il mercato di Nihonbashi non fu risparmiato e venne ridotto a un cumulo di macerie, ponendo fine al centro della vita mercantile della vecchia Edo. La città privata della sua fonte di approvvigionamento principale, doveva trovare una soluzione; nei giorni successivi alla tragedia, i commercianti di Nihonbashi sopravvissuti, si riunirono e il 17 settembre pianificarono l’apertura di un mercato provvisorio presso l’area di Shibaura23; il mercato rimase fino a dicembre per poi spostarsi nel quartiere di Tsukiji24 su quella che una volta era la sede di una ex base per l’addestramento navale. Considerato che lo storico mercato era ridotto ad un cumulo di macerie, il terremoto divenne il pretesto per riparlare della questione del ricollocamento del mercato all’interno di una struttura moderna in grado di rispondere alle esigenze di sicurezza e igiene del tempo; i commercianti e la municipalità convennero nell’idoneità del sito di Tsukiji come luogo per ospitare
soon after they were promptly stopped by the government; with this act the market was officially closed, starting what could be considered the second phase of the central fish market of Tokyo. Nowadays Nihonbashi is an established financial centre, located within the special district of Chuo; core of the city, as well as the starting point of the country’s highway network; in recent years the district has been affected by a series of development plans focused on water transports and development programmes, which have led to the renovation and reuse of many of the old buildings and abandoned canals.

1.2 Tokyo bay
1.2 La baia di Tokyo

Japan is a predominantly mountainous region with only twenty-five per cent of flat earth; a natural constraint that had always limited the amount of space for construction, causing enormous pressure on urban planning; Tokyo is certainly one of the most iconic cases, as the city cornered by the continuous population growth, extended towards the coastline. First, known action regarding the bay was carried out in 1173 when a minor intervention of reclamation was conducted by the General Kiyomori Taira, who recovered some marshy areas close to the coastal area to expand the trade. However, for the first major transformations, we shall wait until the end of the 16th century, when Tokugawa Ieyasu settled in Edo and using the large volumes of land that resulted from the transformations he promoted, were used to reclaim the swampy areas close to the castle, which today can be traced back to the Marunouchi area - home of the current Tokyo station -.
Despite having been identified as the first promoter of the city expansion towards the bay, the Shogun’s interest was mainly related to the need of a place where to free the city from the soil leftover the excavation, whereas the creation of the new land strips was more a consequence, favoured by the shallow waters that characterized the bay.

In 1657, Edo was devastated by the great Meireki fire; the town deeply affected, was reduced to a heap of ruins promptly removed and dumped along the coastal area, reclaiming the remaining marshland zones including those to the west of Ginza, wherein 1923 the foundations of the Tsukiji market will be established and the bay’s formation process will effectively begin. In 1923, the city was struck again by the Kanto earthquake; this dramatic event that destroyed the city, was for the municipality the opportunity to fix the old urban plan of Tokyo, which had become too crowded and no longer suitable to handle the pressure due to the population growth; therefore, a new masterplan was drafted based on the European urban planning features and elements such as avenues, squares and parks; at the same time, it was also necessary to provide the city with large infrastructures such as bridges and motorways.

“Tokyo has been left to expand beyond control and is now a huge mess”

Hisakira Kano

However, there was a problem that prevented this type of planning based on the Western-style; Tokyo, unlike European cases, was already densely populated and therefore an intervention of that size would involve millions of people, causing enormous inconvenience to the inhabitants and the riconducibili all’area di Marunouchi – sede dell’attuale stazione Tokyo –. Anche se identificato come il primo promotore dell’espansione della città verso l’acqua, l’interesse dello shogun era principalmente legato al bisogno di un posto dove potersi liberare dello scarto di riporto, mentre per quanto riguarda la creazione delle nuove lingue di terra fu più una conseguenza favorita dai bassi fondali che contraddistinguevano la baia. Nel 1657, Edo fu devastata dal grande incendio Meireki; la città profondamente colpita, venne ridotta in un cumulo di macerie che furono prontamente rimosse e smaltite nell’area costiera, andando a beneficarne le rimanenti zone paludose tra cui quelle a ovest di Ginza, dove nel 1923 verranno poste le basi del mercato di Tsukiji e decertando a tutti gli effetti l’inizio del processo di formazione della baia. Nel 1923 la città fu nuovamente colpita dal terremoto di Kanto; questo tragico evento che distrusse la città, fu per la municipalità l’opportunità per sistemare il vecchio assetto urbano di Tokyo, diventato troppo denso e non più adatto a rispondere alle crescenti pressioni dovute all’aumento della popolazione; si puntò quindi alla stesura di un nuovo masterplan che riprendesse le caratteristiche e gli elementi della pianificazione urbana europea come viali, piazze e parchi; allo stesso tempo era anche necessario fornire alla città grandi infrastrutture come ponti e autostrade.

“Tokyo è stata lasciata espandersi al di là di ogni controllo e ora è un enorme caos”

Hisakira Kano

Vi era però un problema che impediva questo tipo di pianificazione basata sul modello occidentale; Tokyo a differenza dei casi
city. The rapid and continuous increase of the population was not about to rest, pressing a collapsing system, already forced to push buildings upwards to make maximum use of the land. At a certain point the problem could no longer be contained, so the architects saw the answer in the bay, where to experiment a new kind of controlled and organized planning, as already mentioned could not be applied inside the dense urban fabric of the city centre. The entire process took more than forty years and ended with the occupation of one-seventh of the 922 square kilometres, equivalent to 225 square kilometres of new building land; even today the Tokyo Bay is still developing and the city continues to expand offshore.

1.3 Tsukiji, the rise of an institution
1.3 Tsukiji, la nascita di un’istituzione

In 1858 Japan opened negotiations with the Western countries and the Japanese cities began to settle the first foreign settlements; in the case of Tokyo this happened only after the Bakufu was abolished and the establishment of the Meiji imperial government, which welcomed the first settler in 1869 within the Tsukiji27 district (Tsukiji Kyoryüchi), which opened the way to a period for Japan defined by the intellectual Fukuzawa Yukichi as "Civilization and Enlightenment". The administration chose this district probably for the fact that it was located near the railway junction of Shimabashi28 and because it was a preferential place for the routes to the port of Yokohama, where at the time was located one of the largest foreign settlements of Japan; in the same year it also followed the construction of a base for the naval training wanted by the Meiji government on the area once belonged to the Matsudaira clan - future site of the market of Tsukiji - then moved in 1888 to the prefecture29 of Hiroshima. In July 1899 the Meiji government abolished the laws on extraterritoriality30, and that was the consequent was the depopulation of the foreign settlement and the transfer of many activities, except for some realities such as the hospital of San Luke which remained in the area. After the Kanto earthquake (1923) the Nihonbashi market was destroyed, becoming an opportunity to build a new avant-garde structure that could meet the demands of the time in terms of accessibility and hygiene, no longer satisfied by the old market. In response to the catastrophic event, was provisionally opened in the heart of the special district of Chuo, - one of the areas reclaimed by the Tokugawa after the great Meireki fire of 1657 - near the mouth of the Sumida, a market place in a portion of the former naval base; the area was in a strategic location facing the river and at the same time it was easily accessible from the centre, being suitable to accommodate the concept of the future market that the government intended to build. The construction began in 1923 and took place till 1935; it was a national project, commissioned to the Konoike Construction company, which used the most modern technologies of the time, the process of twelve years involved over seventy-six thousand workers. The new Tokyo Metropolitan Central Wholesale Market was completed on October 10th and the same year started to operate31, being all’epoca era presente uno dei più grandi insediamenti stranieri del Giappone; negli stessi anni seguì anche la costruzione di una base per l’addestramento navale voluta dal governo Meiji sull’area una volta appartenuta al clan Matsudaira – futura sede del mercato di Tsukiji –, poi trasferita nel 1888 nella prefettura30 di Hiroshima. Nel luglio 1899 il governo Meiji, aboli le leggi sull’extraterritorialità30 con un conseguente spolamanto dell’insediamento straniero e il trasferimento di molte attività, fatta eccezione per alcune realtà come l’ospedale di San Luke che rimase ancora nell’area. In seguito al terremoto di Kanto (1923) il mercato di Nihonbashi fu raso al suolo diventando l’occasione per costruire una nuova struttura all’avanguardia che rispondeva alle esigenze del tempo in materia di accessibilità e igiene, ormai non più soddisfatte dal vecchio mercato. Per far fronte all’evento catastrofico venne provvisoriamente aperto nel cuore del quartiere speciale di Chuo, - una delle aree bonificate dai Tokugawa dopo il grande incendio Meireki del 1657 - vicino alla foce del Sumida, una struttura mercatale in una porzione dell’ex base militare; l’area godeva di una posizione strategica con un affaccio diretto sul fiume e allo stesso tempo era facilmente accessibile dal centro, risultando idonea ad accogliere l’idea di mercato che il governo aveva in mente per la futura struttura. I lavori iniziarono nel 1923 e si protrassero fino al 1935; si trattò di un progetto nazionale, affidato all’azienda di costruzione Konoike Construction, che impiegò le più moderne tecniche dell’epoca, il processo in dodici anni mobilitò più di settantasei mila persone. Il nuovo Tokyo Metropolitan Central Wholesale Market venne ultimato il 10 ottobre e nello stesso anno iniziò la sua atti-
coming the largest fish market in the world ready to guide the global fisheries business. The massive building based on a highly functional design had a huge fan-shaped structure, a choice designed to maximize the unloading side for the transport of goods, because at that time was mainly transported by train, as the road infrastructure was not yet ready for road traffic in Tokyo and, above all, the market did not have enough space to accommodate trucks. The city has always been strongly linked to the water-based transport system, but with the advent of Tsukiji began the gradual transition to a new way of moving, first to the railways and later, in the sixties, to the wheeled system. The New Market used to be very different from the previous one, in Nihonbashi merchants usually lived above their shops, making the workplace and the house in many ways the same trucks. The new massive structure instead physically separated the two spaces. The main structure of the market was the fan-shaped building, this contained within it the area dedicated to the resale of fish products whereas in the final part the area was devoted to the fruit and vegetables. Divided into two levels, the ground floor there were the "capsules" of the over 1677 wholesalers, while on the upper floors there were the offices of the seven auction houses (oroshi gyōsha) and the government administration offices. With the opening of the market, a whole range of positive outcomes affected the district of Chuo, making it prosperous and animated, to the point that during the first years of activity attracted several small activities, that joined outside the gates and in a short time created a peculiar ecosystem made of hundreds of small shops and restaurants, called the external market (Jogai-Shijo); unlike the fish market, mainly intended for operators of the sector and supervised by the metropolitan government, the external market was a self-sufficient entity that has always responded to the needs of anyone that enjoyed fish. However, the positive moment did not last long, less than two years after the opening of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937; preventively the Japanese government took control of perishable goods while in 1941, with the entry into World War II, Japan engaged in two fronts, abolished the wholesale brokerage system of the marketplace dedicated to the fruit and vegetables.
The Tokyo Metropolitan Government Building, located in Shinjuku, hosts the seat of the metropolitan government; in the picture, the Tokyo Main Metropolitan Building No.1, part of a three-building complex, was designed by Kenzo Tange.
FIGURE 21-22.
(Top) Technical drawings of the fan-shaped building.
(Beneath) Technical drawings of the truss of the fan-shaped building.

FIGURE 23-24.
(Top) Technical drawings of the converted former dock area.
(Beneath) Technical drawings of the storage areas.
(Top) Technical drawings of the Tsukiji complex.
(Beneath) Elevations and sections of the storage areas.

FIGURE 27–28.
(Top) Technical drawings of a segment of the shaped-fan building.
(Beneath) General technical drawings of Tsukiji back side.
led traffic; on the other hand, the uncontrolled and unplanned growth of the city absorbed the market within the dense urban fabric; hindering the increasing role that Tsukiji was acquiring in the international fishing industry, becoming an urban problem and making the accessibility of goods more complex. At the turn of the seventies and eighties the TMG, the market functionaries and some shopkeepers agreed that the market had come to find itself in an uncomfortable position within the city, which no longer ensured the proper management of activities and complicated the response to the needs of the metropolis. Although the problem was real, many families immediately expressed opposition to the idea of a relocation, criticizing the decision taken by the TMG, accused of having decided to relocate and build a new market, without considering the possibility of a renewal of the existing one, furthermore, there were also concerns about the fate of the more than four hundred activities located in the external market, which would have been strongly affected by the relocation. The government identified the possible site in the Ota district, on one of the areas recovered from the bay expansion plan, far from the congested city centre. The planning process was far from easy, on several occasions it was interrupted by the opposition from the anti-relocation side but mainly due to the costs that exceeded expectations, in a period where the budget had a huge financial hole, which forced the government to cut funding for several public works, including the project of the new market; the construction will only resume during the years of the bubble and then interrupted again after the death of Emperor Showa in 1989. In 1990, Otha’s new building was finally completed and the government on a voluntary base allowed Tsukiji’s wholesalers to move to the new location; but only a few accepted, so the TMG offered in return for the move the increase of permits and licences, however, when the Ota market opened, a third of the spots were still vacant. Tsukiji remained where it was but the problems of overoccupancy, as well as the years of use, were getting worse; in

Nel 1990 la nuova struttura di Ota venne finalmente completata e il governo su base volontaria diede la possibilità ai grossisti di Tsukiji di spostarsi presso la nuova sede; in pochissimi accettarono, tantoché il TMG offrì in cambio del passaggio un aumento delle concessioni e delle licenze, ciò nonostante quando il mercato di Ota aprì, un terzo delle postazioni erano ancora vacanti. Tsukiji rimase dove doveva ma i problemi legati alla sovraoccupazione e agli anni di utilizzo si stavano aggravando; nel 1990 in
1990, in an act that had to prove the end of the economic bubble, TMG launched an ambitious project to rebuild the entire market that would be completed in 2003. The aim was to gradually replace the structures of the 1930s with modern facilities to build a new high-tech complex that would integrate the functions of the market with the most modern technologies of the time and provide privileged access to the new subway lines and underground highways. The renovation started the same year; the old railway track, which had fallen into disuse, with all minor buildings were removed and replaced with temporary structures; two years later, began the construction of some new buildings, i.e. multi-level parking, to respond to the new traffic needs. The plan provided for the reconstruction of the market by keeping it open and in full regime, this required a sophisticated checkerboard plan for the new construction, relocation and demolition; however, soon it became clear that the market conditions were more critical and more expensive than expected, and it was almost impossible to work without interrupting the functioning of the building. In 1995 with the election of the new governor, Aoshima Yukio, a period of austerity dictated by budgetary conditions began; on this line in 1996 the renewal of Tsukiji’s market was officially interrupted since it was affecting the city’s finances and not producing the expected results. The failure of the plan was due to several factors, one of the most incisive was the lack of cooperation between the various economic actors involved, which affected the clarity of the execution process such that the rotation plan had no idea how to operate; the situation was complicated by the excessive size of the project, which aimed to increase the market area by 90%. In 1999, TMG promised to unveil a new plan for the construction of a market within a few years, but it was not clear if the government planned to rebuild it on the site or move it completely elsewhere.
In 1998, Governor Yukio Aoshima changed the policy related to the market renovation of Tsukiji by proposing its transfer to a new location to continue the tradition in a safer environment and under better hygiene. This radical change of plan immediately obtained the favour of Minister Shintaro Ishihara, one of the most convinced supporters of the relocation proposal and future mayor, a position he will maintain the following year for three consecutive terms, from 1999 to 2012. Despite his position about this issue, Ishihara always highlighted the importance of preserving the cultural heritage and the protection of Tsukiji once the relocation was accomplished.

"Tsukiji’s market has become a cultural heritage over the years and should be protected for its value."

Shintaro Ishihara

Nel 1998, il governatore Yukio Aoshima, modificò la politica legata alla ristrutturazione del mercato di Tsukiji proponendone il trasferimento presso una nuova struttura, affinché si continuasse la tradizione in un ambiente più sicuro e sotto un’igiene migliore. Questo radicale cambiamento di piano ottenne fin da subito il favore del ministro Shintaro Ishihara, uno dei più convinti sostenitori della proposta di delocalizzazione nonché futuro primo cittadino, carica che ottenne l’anno seguente e che manterrà per tre mandati, dal 1999 al 2012. Nonostante la sua posizione sull’argomento, Ishihara sottolineò sempre il valore culturale e l’importanza di preservare Tsukiji una volta che si fosse compiuto il trasferimento.

"Il mercato di Tsukiji è diventato un bene culturale nel corso degli anni e dovrebbe essere protetto per il suo valore."

Shintaro Ishihara
The unsuccessful experience of the 1990s, the huge costs incurred that still weighed on the financial balance, the declining conditions of the structure and the progressive market absorption within the dense urban fabric, were slowly worsening the conditions of Tsukiji; to all these factors were added the obsolescence of the market system, which was no longer able to satisfy the international safety and hygiene requirements and risked to negatively affect the international competitiveness\(^45\); therefore, a solution had to be found. At the end of the 1990s, Tsukiji managed a quarter of the country’s fish volume and in 2000 became the first global supplier with an annual turnover of 529.1 billion Yen\(^46\); the market offered a unique diversity of products to the consumer, with over 400 varieties of fish and 2000 seafood. The whole complex employed more than 500 wholesalers who in turn employed several thousands of workers; an average of about forty thousand people, including workers, traders, tourists, went in and out of Tsukiji every day. In 2001 the government presented the project promised in 1998 - more a political announcement than a detailed plan - to the citizens, promising the construction of a new avant-garde market complex with spaces for retail shops and other services, by the year 2013. The new structure would be located in the special district of Koto, on the island of Toyosu - one of the bay expansions of the first half of the twentieth century; the area of forty hectares, about 1.8 times larger than the one of Tsukiji, previously hosted a gas refinery owned by Tokyo Gas Co. In 2001, the same company will reveal the presence of strong contaminants into the soil due to some leaks that the system suffered over time; this unforeseen event...
forced TMG to evaluate a series of reclamation operations, which inevitably increased costs and project duration - the site will be officially opened in 2002 -.

In 2008, analyses were conducted on soil and water at the site, which revealed values of benzene and chemical compounds thousands of times higher than the environmental safety standard, forcing the TMG to suspend the worksite and re-examine the land reclamation operations. In state of emergency, the TMG set up a commission of experts to identify a new solution to the problem of the contamination, decreeing that the best possible and sustainable action was to proceed through the addition of a thick layer of uncontaminated soil that would be then covered by a concrete slab; once the reclamation works were completed, the building site re-opened and resumed its normal course, but the project was discarded, as the operation demanded an expense that the city could not afford at that time.

In June 2016, the governor Masuzoe’s resigned for monetary scandals related to the improper use of public funds and on July 31st, after new elections, Yuriko Koike was elected the new governor of Tokyo; former member of the Japanese parliament and former environment minister between 2003 and 2006 - years in which she closely followed the issue of Tsukiji-Toyosu - in the election campaign promised to reconsider the policy about the relocation of the market under the slogan "Preserve Tsukiji, Energize Toyosu". Koike’s idea was to realize a recovery plan, turning Tsukiji into a food theme park and at the same time promote the image of the new one. Such claims, on the one hand, guaranteed her a strong consensus from those who were against the transfer, but on the other hand caused her many criticisms from all those in that moment non sarebbe stata in grado di sostenere.

A giugno 2016, il primo cittadino Masuzoe, si dimise per scandali monetari legati all’uso improprio di fondi pubblici e il 31 luglio, in seguito a delle nuove elezioni, venne eletta governatrice di Tokyo Yuriko Koike; ex membro della camera dei rappresentati del Giappone ed ex ministro dell’ambiente tra il 2003 e il 2006 – anni in cui seguì da vicino la questione Tsukiji-Toyosu –, in campagna elettorale promettono nel caso di elezione, di rivedere la politica di delocalizzazione del mercato al motto di “Preserve Tsukiji, Energize Toyosu”. L’idea di Koike era quella di attuare un piano di rifunzionalizzazione, convertendo il mercato di Tsukiji in un parco a tema alimentare e allo stesso tempo promuovere l’immagine di quello nuovo. Tali affermazioni da un lato le garantirono un forte consenso da coloro che erano contrarie al trasferimento, dall’altro invece le procurarono molte critiche da tutti quei soggetti economici legati a Toyosu, che fin da subito si opposero all’idea di una possibile convivenza di due realtà così simili a pochi chilometri di distanza, aggravando ancora di più la già precaria condizione di bilancio; inoltre una ristrutturazione avrebbe reso inutile l’intervento di Toyosu pensato.
businessmen linked to Toyosu, who immediately disagreed with the idea of a possible coexistence of two realities so similar only a few kilometres away from each other, worsening, even more, the already precarious budgetary condition; moreover, a renovation would have made Toyosu’s project, designed precisely to deal with the impossibility of restructuring Tsukiji, useless. The governor also affirmed that she would have supported all the companies that decided to come back to the market once the intervention was completed, increasing concerns related to the fact that a good number of wholesalers, disappointed about the new market, would have preferred to return to the old market, leaving large portions of the new structure empty.

Less than a month after the assignment, at the beginning of August, the government issued a public announcement in which problems related to the decontamination of the site were again highlighted, reporting the inefficiency of the operations of reclamation carried out by previous administrations. Further analyses were conducted on the underground water table and then, in the following days, an emergency meeting with a group of experts was held; they concluded that, even if the presence of benzene had decreased considerably, was still beyond the allowed limits and suggested the introduction of a more efficient groundwater management system beneath the structure. On 31st August 2016, considering the situation, the new governor had to postpone the transfer to Toyosu scheduled for November, expressing strong concerns about the cost impact of this operation. In July 2017, a public statement announced that the risk of contamination had been contained and that the new market was secure and ready for the imminent transfer, this time in October 2018; the entire intervention to ensure the safety of the water table cost to the city a total of 3.8 billion yen. A month before the announcement of the decontamination of Toyosu’s site, precisely on June 13, 2017, the TMG presented to the metropolitan assembly the draft

The final section of Ring Road n2 connecting the Tsukiji and Toyosu area, going through Harumi.
"revitalization of the Tsukiji market" where was expressed the intention of realizing what was promised in the election campaign, i.e. a food theme park on the site once the relocation was completed. The park would have enjoyed the brand reputation that Tsukiji had developed over the time, with an estimated construction time of 5 years and was made clear from the beginning that the project would begin only after the end of the Tokyo 2020 Games, a choice forced by the continuous delays related to the relocation, which would have ended too close to the event, to start an project of that size on an area so close to the future village of the athletes and especially location of the building site of the Ring Road n.2, which was significantly delayed due to the continuous relocation postponements; in the meantime, the area - during the Olympic Games - would have been temporarily converted into a depot for Olympic transport vehicles.

"Farò il miglior uso del valore di Tsukiji, che non ha eguali nel mondo."

Yuriko Koike

Il documento pubblicato ufficialmente il 20 giugno, avanzava due strategie d'intervento, rispettivamente la versione A e la versione B e per ognuna due sotto approcci; la prima ipotesi prevedeva l’introduzione di un contributo privato, in sostanza veniva dato in concessione – a tempo determinato – l’utilizzo del bene suolo ad un appaltatore terzo che si sarebbe occupato della costruzione e della gestione del progetto; nel caso della seconda ipotesi invece l’iniziativa sarebbe stata eseguita dall’amministrazione di Tokyo. La differenza sostanziale alla base dei due metodi consisteva nel tempo e nei costi di esecuzione. Per quanto riguarda i sotto approcci, rispettivamente identificati come piano 1 e 2; il primo era improntato sul rinnovo graduale dell’esistente mentre il secondo puntava a fare il massimo uso del suolo procedendo con un aggiornamento delle strutture in modo sequenziale.

Oltre alle ipotesi d’intervento, all’interno della documentazione erano presenti una serie d’informazioni dettagliate riguardanti diversi aspetti come analisi economiche e sullo stato dei mercati all’ingrosso della regione, le procedure e metodologie d’esecuzione delle proposte, stime del ciclo di vita e sul costo d’intervento accompagnate dai relativi cronogrammi di scenario; si prospettava come un’operazione partico-

The document officially published on the 20th of June, proposed two strategies of intervention, respectively the A and B versions and two sub-approaches for each one; the first hypothesis provided the introduction of a private contribution, in essence, the use of the land asset was granted - for a fixed period - to a third contractor who would be responsible for the construction and management of the project; in the case of the second hypothesis, instead, the ini-
tative would be carried out by the Tokyo administration. The substantial difference between the two methods was the time and cost of execution. Regarding the sub-areas, respectively identified as plan 1 and 2, the first one was based on the gradual renewal of the existing while the second one aimed to make the maximum use of the land by proceeding with a sequential updating of the structures. In addition to the intervention hypotheses, the documentation included a series of detailed information concerning various aspects such as economic analyses and the state of the wholesale markets in the region, the procedures and methodologies for the execution of the proposals, estimated life cycle and cost of intervention supported by the timetables of the scenario; it was expected to be a particularly challenging operation both in terms of legislation and execution. Although owned by TMG, the Tsukiji area was part of the central wholesale market accounting of larmente difficile sia a livello legislativo che esecutivo. Anche se di proprietà del TMG, l’area di Tsukiji faceva parte della contabilità dei mercati all’ingrosso centrale della città, di conseguenza avendo cambiato la funzione che si sarebbe andata a insediare e volendo costruire qualcosa di diverso da una struttura mercatale, nel 2018 il governo acquistò il terreno attraverso una transazione dal conto generale al conto dei mercati; un’operazione insolita, ma possibile in quanto “l’attività di mercato è un’attività che si applica in parte alle disposizioni finanziarie della legge locale sull’impresa pubblica ed è gestita su base di profitto indipendente” (Central Wholesale Market); questa operazione consentì al governo di arricchire la deficitaria contabilità dei mercati ma soprattutto permise all’amministrazione di accelerare il processo di riqualificazione del sito. Tsukiji’s land, previously valued at 460 billion yen, increased substantially as a result of fluctuations in the real estate market and was purchased by the municipalità at a final price of 562.3 billion yen; this amount would allow covering the 10 billion yen deficit generated by Toyosu’s market for the next 50 years. Commercial activities were interrupted on October 6th 2018, and bito un incremento sostanziale, venendo acquistato alla municipalità a un prezzo finale di 562,3 miliardi di yen; tale cifra avrebbe permesso di far fronte per i successivi cinquant’anni al deficit di 10 miliardi di yen che il mercato di Toyosu generava. Le attività commerciali vennero interrotte il 6 ottobre 2018, mentre alle otto di sera dell’11 ottobre 2018 – senza ancora un piano per l’area – lo storico mercato del pesce di Tsukiji, soprannominato “la cucina di Tokyo”, era meta di milioni di visitatori che ogni anno si recavano al suo interno, attratti dal fascino di questa istituzione divenuta nel corso del tempo famosa in tutto il mondo.
at eight o’clock on the evening of October 11th 2018 - without yet a plan for the area - the historic fish market of Tsukiji, which survived the bombings and the economic crises of the country, after 83 years of duty to the city and the nation was officially declared closed, bequeathing trade operations among the most profitable in the world in the fisheries business, for an estimated value of 3.8 billion dollars per year. Called “the kitchen of Tokyo”, was the destination of millions of visitors who came every year, attracted by the charm of this institution that over time has become famous throughout the world.

“Tsukiji is special, a place of rare diversity inside the conformist Japan.”

On 17th October 2018, after a process that lasted more than 17 years, Toyosu’s market began its activity and many of the traders moved permanently to the new location; in total 54, the construction of the facility - including reclamations, extensions and transfers - cost to the market account 569 billion yen, about 4.5 billion euros. The huge costs just sustained for the relocation and the perplexities about the possibility that two realities so similar could coexist, were set out as well-founded and incontestable observations, making clear the framework of the operation impossibility and causing the effect of putting the government in a period of silence where no more statements were made about the issue. In the following months, in several public meetings, Koike had to answer to the continuous questions concerning the Tsukiji issue; the governor always kept vague, and never denied the intention to safeguard the market, to the point that in December 2018, in a public hearing, she reiterated that no changes in policy had been made on the topic. On January 15th 2019, during a closed-door me-

Il 17 ottobre 2018, dopo un processo durato oltre 17 anni il mercato di Toyosu iniziò la sua attività e molti dei commercianti si trasferirono definitivamente presso la nuova sede; in totale 54 la realizzazione del complesso – compresa di bonifiche, proroghe e trasferimento – costò al conto del mercato 569 miliardi di yen, circa 4,5 miliardi di euro. Gli ingenti costi appena sostenuti per la delocalizzazione e le perplessità sulla possibilità che due realtà così simili convivessero, si prefigurarono come osservazioni fondate e incontestabili, rendendo chiaro il quadro dell’infattibilità dell’operazione e avendo come conseguenza l’effetto di mettere a tacere il governo, il quale si chiuse in un periodo di silenzio dove non vennero più rilasciate dichiarazioni sul tema. Nei mesi successivi, in diversi incontri pubblici, Koike si trovò nella condizione di dover dare delle risposte alle continue domande che le venivano poste sulla questione Tsukiji; lo stesso governatore dichiarerà “Abbiamo cambiato le nostre politiche senza spiegare al popolo”.

FIGURE 46.
The Tokyo governmental structure.
Based on a 24-hour cycle, Tokyo’s central market is open six days per week; every morning in Toyosu - as previously in Tsukiji - dozens of separate auctions take place selling hundreds of varieties of fish and seafood. The supply chain, as well as the commercial processes within it, are based on an ancient system of operations that went lost with the opening of Toyosu. The former market was built on a single large lot, favouring horizontal flows; its open structure facilitated the entrance and exit of goods and people but at the same time affected the hygienic conditions of the operators of the mercato all’ingrosso and ad altre attività al di fuori del mercato, come ristoranti, minimarket and supermercati. Buona parte del commercio giornaliero di Tsukiji avveniva attraverso piccole aziende familiari e il così detto commercio walk-in, ovvero l’acquirente privato che entrava per fare acquisti; una condizione insolita per un mercato di quella portata, che nonostante ciò, riusciva a operare contemporaneamente su due diverse scale, quella dell’offerta globale e quella umana mischiando commercio all’ingrosso con quello al dettaglio, una peculiarità andata persa con l’apertura di Toyosu.

L’ex mercato si sviluppava su di un unico grande lotto, prediligendo flussi orizzontali; la sua struttura aperta facilitava l’ingresso e l’uscita della merce e delle persone ma allo stesso tempo influiva sulle condizioni igieniche della struttura e del prodotto. Il complesso, fruibile da chiunque, lasciava grande libertà di movimento al suo interno, fatta eccezione per alcune aree dove l’accesso era interdetto e concesso solo ai lavoratori del mercato o a chi munito di apposito permesso, come per esempio l’area dove avvenivano le aste dei Tonni più famose al mondo. Al piano terra della divisione ittica, lo spazio era diviso in dodici file che fronteggiavano sei navate principali, a loro volta queste si intersecavano con quindici navate laterali di larghezza variabile, utilizzate dai clienti e gli addetti alle consegne per spostarsi dai bordi interni a quelli esterni del

FIGURE 47. 2.00 am unloading and displaying the products inside the auction room; 4.00 am preview for evaluate the products; 4.30 am The auction starts; 7.00 am The shops inside the wholesale market start the business; 13.00 pm The market starts to collect the products for the next day.

market, such as restaurants, grocery stores and supermarkets. A large part of Tsukiji’s daily trade took place through small businesses called “walk-in” trade, i.e. the private buyer that went in, to purchase; an unusual condition for a market of that size, which despite this, was able to operate simultaneously on two different scales, the global one and the human one by mixing wholesale and retail trade, a peculiarity that went lost with the opening of Toyosu.

“Tsukiji’s legacy as a set of programs (trade, distribution, auctions ...), behaviours, movements, rituals, stories. When architecture has a minimum level of a formal definition, the possibilities are endless.”

(Alice Covatta)
FIGURE 48.
The diagram shows the levels of trade that took place in Tsukiji. Blue rectangles represent the actors involved in the trade, while the golden circles represent the modalities of trade.

structure and the products. The facility, open to everyone, allowed great freedom of movement inside, except for some areas, where access was forbidden and granted only to market workers or those provided with special authorization, for example, the area where the world’s most famous tuna auctions took place. On the ground floor of the fish division, space was divided into twelve rows facing six main aisles, crossed by fifteen side aisles with variable width, used by customers and deliverers to move from the inner to the outer edges of the market. The stalls followed the order imposed by the grid of pillars of the fan-shaped structure; each one was personalized by the trader who set it up with his equipment; every four years a lottery reassigned the place and for four days the market remained closed to give the traders time to move and prepare the new location. The position was very important within the macrostructure since it could affect between ten to fifteen per cent of the income of the business; in general, a position at one of the corners had the advantage of an easier delivery, a double overlook and a greater number of passersby; the stalls on the inner edge of the fan offered an easy access for the walk-in trade and also were the closest to the loading docks where small business customers accepted deliveries, but at the same time they were the most distant from the auction arenas; the stalls outside the fan were located further away from the market entrance and less suitable for retail trade, but at the same time they had the largest workspace and were the closest to the auction halls.

"The design of each unit is organized around the individual space, which consists of a shelf where the fish can be cut, a counter and other surfaces for displaying the goods... on one hand, the largeness mercato. Le bancarelle seguivano l’ordine imposto dalla griglia di pilastri della struttura a ventaglio; ognuna di queste veniva personalizzata dal commerzianti che l’allestiva con la sua attrezzatura; ogni quattro anni una lotteria riassegnava il posto e per quattro giorni il mercato rimaneva chiuso per dare il tempo ai commercianti di sposarsi e preparare la nuova postazione. La posizione era molto importante all’interno della macrostruttura, in quanto era in grado di incidere tra il 10 e il 15 per cento sulle entrate dell’attività; in generale una posizione ad uno degli angoli otteneva il vantaggio di consegnare più facili, un doppio affaccio e un numero maggiore di passanti; le bancarelle sul bordo interno del ventaglio offrivano un facile accesso per il commercio walk-in ed erano anche quelle più vicine alle banchi-

FIGURE 49-50.
(Top) The stalls of the fisheries division. (Beneath) The stalls of the fruit and vegetable division.
Un mercato all’ingrosso di grandi dimensioni, affinché sia efficiente e competitivo a livello globale richiede elevati canoni di velocità della merce e disporre di una catena di approvvigionamento d’alta qualità; nel caso di Tsukiji la posizione all’interno del denso tessuto urbano ne ha limitato nel tempo la libertà di manovra, mentre l’obsolescenza della struttura non permetteva di soddisfare i nuovi standard internazionali in materia d’igiene e sicurezza; sulla base di queste osservazioni Toyosu venne progettato prestando molta cura a questi particolari, al fine di sopperire a queste mancanze. 

Il nuovo complesso aperto a ottobre 2018, rivoluzionerà completamente il sistema mercato, a partire dal tipo d’impianto, uno dei primi esempi di un edificio mercatale multipiano; la nuova architettura moderna, molto lontana da quella tradizionale, è suddivisa in 4 edifici, due dei quali dedicati al prodotto ittico, uno ai prodotti ortofrutta-colo e uno alla parte amministrativa; basati su un tipo di flussi prettamente verticali,
lop in height on several floors with different areas dedicated to specific operations; the four structures are connected by a system of raised walkways at the centre of which is located the Shijo-may stop that provides direct access to the city transport, a solution designed to facilitate the connection between different buildings as they are located in three distinct lots separated by the intersection of two streets, where one of them is part of the Ring Road n2. Unlike its predecessor, the space of the auction is separated from the wholesale space, a solution that allows to improve the insulation of the rooms from the outside, allowing the maintenance of the internal temperature and preserving the quality of the product; the facility has been integrated with a sanitizing system and an area dedicated to the packaging of the final product; the areas dedicated to stores and restaurants are no longer outdoors but are spread throughout the complex, for a total of about 490 activities who accused the TMG of deliberately doing so supported by the consumer representatives who expressed contrasting opinions, among those who said they were satisfied with the structure of the new market and were enthusiastic about being the first to work within it, to those who instead pointed out the various problems of the new structure and raised concerns about the issues related to soil contamination, stating that in their opinion it had not been fully solved, statements supported by the consumer representations who accused the TMG of deliberately having hidden the information regarding the healthiness of the site, to speed up the transfer of products only to those with special permission, thus eliminating retail sales and it is to this radical change that is attributed the blame for the further decline in purchases that Toyosu has recorded in the first two months of 2019. The transfer of the market generated an internal division among the workers, who immediately expressed contrasting opinions, among those who said they were satisfied with the overall vicoli di Tsukiji. Oltre alle caratteristiche intrinseche alla struttura cambiano anche l’approccio al turista e al committente; Toyosu infatti è progettato in modo che i percorsi dei visitatori e degli operatori del mercato non si incrocino, obbligando a chi si reca nella struttura ad assistere da dietro un vetro all’interno di una galleria poste in alto sopra una delle sale, inoltre è consentito l’acquisto dei prodotti solo ai soggetti muniti di apposito permesso eliminando così la vendita al dettaglio ed è a questo radicale cambiamento che viene attribuita la colpa dell’ulteriore calo degli acquisti che Toyosu ha registrato nel primo bimestre del 2019. Il trasferimento del mercato ha generato una divisione interna tra i lavoratori, che fin da subito espressero opinioni contrastanti, tra chi affermava di essere rimasto soddisfatto della struttura del nuovo mercato, ed era entusiasta nell’essere tra i primi a lavorarci dentro, a chi invece sottolineava le varie problematiche della nuova struttura e muoveva preoccupazioni per le questioni legate alla contaminazione del suolo, dichiarando che secondo loro non era stata del tutto risolta, affermazioni supportate dai rappresentanti dei consumatori.
construction process; Besides, several design defects were reported, starting with the frequently clogged collection drains, the undersized loading and unloading space, which also already had cracks due to the collapse of the slab, the size of the new stalls that did not allow the smooth running of the normal activities, the strong smell of ammonia in the water of the system, the lighting equipment in the halls of the auction and the presence of moisture inside some of the rooms, a condition that could affect the quality of the product causing the development of mold. In addition to these observations, there were two other issues, the first was related to the poor supply and high cost of parking in the area, the second was related to connections to the market; with
the Ring Road 2 incomplete and only one metro line, the time to reach the site increased significantly, alerting many wholesalers and traders concerned about a further decline of attendance due to the uncomfortable location; several customers already announced before the relocation that they would probably change suppliers, moving to more convenient points to reach.

"Tsukiji is the physical demonstration of how trade, and more generally the economy, is defined by social and cultural processes."  
T.C. Bestor

"Tsukiji è la dimostrazione fisica di come il commercio, e più in generale l’economia, è definita dai processi sociali e culturali"  
T.C. Bestor

**FIGURE 71-72.**
(Left) the centre of the walkway system that connects all the buildings of Toyosu.  
(Right) The stop of the new monorail of Shijo-Mae.
Way before the relocation, the TMG bought Tsukiji’s estate from the general account of the wholesale markets; this operation decreed the impossibility of establishing a market structure on the area again, paving the way for a flexible development on the site and accelerating the future intervention process. On July 13th 2018 the Organizing Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games of Tokyo (TOCOG), opened two calls for tenders, the first for the demolition of the structures on the area and the second for the preliminary design of the transport depot. One month later, on 13th August, with an offer of 26,179,200 yen, Sho-Sekkei Corp. won the tender with the contract starting from 14th December 2018. The operation involved the removal

Molto prima della delocalizzazione, il TMG acquistò la proprietà di Tsukiji dal conto generale dei mercati all’ingrosso; con questa manovra si decretava l’impossibilità d’istituire nuovamente sull’area una struttura mercatale aprendo la strada a uno sviluppo flessibile sul sito e accelerando il futuro processo d’intervento. Il 13 luglio 2018 il Comitato Organizzatore dei Giochi Olimpici e Paralimpici di Tokyo (TOCOG), aprì due bandi, il primo per la demolizione delle strutture presenti sull’area mentre il secondo per il progetto preliminare del deposito di trasporto. Un mese più tardi, il 13 agosto con un’offerta di 26.179.200 di yen, la Sho-Sekkei Corp., si aggiudicò la gara d’appalto con stipula del contratto a partire dal 14 dicembre 2018. L’operazione prevedeva l’abbattimento di
of a large part of the 164 buildings in the Tsukiji site to adjust the area for the transport hub; however, measurements taken before the demolition, revealed that 55 buildings were contaminated with asbestos and therefore precautionary measures had to be taken to prevent the spread of dust during the demolition works. However, as often happens in Japan, the organising body omitted some information regarding the number of companies that took part in the competition, and did not prepare the call for tenders in English, despite the call was open to an international audience. Besides, some violations of World Trade Organisation (WTO) rules were detected, there is the suspicion that the procedure for defining the bid of the former market was not conducted correctly by the international rules on public procurement. This is quite a common phenomenon in Japan, involving several projects in the city and the country; the tender for Toyosu’s, was also under investigation as the prices were intentionally increased before the winning bid was chosen.

“Queste situazioni mettono in luce una problematica che persiste esibendo difetti sistemici negli appalti pubblici delle opere pubbliche, in cui un piccolo gruppo di grandi imprese edili nazionali riesce a far salire i prezzi in consultazioni dirette con gli enti aggiudicatori, rinunciando efficacemente l’aspetto competitivo degli appalti pubblici.”

(EU-Japan Centre for industrial Cooperation 2019)

Una volta completato il passaggio presso la nuova struttura mercatale, l’area di Tsukiji venne recintata con degli alti pannelli bianchi dando il via alla demolizione di alcune delle vecchie strutture parassita – retaggio della fallimentare ristrutturazione degli anni novanta – e vennero messi in sicurezza tutti gli edifici contaminati dall’amianto; in totale l’intervento di rimozione del vecchio impianto e la costruzione dell’hub dei mezzi olimpici avrebbe richiesto un anno e mezzo di tempo. Nei mesi successivi all’uscita del bando per la demolizione del sito ex sito mercatale, il Governatore Koike rassicurò sempre la cittadinanza affermando che “La politica di base dell’utilizzo sia di Toyosu che di Tsukiji non è cambiata”. A gennaio 2019, venne pubblicato il nuovo piano e fu finalmente chiaro che la riqualificazione di Tsukiji non avrebbe più istituito né un mercato all’ingrosso né un distretto del cibo; al contrario il TMG optò per una strategia completamente diversa da quella presentata a giugno 2017; questo procurò al governo forte critiche da parte dell’assemblea e dalla cittadinanza, accusandola di non essere stata in grado di gestire opportunamente la questione, al grido di “cambio di politica” e “avevano promesso”. La politica di genna-

FIGURE 75-77. Pictures show the Tsukiji’s 3 main gates fenced with tall white panels

FIGURE 78. The demolitions seen from the route of the Ring Road n.2.
that the redevelopment of Tsukiji would no longer establish nor a wholesale market nor a food district; on contrary, the TMG opted for a strategy completely different from the one presented in June 2017; this led to strong criticism against the governor from the Assembly and the citizens, accusing her of being unable to handle properly the issue, to the cry of "change of policy" and "they had promised". The policy of January on the use of the market site was finalized and approved at the end of March 2019, to allow the TMG to collect data regarding the public opinion; from that moment the demolitions process intensified.

"I want to look to the future and draw from the potential of the private sector.”

Yuriko Koike

Despite the government's recognition of Tsukiji’s importance and immaterial value, the conditions of the structure and the critical state of the market accounts, contrasted with the prospect of a secure profit; a restructuring such as the one undertaken in the 1990s would have made the financial situation even worse, without considering the operating losses resulting from the time which the area would leave unused; all these factors led to the administration with no choice except to tear down the market and aim for a profitable intervention. In the early 2000s, Bestor wrote "The cynical but realistic view of Tsukiji regulars is that in the greater scheme of things, the TMG’s efforts to relocate the marketplace to Toyosu are motivated more by the bottom-line reality of the revenue to be gained by redeveloping the Tsukiji site into something like the Shiodome project and less by deep concerns about..."
how to improve the inner workings of the marketplace itself. Of course, TMG officials would argue that both are important (and legitimate) concerns. Now, in 2003, TMG officials forecast that the new market at Toyosu will open sometime between 2012 and 2016, but there are, of course, many uncertainties along the way” (T.C. Bestor 2004, p.304), a statement that sixteen years later resounds as a prophecy.

A few years before the relocation, concerns were expressed about the future of what the operators of the sector defined as the outer market (jogai shijo); this place was the result of a spontaneous aggregation of activities among the narrow streets just outside the gates of Tsukiji, which in 2018 reached over four hundred small businesses. The distinction between these two realities was not limited to the spatial one; the external market was public and focused on retail, on the opposite Tsukiji was mainly addressed to the wholesale trade and consequently regulated by market laws and subject to the constant supervision of MAFF and TMG; a peculiarity of the internal market was that originally was designed to address only to the practitioners of the sector, but a cultural change caused the system to adapt also to the retail trade. Before the relocation, the Tsukiji Commercial District Promotion Association started a campaign, promoting the neighbourhood by organizing events and displaying posters around the city, the aim was to encourage buyers to keep going into the area even after the market had moved; in the footsteps of this initiative, on November 19th, 2016, over a parking space outside the building, the Tsukiji Fish Bank was opened, a project born with the intent of continuing the tradition of Tsukiji, providing a service on the site through spaces dedicated to shopping and food consumption. The facility was designed for a smaller client base and as an alternative for
all those small businesses, which otherwise would not have been able to supply themselves, due to Toyosu’s new purchasing policies. The new structure, divided into two separate three-storey buildings connected by a walkway; it was strongly criticized on an aesthetic point of view for its highly modern design, far from the traditional forms that characterized Tsukiji. Populated after the move by about sixty wholesalers that refused to move to Toyosu; it is still operating alongside the urban void left by the market.

The Chuo’s administration, like many of the internal and external market workers, has always expressed their opposition to the relocation of Tsukiji, worried about the consequences that the move would have on the district, in terms of income and tourism. Over the years, several demonstrations against the relocation took place, which intensified in the last months of the market activity; in September 2018, about 300 people, including traders, workers and market members, gathered and held a peaceful protest outside the main gate of Tsukiji; the same month, in an attempt to block the relocation, 56 wholesalers submitted an injunction action to the Tokyo District Court against the government. On October 11th 2018, the access to Tsukiji was forbidden - except for the demolitions staff - and the last wholesalers, as well as many historical companies of the external market, moved to the new place, causing a depopulation of the characteristic area; as many instead chose to remain to keep the outer market alive, opening even new shops. The district of Chuo had just lost one of its main sources of income as well as a tourist destination capable of attracting millions of tourists every year; in the first months the market did not seem to suffer for the loss, but settore, tuttavia un cambiamento culturale fece sì che il sistema si adattasse anche alla vendita al dettaglio.

Prima del trasferimento, l’associazione di promozione del distretto commerciale di Tsukiji, avviò una campagna di promozione del quartiere attraverso l’organizzazione di eventi e l’affissione di manifesti per la città, lo scopo era d’incoraggiare gli acquirenti a continuare a venire nell’area anche dopo che il mercato si fosse spostato; sulle orme di questa iniziativa il 19 novembre 2016, su di uno spazio adibito a parcheggio all’esterno del complesso, venne inaugurata la Tsukiji Fish Bank un progetto nato con l’intento di portare avanti la tradizione di Tsukiji, fornendo un servizio continuato sull’area attraverso spazi dedicati allo shopping e al consumo alimentare. Il complesso venne pensato per una clientela di portata più piccola e ponendosi come un’alternativa per tutte quelle piccole attività, che in seguito alle nuove regolamentazioni di Toyosu sugli acquisti, non avrebbero altrimenti potuto più rifornirsi. La nuova struttura, divisa in due distinti edifici di tre piani collegati solo da una passerella, venne fortemente criticiata sul piano estetico per il suo design altamente moderno e lontano dalle forme della tradizione che caratterizzavano Tsukiji. Popolata dopo il trasferimento da circa una sessantina di grossisti che si rifiutarono di effettuare il passaggio a Toyosu, è tuttora in attività accanto al vuoto urbano lasciato dal mercato.

L’amministrazione di Chuo, come molti dei lavoratori del mercato interno ed esterno, si pronunciaron sempre contrari alla delocalizzazione di Tsukiji, preoccupati delle ricadute che il trasferimento avrebbe comportato sul quartiere sia a livello economico che a livello turistico. Negli anni si susseguirono
over time the rumours of the closure of the historical market spread and the flow of visitors gradually began to decline as well as the sales; today the problem is still ongoing but despite this attracts thousands of tourists, even if it is expected a further decline in the long term. The day after the opening of Toyosu, another large demonstration took place in front of the main gate of the Tsukiji market; the crowd formed by dozens of traders, journalists, etc., gathered and then broke into the building site and stopped the operators who were working, requiring the involvement of the police that restored the situation by taking the demonstrators out.

In a last desperate attempt a few days later, hundreds of the workers from the marketplace joined the union members in a march through the centre of Tokyo.

“At Tsukiji, the inner and outer markets complete each other... the relocation of the inner market to Toyosu has divided the two forever.”

Akio Suzuki

The effects of the Tsukiji relocation were not limited exclusively to the area of Chuo; the extra costs sustained for the transfers weighed heavily on the town markets budget while the continuous delays of the transfer caused a domino effect that involved others operations within the town. One of the projects most affected by the continuous postponements was the Ring Road n.2 building site, the new highway designed to improve the accessibility between the centre of Tokyo and the coastal area; the road was supposed to pass below the area where the Tsukiji market was located and be completed before the games of Tokyo 2020, but

Gli effetti del trasferimento di Tsukiji non si limitarono esclusivamente all’area di Chuo; gli extra costi sostenuti per le bonifiche andarono a pesare gravemente sul conto dei mercati cittadini mentre i continui ritardi nella delocalizzazione causarono un effetto domino che coinvolse altri interventi all’interno della città. Uno dei progetti più colpiti
the delays in the relocation and the complexity of the methodologies applied for its construction\(^6\), would have taken at least three more years, forcing the Tokyo administration to open at first a temporary segment that would bypass the building site and then, on an exceptional basis - once the area was cleared - build the route on the surface, a temporary solution but which would have ensured an easy access to the bay but most of all to the Toyosu market and the Tokyo 2020 games facilities.

FIGURE 99.
The technical drawing shows the track of Ring Road n.2 and the buildings that would have been involved in its construction if Tsukiji had not been demolished.

FIGURE 100-103.
(Top left) Work in progress for Ring Road n.2; (Top right) Plan of the route on the site; (Beneath left) Picture taken on the new bridge of the Ring Road n.2 that connects Tsukiji with Toyosu; (Beneath Right) Sections of the route.
The city of Tokyo is going through a period of strong change; started with the elaboration of an urban development plan in 2001, the policy has been adjusted several times over the years to reflect the circumstances of the city; within the basic concept of this vision the city aims to drive urban planning forward not only to improve international competitiveness but also to give more importance to the perspectives of the environment, greenery and urban landscape; to achieve this, six goals and seven strategies have been established. After the nuclear accident in Fukushima in March 2011, Tokyo, like other cities, has increased the number of “SMART” projects, promoting targets such as safety and energy efficiency, which are accelerating the development process, which is intensifying, according to the IOC, also due to the advent of the Olympics, leading to the inclusion

La città di Tokyo sta attraversando un periodo di forte cambiamento; iniziato con la formulazione di un piano per lo sviluppo urbano nel 2001, la politica ha successivamente subito diversi aggiustamenti negli anni al fine di riflettere le circostanze che interessavano la città; nell’ambito del concetto di base di questa visione la città mira a far progredire la pianificazione urbana non solo per rafforzare la competitività internazionale ma anche per dare maggiore importanza alle prospettive dell’ambiente, del verde e del paesaggio urbano; a questo scopo sono stati stabiliti sei obiettivi e sette strategie. In seguito alla catastrophe nucleare di Fukushima avvenuta nel marzo 2011, Tokyo come altre città, ha incrementato il numero di progetti “SMART”, promuovendo obiettivi come la sicurezza e l’efficienza energetica che stanno accelerando il processo di sviluppo, che secondo il CIO

3.1 Urban dynamics
3.1 Dinamiche urbane

plans and projects for the city
piani e progetti per la città
FIGURE 104. Tokyo’s prefecture internal division.
of activities that focus on themes such as sport, culture and sustainability, reflecting a long-term vision that will be part of the legacy of these games. Japan has a very heterogeneous urban fabric, a condition particularly evident in large urban centres where it is common to see the contrast of buildings of all kinds, sometimes neglected and built with cheap materials, in a total absence of formal and material continuity with the neighbours, where alignments are lost within what can be defined as a logical chaos; this condition is the result of a lack of proper planning rules that are compensated by national regulations that once applied by local governments take on the value of guidelines. In Tokyo’s case, the layout of the city has been influenced by the presence of markets to the point that they have shaped the urban mobility of the city to ensure the smooth movement of goods; a choice that translated into a planning problem, when in the 1970s the massive infrastructural development along the coastal area drastically changed the profile of the bay and the expansion of the city towards the coast and progressively absorbed Tsukiji within the intricate urban fabric, which had such a negative impact on logistics and space requirements, becoming one of the main causes of the relocation in 2018 at the new Toyosu market in Koto district. Market structures tend to be the reason behind the unusual positioning in suburban areas, where the interaction between food, architecture, infrastructure and the city is generally neglected (Alice Covatta). The delocalization of the market has been one of the most radical changes that the urban system of Tokyo has seen in recent years; a choice motivated by multiple reasons that have required to the Chuo administration to prepare, as a preventive measure, a new district plan for the future scenario - the former market site refers to a different plan policy - to compensate the loss of the market, that had influenced over the years the district development, to the point of being recognized as the centre for food culture and wholesale processing. The policy aims
FIGURE 107. The footprint of the Tsukiji market, inside Chuo’s special district.

FIGURE 108. The footprint of the Toyosu market, inside Koto’s special district.
to promote the improvement of the living environment and the enhancement of the touristic services, taking into account the regional and national characteristics of the area, to strengthen the international competitiveness of the neighbourhood and the city.

"Tsukiji was the example that underlined the strength and legacy of this space system in contrast with the capitalistic development of the bay." Alice Covatta

The city has also provided a plan for the improvement of the underground and the development of the transport infrastructures in general, to enhance local mobility and cooperation between the coastal area and the city centre; these will include the naval transport network and the Ring Road n2, both of which will help the city’s mobility during the Tokyo 2020 Games, since many of the Olympic facilities will be located within the bay area, thus helping to relieve the pressure on car traffic, the overcrowding of subway lines during peak hours and acting as a pleasant alternative to traditional travel methods; currently, regarding maritime mobility, the government is taking measures to expand the fleet and routes. This policy is part of a wider phenomenon that has affected the city in recent years, namely the vision of Tokyo as a city of water, a project that attempts to enhance the waterways and the elements connected to it, in a sort of re-evocation of the natural element, that was extremely important for Edo as well as the infrastructural base. This is not the first time that the city tries to promote this initiative; in the seventies, an attempt was made to recover some warehouses near the canals that had lost their utility over time, remaining vacant, by inserting new functions within them, on this wave also the metropolitan government of Tokyo tried to stimulate coastal development by sensitizing the population with urban exhibitions,

La città inoltre ha previsto un piano per il rafforzamento della metropolitana e lo sviluppo delle infrastrutture di trasporto in generale, al fine di migliorare la migrazione locale e la cooperazione tra l’area costiera e quella del centro cittadino; tra queste rientra la rete di trasporto navale e la Ring Road n2, entrambe aiuteranno la mobilità cittadina durante i giochi di Tokyo 2020, in quanto molte delle strutture olímpiche si troveranno all’interno della zona della baia,
but the advent of the bubble in the eighties and the changes in the goods circulation system, led to the demolition of these buildings, to construct skyscrapers and offices with a privileged view on the waterways; at the same time, many canals were covered, and the water city gradually disappear. With this new policy, the government aims to transform the waterfront into one of the city’s major attractions, also to improve the tourist infrastructure and the enhancement of the coastal area; this initiative in recent years has encouraged several municipalities to collaborate with the city administration, which, in addition to the recovery of the river transport, focuses on the repopulation of the banks to generate new vitality near the docks, improving signage and indications to simplify access to the maritime stations; according to this plan, Tsukiji’s future project will include a docking quay and a series of strategies concerning the Waterside pedestrian network to make the embankments and dams of the bay a “fun” system.

“Evolve into an ecologically advanced city with charm and vitality that will serve as a model for the world.”
(Bureau of Urban Development)
3.2 New types of tourism
3.2 Nuove forme di turismo

In recent years Japan has seen a significant increase of tourism, with a record of 28.6 million visitors in 2018; although the growth of tourism has continued to increase since the 1980s, it was only in the early 2000s that the country started to boost this sector through plans and policies for improving it. The Japanese government currently expects 40 million visitors for the Olympic Games in Tokyo and has set the goal of achieving 60 million people by 2030; the only way the country has to obtain this number is to make investments in new forms of tourism, therefore in recent years the nation has shown particular interest in tourism related to the integrated resorts and congressional tourism. But what exactly are these? The IRs are an attempt to provide a well-planned and controlled product, to promote the tourism industry and the economy of the country; what they do is to market modern entertainment by offering a combined development of functions such as hotels, casinos, thematic parks, convention centres and shopping areas. Since 1999, integrated resorts have grown significantly in South East Asia; viewed as an opportunity, by governments, to increase attractiveness through the diversification of the touristic product, over the years these facilities have had a significant socio-economic impact in the countries that encouraged their development; in Singapore, they completely revitalized the tourism sector; in Malaysia, it is estimated that fifteen per cent of the country’s tourism comes from resorts; in Macao, over the years, have set an environment where tourism investments related to casinos have attracted the leaders of the sector, experiencing an unexpected economic success. A large part of the incomes derived from the casino business, which, contrary to what one might think, is limited to only a small portion of the intervention and this alone can generate half of the revenue. Negli ultimi anni il Giappone ha registrato un aumento dei flussi turistici arrivando a toccare nel 2018 la soglia record di 28,6 milioni di persone; nonostante il turismo sia in crescita dagli anni ottanta, solo nei primi anni 2000 la nazione ha iniziato a promuovere questo settore attraverso piani e politiche di sviluppo. Attualmente il governo giapponese prevede 40 milioni di visitatori per i Giochi Olimpici di Tokyo e si è posto l’obiettivo di raggiungere per il 2030 la quota di 60 milioni di persone; l’unico modo che il paese ha per ottenere tale cifra è quello di investire in nuove forme di turismo, pertanto negli ultimi anni ha mostrato particolare interesse per il turismo connesso ai resort integrati e al turismo congressuale. Ma cosa sono esattamente? Gli IR sono un tentativo di fornire un prodotto attentamente pianificato e controllato, con l’obiettivo di promuovere l’industria turistica e l’economia del paese; quello che fanno è commercializzeranno l’intrattenimento moderno offrendo uno sviluppo misto di funzioni come hotel, casinò, parchi a tema, centri congressi e aree commerciali. Dal 1999 i resort integrati sono cresciuti in modo significativo nell’area del sud-est asiatico; visti dai governi come un’opportunità per aumentare l’attrattività attraverso la diversificazione del prodotto turistico, negli anni queste strutture hanno avuto un impatto socio-economico non indifferente nei paesi che ne hanno incoraggiato lo sviluppo; a Singapore hanno completato rivitalizzato il settore turistico; in Malesia si stima che il quindici per cento del turismo del paese derivi dai resort; a Macao negli anni è venuto a crearsi un ambiente in cui gli investimenti turistici legati ai casinò hanno attirato i leader del settore, sperimentando un successo economico senza precedenti. Gran parte dell’indotto deriva dalla componente casinò, che al contrario di quanto si possa pensare è circoscritta

Figure 116.
Tourism flows in Japan and provenience; The increase in tourism occurred in coincidence with the economic growth that the country went through in the 80s, making the Japanese culture and cuisine known around the world.
FIGURE 117. Three models of integrated resorts in the worldwide.

- **VENETIAN MACAO**
  - Opening: April 2012
  - Surface: 150,000 m²
  - Employees: 6,307 persons
  - Investment: 3.6 billion USD
  - Annual Income: 6.7 billion USD

- **VENETIAN**
  - Opening: December 2007
  - Surface: 250,000 m²
  - Employees: 8,600 persons
  - Investment: 3.4 billion USD
  - Annual Income: 1.5 billion USD

- **MARINA BAY SANDS**
  - Opening: December 2007
  - Surface: 190,000 m²
  - Employees: 4,500 persons
  - Investment: 4.4 billion USD
  - Annual Income: 2.7 billion USD

Legend:
- Percentage of income from Casino
- Percentage of income from other services
venues of the complex; given their annual turnover of several billion, these structures contribute to the growth of the country’s GDP. Another of the successful aspects of the IR, is the range of services offered that manages to meet the needs of a wide variety of audiences, to cite two examples, Resorts World addresses more to a family audience, offering attractions such as theme parks and aquariums, whereas Marina Bay Sands is focused on business tourism, providing conference spaces and commercial area; both complexes are located within the city-state of Singapore and host an area dedicated to the casino. The phenomenon of IR tourism has also been followed by the growth of MICE tourism, a travel initiative that allows entrepreneurs and companies to participate in events such as congresses and trade fairs in various cities around the world; the underlying objective is to open to new markets or to consolidate the existing ones. These initiatives, as mentioned above, are taking place in various parts of the world, recording significant gains in the cities and urban centres that have equipped themselves to host them; thanks to this phenomenon, some localities, such as the maritime ones, have managed to desenioralizing tourism. For a destination to be considered in conformity to the MICE, the facilities must satisfy several pre-established requirements; first of all, services and spaces such as conference rooms, meeting rooms, accommodation facilities, etc. must be guaranteed; every space must be accessible and usable by everyone; equipment such as lights, audio systems and screens must be available; the quality of the product offered must be extremely high. To understand why many cities are investing in this kind of initiative, it is necessary to think that a single MICE event, just for the organization, involves hundreds of different sector experts and companies including tour operators, accommodation facilities, press offices, web marketing companies, web designers, etc. The leverage effect of these new touristic products and services is capable of generating thousands of new jobs and positive effects in the realities in which they are inserted, as the earnings and profits are not limited to the interventions but are also distributed within the country through the use of local services such as tours, hotels and restaurants. Due to the results obtained by realities such as Macao and Singapore, where these activities have been able to attract more than ten million visitors annually; in June 2018, the Japanese government approved a bill to regulate the gambling, in the same month a second law defined the requirements for the establishment of IRs in three cities of the country, allowing for a review of the number after seven years from the issuance of the first license; during the same period, a call for tenders was also opened for the promotion of spaces related to MICE tourism initiatives. Japan wants to exploit these initiatives to increase further the country’s tourism, acquiring a portion of entertainment that does not currently have, but above all, wants to invest in international interventions to keep the country competitive at a global level. Following the approval of these laws, the magnates of the game immediately showed great interest, seeing in Japan the possibility for the creation of the second-largest gambling market in the world with an estimated value of about 21.7 billion dollars, about half of Macao’s annual revenue but 5 billion dollars more than the earnings of Las Vegas. Experts af-
firmed that IR would be able to revitalise rural areas less exposed to touristic flows by creating jobs and boosting the local economy, in a period where many areas are facing depopulation; at the same time, however, the same experts agreed that the maximum profit of these structures will be obtained only if they are located within - or near - the main cities of the country, as the large urban centres have a rich offer of entertainment and, above all, appropriate infrastructure, so Tokyo, like many other Japanese localities\(^2\), has applied.

IR represents a safe and profitable investment, but some considerations must be made in this regard; unlike Japan, realities such as Singapore and Macao have focussed on integrated resorts since they do not have cultural heritage or natural advantages, so they are forced to capitalise on international interventions in an attempt to attract as many investors and tourists as possible, to remain at the forefront in the global economy; it should also be kept in mind that these facilities host a casino, so they must be properly managed and controlled to avoid negative outcomes related to gambling in the local population. In particular, on this point, the debate has arisen among the population; concerned\(^3\) about the possibility of seeing the country become an international gambling destination and not at all reassured by the positivistic vision of the government and experts. The administration, in response to the fears, affirmed that the operators consulted had a long experience in the promotion of responsible and socially sustainable gaming, besides being taken as reference the Singapore model\(^4\), i.e. a system that pays great attention to the issue of social safeguards, through periodic checks and policies to di-

con un valore stimato di circa 21,7 miliardi di dollari, circa la metà delle entrate annuali di Macao\(^1\), ma 5 miliardi di dollari in più rispetto ai guadagni di Las Vegas. Gli esperti affermano che gli IR possono rivitalizzare le aree rurali meno soggette ai flussi turistici creando occupazione e facendo ripartire l’economia locale in un momento in cui molte aree stanno affrontando casi di spopolamento; allo stesso tempo però, gli stessi esperti, convengono sul fatto che il massimo profitto di queste strutture si otterrà solo se collocati all’interno – o nelle vicinanze – delle principali città del paese, in quanto i grandi centri urbani dispongono di un’offerta variegata d’intrattenimento e soprattutto delle infrastrutture appropriate, pertanto Tokyo come tante altre località\(^2\) giapponesi si è candidato. Fondamentalmente gli IR rappresentano un investimento sicuro e redditizio ma e d’obbligo fare alcune considerazioni a riguardo; a differenza del Giappone, realtà come Singapore e Macao hanno puntato sui resort integrati in quanto non possono sfruttare eredità culturali o vantaggi naturali, pertanto sono costrette a capitalizzare interventi internazionali nel tentativo di attrarre il maggior numero possibile di investitori e turisti, in modo da rimanere all’avanguardia nell’economia globale; bisogna ricordare anche che queste strutture ospitano al loro interno un casinò, perciò vanno adeguatamente gestite e controllate per evitare ricadute negative connesse al gioco nella popolazione locale. In particolare su questo punto, si è aperto il dibattito nella popolazione; preoccupata\(^3\) dalla possibilità di vedere il paese trasformarsi in una meta internazionale per il gioco d’azzardo e per nulla rassicurata dalla visione positivistica del governo e degli esperti. L’ammini-

sincentivise gaming by imposing taxes and limits on access\(^2\). In support of this initiative, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe also took over the debate, highlighting that the casino legislation was the key to his strategy for the country’s growth.

“...The integrated resorts will create new employment and culture, enhancing Japan’s international competitiveness.”

Shinzo Abe

Regarding Tokyo, in August 2014, there were some rumours about the idea of Tsukiji-Casino; after the assembly of the Chuo Ward, Shigeru Ito declared that one of the ways to keep the city of Tokyo internationally competitive was through investments and developments based on business concept, and by taking the example of the establishment of an IR on the Tsukiji area once it would cease its function. This option was supported in the following days by Bloomberg magazine, which wrote about an alleged visit of James Murren\(^2\) at the site of the market, although the previous governor as well as later Koike, refused to make declarations about the issue of integrated resorts in Tokyo, even if some strazione in risposta ai timori, affermò che gli operatori interpellati possedevano una lunga esperienza nella promozione del gioco responsabile e socialmente sostenibile, in più era stato preso come riferimento il modello di Singapore\(^4\), ovvero un sistema che pone grande attenzione al tema delle salvaguardie sociali, mediante controlli periodici e politiche per disincentivare il gioco che impongono tassazioni e limiti sugli accessi\(^2\). A sostegno di tale iniziativa, subentrò nel dibattito anche il primo ministro Shinzo Abe, sottolineando che la legislazione riguardante i casinò era la chiave della sua strategia di crescita del paese.

“I resort integrati creeranno nuova occupazione e cultura, rafforzando il potere competitivo internazionale del Giappone”

Shinzo Abe

Per quanto riguarda Tokyo, nell’agosto 2014 girarono alcune indiscrezioni sull’idea di Tsukiji-Casino; in seguito all’assemblea del rione di Chuo, Shigeru Ito, dichiarò che uno dei modi per mantenere la città di Tokyo competitiva a livello internazionale, era attraverso investimenti e sviluppi basati sul concetto di business, e portando l’esempio dell’istituzione di un IR sull’area
reports about alleged expenses\textsuperscript{77} that the city had incurred for researches about the topic and casinos in general, appeared in the city ledger. In 2018 with the release of the ordinance that defined the requirements of the resorts, the Tsukiji area was an excellent candidate for Tokyo, and in March 2019 the government cleared all doubts by affirming that the IR requirements were perfectly suitable for the lot.

3.3 Crisis of the fisheries industry

3.3 La crisi del settore ittico

Japan is the world's largest consumer of fish and has the biggest fisheries industry in terms of volume and diversity of product (FAOSTAT 2018), involving thousands of intermediaries and distributors around all over the world every year. Over the centuries, markets have responded promptly to the growing demand of fresh food and the rapidly shifting of the social environment in Japan, ensuring a regular distribution and stable supply of products indispensable for the daily life of its residents, within a context where fish is one of the basic elements of the cuisine and one of the fundamental pieces of the country's cultural identity. Tokyo has always been the spearhead of this sector due to its eleven markets; they are owned by the local governments which can decide the establishment, however, I respond to the regulations of the wholesale markets, which protect and guarantee the distribution helping to improve it; they also have an independent financial statement from the general account of the city which is covered by the user fees paid by the contractor, through a system of royalties\textsuperscript{78}. In the early 21st century\textsuperscript{79}, with a volume of 628 thousand tons and an annual revenue of 5.7 billion dollars, Tokyo's markets were an indicator of the wealth and financial stability of the city and the country; in recent decades, however, Japanese markets have experienced a period of deep crisis linked to a progressive decrease in demand for fresh food; this trend can be attributed to several factors but the most incisive are certainly the change in dietary habits, the demographic decline, the ageing of the population and the changes of the distribution chain\textsuperscript{80} with the advent of large-scale retailers such as supermarkets; to give an idea, the volume of fresh food linked to the fisheries sector, managed through wholesale markets at the national level, in 2013 decreased by 20.5 percentage points from 74.6% to 54.1%, while in the case of fruit and vegetables marked a decrease of 22.7 percentage points from 82.7% to 60.0%, compared to the nineties. The progressive decline in demand contributed to aggravate a budgetary situation that was already weighed down by the investments that the market division made in the construction of new buildings and the improvement of existing ones, leading to a significant increase in administrative expenses, depreciation and interest on corporate bonds, which have had an impact on the balance sheet since 1987. In an attempt to reme-
The graph shows the national market trends over the last years; golden bars represent fruit and vegetable products, while blue bars represent fish products.

The graph shows the Tokyo’s market trends over the last years; the blue bars represent the trading volume revenues of all the eleven markets of Tokyo, while the red bars are the incidence of Tsukiji into the total.

The crisis, a review of rents and tax rates was carried out in April 2014, but the increase in costs due to delays of Toyosu’s relocation made this strategy marginal. The financial results at the end of 2017 showed that the operating deficit of the markets was 4.9 billion yen per year; this was an alarming sign, which forced the TMG to find a solution capable of relaunching market accounting, considering the idea of integrating new technologies to improve logistics efficiency and apply private management methods to facilities such as the integration of tourist attractions, to promote and enhance the culture and history of food. In the following months, the situation did not seem to get better, and in August 2018, the metropolitan government traced a second plan that envisaged an increase in the volume of trade to 620,000 tons, dato allarmante, che obbligò il TMG a trovare una soluzione capace di rilanciare la contabilità di mercato, valutando l’idea di integrare nuove tecnologie per migliorare l’efficienza logistica e applicare metodi di gestione privata alle strutture come l’inserimento di attrazioni turistiche, con lo scopo di promuovere ed esaltare la cultura e la storia del cibo. La situazione nei mesi a seguire non accennò a migliorare e nell’ago-
about 60% more than it had been planned to handle in the first five years of opening. In the first month of activity, Toyosu held the record in terms of trade volumes across the nation, but despite this, was recorded a drop of 2.4% compared to the same month of the previous year, when Tsukiji was still in business; in December 2019 - considered the busiest month for purchases of fish products - the trade volume collapsed by 10.1% compared to 2017. With the new year the situation did not seem to improve that much as in January there was a further drop of 4.4% compared to the previous year, while in February there was a drop of 7.2%; this situation forced the government to hold an extraordinary meeting on the 29th July 2019 with experts in food distribution, business management and finance, to improve the condition of the markets over the following years; many of the traders attribute the cause of this unexpected drop to the new Toyosu system which, unlike Tsukiji, has eliminated the retail sale, allowing only large wholesalers or companies to purchase.

sto 2018, il governo metropolitano tracciò un secondo piano che prevedeva l’aumento del volume degli scambi a 620,000 tonnellate, circa il 60% annuo in più rispetto a quanto si era previsto di gestire nei primi cinque anni di apertura. Nel primo mese di attività, Toyosu deteneva il primato dei volumi di scambio nella nazione, ma ciò nonostante, registrava un calo del 2,4% rispetto allo stesso mese dell’anno precedente, quando Tsukiji era ancora in attività; a dicembre 2019 – considerato il mese più movimentato per gli acquisti dei prodotti ittici – il volume di scambio subì un tracollo del 10,1% rispetto al 2017. Con il nuovo anno la situazione non sembrava migliorare tantoché a gennaio si segnò un ulteriore calo del 4,4 % rispetto all’anno precedente mentre a febbraio del 7,2%; questa situazione obbligò il governo a tenere una riunione straordinaria il 29 luglio 2019 con esperti di distribuzione alimentare, gestione aziendale e finanza per migliorare la condizione dei mercati negli anni a venire; molti dei commercianti attribuiscono la causa di questo calo inaspettato, al nuovo sistema di Toyosu che a differenza di Tsukiji, ha completamente eliminato la vendita al dettaglio, consentendo l’approvvigionamento solo ai grandi grossisti o alle aziende.
A NEW SCENARIO FOR TOKYO
UN NUOVO SCENARIO PER TOKYO

4.1 A high value property
4.1 Un proprietà di elevato pregio

The value of land in Japan is easily influenced by the social trends; in the past between the 1960s and 1970s, the Japanese economy was experiencing rapid growth, causing a significant rise of the value of properties and even more of the soil. Everything seemed to be going well, until, in the 1990s, the economic bubble that arose during the '80s blew up, causing a financial crisis. Characterized by a decade of poorly guaranteed bank loans and speculation in real estate and stocks, the bubble was identified only a few years later when it was too late; the effect was so significant that in the years ahead, market sales volumes were also affected by the economic recession. The resulting real estate crisis attracted many foreign financial funds - especially American ones - which acquired several buildings considered "non-value" within the country; this period of strong speculation lasted a few years.

Il valore dei terreni in Giappone è facilmente affetto dai trend sociali; in passato tra il 1960 e il 1970 l'economia giapponese venne interessata da una rapida crescita economica, causando un drastico aumento del valore degli immobili e ancora di più del suolo. Tutto sembrava procedere per il meglio, finché, nel 1990, la bolla economica venutasi a generare durante gli anni ottanta, scoppiò causando una crisi. Caratterizzata da un decennio di prestiti bancari scarsamente garantiti e speculazioni in ambito immobiliare e azionario, la bolla venne identificata solo a posteriori quando era ormai troppo tardi; l’effetto fu tale che negli anni a venire anche i volumi di vendita del mercato risentirono della recessione economica. La crisi immobiliare che ne derivò, attirò molti fondi finanziari stranieri – in particolare americani –, che acquistarono all’interno della nazione numerosi stabili considerati...
years and ended with the sale of the same properties for a price much higher than the purchase one; this was possible because foreign agencies had more sophisticated estimation methods than the Japanese ones, which only performed evaluations through market comparisons of similar goods; in essence, Westerners before and after, were able to produce evaluations coherent with the case and the circumstances, buying and selling at the right moment. This period will ormai “non value”; questo periodo di forte speculazione durò qualche anno e si concluse con la vendita degli stessi immobili a un prezzo molto più alto di quello d’acquisto; tutto ciò fu possibile in quanto le agenzie straniere disponevano di metodi di stima più sofisticati rispetto al sistema giapponese, che eseguiva le valutazioni solo attraverso delle comparazioni di mercato per beni simili; in sostanza gli occidentali, sia prima che dopo, riuscirono a produrre delle valutazioni coerenti al caso in esame e alla situazione in corso, comprando e rivendendo al momento giusto. Questo periodo rivoluzionò per sempre il sistema di valutazione del paese, portando all’introduzione delle metodologie e pratiche straniere come la cartolarizzazione immobiliare, il concetto del REIT (real estate investment trust) e il metodo DCF (discount cash flow method) ecc. Nella bozza presentata a gennaio dal govern.
will be a long-term leasing of the land, estimated around 50 years, the municipality bears the risk of a land depreciation as soon as the contract comes into effect, at the same time, since it is a rental contract, the freedom of the developers will be limited with the risk of discouraging potential bidders. The government currently expects to rent the property for 50 years at 16 billion yen per year (about 130 million euros) but given to the nature and the size of the site, there are no guarantees that the city will be able to achieve the desired value. Land prices and leases in the surrounding area, usually are taken as a reference for estimating the land value, but in this case, given the peculiarity of the intervention, the price will be determined by a negotiation between the lender - the metropolitan government of Tokyo - and the borrower - the private companies involved. The recruitment period of the companies will start in 2020 and will continue until 2022 so that the municipality has the opportunity to accurately evaluate all the proposals presented. In addition to the license fees, the activities that will be established will be subject to normal property taxes; however, there is the possibility that a PFI (private finance initiative) activity will be introduced, in this case, it will be exempt from taxation, but this is not yet clear.

no venne ufficializzata l’intenzione di dare il suolo in concessione al settore privato mantenendo dunque il diritto di proprietà sull’area, una scelta molto azzardata sotto diversi punti di vista; considerato che si tratterà di un leasing fondiario a lungo periodo intorno ai 50 anni, la municipalità incorrerà nel rischio di una svalutazione del terreno al decorrere del contratto, allo stesso tempo, essendo un contratto di locazione, si limita la libertà degli sviluppatori di usare il sito a piacimento incorrendo nel rischio di scoraggiare potenziali offerenti. Attualmente il governo ritiene di poter affittare la proprietà per 50 anni a 16 miliardi di yen all’anno (circa 130 milioni di euro) ma vista la natura e le dimensioni del lotto non si ha la garanzia che la città sarà in grado di ottenere il canone d’affitto sperato. Tendenzialmente per la stima del valore fondiario si prendono come riferimento i prezzi dei terreni e gli affitti dell’intorno ma in questo caso, vista la particolarità dell’intervento, il prezzo sarà determinato da una contrattazione tra il prestatore – il governo metropolitano di Tokyo – e il mutuatario – le imprese private interessate –. L’inizio del periodo di reclusione delle aziende avverrà a partire del 2020 e si protrarrà fino al 2022, affinché la municipalità possa valutare accuratamente tutte le ipotesi presentate. Oltre al canone di concessione, l’attività che andrà a insediarsi sarà soggetta alle norme imposte sulla proprietà; c’è comunque la possibilità che venga introdotta un’attività PFI (private finance initiative), in questo caso questa sarà esente dalle tassazioni, ma attualmente non è ancora chiaro questo aspetto.

4.2 The TMG’s new proposal

The central location and the proximity to natural resources such as the Sumida River and Hama Rikyu Gardens, make the Tsukiji site a privileged point within the city of Tokyo, attracting the attention of many enterprises and companies interested in the future development of the area. On January 31st, the new draft for the former market site was presented to the public; shaped around the revisions of casino policies and IR/MICE bids, the proposal aimed to create a business hub for the international affairs, to improve the international competitiveness of the city and the country, attracting new investors and tourists. With this change of policy the metropolitan government intends to exploit the full potential of the Tsukiji area to maximize revenues, such the idea of the food theme park wouldn’t have allowed the same impact in the incomes. The draft indicates a

La posizione centrale e la vicinanza a risorse naturali come il fiume Sumida e i giardini di Hama Rikyu rendono il sito di Tsukiji un punto privilegiato all’interno della città di Tokyo, attirando l’attenzione di molte imprese e aziende interessate a un possibile sviluppo dell’area. Il 31 gennaio venne presentata pubblicamente la nuova bozza per il sito dell’ex mercato; plasmata attorno alle revisioni delle politiche sui casinò e dei bandi IR e MICE, la proposta puntava alla realizzazione di un polo basato sugli scambi internazionali, al fine di migliorare la competitività internazionale della città e del paese, attirando nuovi investitori e turisti. Con questo cambio di politica il governo metropolitano punta a sfruttare a pieno il potenziale dell’area di Tsukiji per massimizzare le entrate, cosa che l’idea del parco a tema alimentare non avrebbe consentito o per lo meno non con questa preponderanza. All’in-

FIGURE 125-126.

(Left) The park and the urban metropolis.
(Right) Hama Rikyu garden from the 52nd floor of the Shiba-ri Shiodome.
division of the site into 4 sub-areas, each of them with a specific function and purpose to respond to a particular need - or lack of need - of the city; currently, the percentage of land assigned to each function has not yet been precisely defined, but the TMG has guided where it will be located, taking into account some criteria such as visual axes and accesses; the four sub-areas have been respectively named Waterfront production area, exchange and promotion area, hospitality area and gate area, the idea is to realize them in sequence to inaugurate the first one in 2028 and to finish the whole intervention by 2040.

The new plan for Tsukiji will go beyond the food theme park while respecting history and tradition.

Yuriko Koike

The Waterfront production area foresees the creation of a place surrounded by green spaces, squares and catering services, along the Sumida River; this sort of aquatic Promenade is part of the development policies of the seaside area of Tokyo, therefore it is a piece of a larger network of paths that aim to repopulate the shores and the docks. The Exchange and Production area shall be the largest area of the whole intervention, this one foresees the creation of a gathering and exchange structure for large-scale customers with also research and development structures; in case the city wins the tender, conclludere l’intero intervento entro il 2040.

Il nuovo piano per Tsukiji andrà oltre il parco a tema alimentare, rispettando comunque la storia e la tradizione

Yuriko Koike

La zona di Produzione della Riva, prevede la creazione di un water front circondato da verdi, spazi aperti e servizi di ristorazione, sul lato che confina con il fiume Sumida; questa sorta di Promenade acquea rientra nelle politiche di sviluppo dell’area costiera di Tokyo, pertanto si tratta di un frammento di un più grande circuito di percorsi che mirano a riopulare le rive e le banchine. La zona di Scambio e Produzione rappresenterà l’area più grande di tutto l’intervento, questa prevede la realizzazione di una stru-
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The following chapter wants to suggest what could be a hypothetical intervention that will take place in future on the Tsukiji site. The project is based on the governmental guidelines, contained in the draft of March 2019, and on the national initiatives and trends that have affected the city of Tokyo, described in the previous chapters. The area where the market was located has an area of about twenty-three hectares; the equivalent of the Japanese zoning plan specifies a commercial use with a building index of FAR = 500% - about 1.15 million m² - and a coverage ratio (BCR) of 80%. The site is classified as promotion area, this means that in addition to a FAR bonus, the area will not be restricted by the classic height constraints, as they were revoked in the 1970s, exclusively for this type of land. Concerning urbanization charges, will be discussed case-by-case, but, certainly, these will most likely be incorporated within the contractual terms of the planning in order also to obtain additional building bonuses, this security comes from the fact "Anything could work on that earth - apartments, offices, commercial space.

Through a 50-year land lease, the government will transfer the use of the site to a private developer starting from 2022 and will proceed to search for a possible contractor, only after the conclusion of the contract will proceed to search for a possible candidate to date, the most likely could be Nikken Sekkei, Mitsubishi Jisho or Nihon Sekkei.

Attraverso un leasing fondiario della durata di cinquant’anni, il governo cederà l’uso a uno sviluppatore privato a partire dal 2022 e procederà alla ricerca di un possibile appaltatore solo dopo la conclusione dei giochi di Tokyo 2020 e il completamento della Ring Road n.2; quel che è certo e che per un progetto di tale entità sarà richiesta la partecipazione di una grande azienda, pertanto anche se a oggi non ci sono indicazioni su di un eventuale candidato, le più probabili potrebbero essere la Nikken Sekkei, Mitusbish Jisho o la Nihon Sekkei.

"Qualunque cosa potrebbe funzionare su quella terra - condomini, uffici, spazi commerciali."

*Il capitolo che segue, vuole offrire una suggestione di quello che potrebbe essere un ipotetico intervento che andrà a insediarsi in futuro sull’area di Tsukiji. Il progetto si basa sulle linee guida governative indicate all’interno della bozza del marzo 2019 e sui fenomeni e le iniziative a livello nazionale che hanno coinvolto la città di Tokyo, descritte nei precedenti capitoli. L’area su cui insisteva il mercato presenta una superficie di circa ventitré ettari; l’equivalente del piano regolatore giapponese ne specifica una destinazione d’uso di tipo commerciale con un indice di edificabilità del (FAR) = 500% – circa 1.15 milioni di m² – e un rapporto di copertura (BCR) pari all’80%. Il sito è classificato come area di promozione, pertanto oltre a ottenere un bonus di tipo FAR, non è soggetto alle classiche limitazioni vigenti l’altezza, in quanto revocate negli anni 70, esclusivamente per questo tipo di aree. Per quanto riguarda gli oneri di urbanizzazione, verrà discusso caso per caso, ma è certo che questi verranno con molta probabilità..."
FIGURE 129.
The map shows the land use and the urban planning standards of the Tsukiji district.

FIGURE 130.
The map shows the different paths of the existing and future mobility system.
that the Japanese system does not provide the option to meet the charges through the payment of a fee, in any case currently the documentation refers only about primary urbanization facilities such as parks, indoor streets and squares.

incorporati all’interno dei termini contrattuali della pianificazione allo scopo anche di ottenere ulteriori bonus edificatori\textsuperscript{26}, questa sicurezza viene dal fatto che il sistema giapponese non prevede la possibilità di adempiere agli oneri mediante il pagamento di una tassa, in ogni caso attualmente nella documentazione si parla esclusivamente di opere di urbanizzazione primaria basati su servizi di base come parchi, strade interne e piazze.

FIGURE 131.

In the picture is possible to see the status of the demolition on the Tsukiji lot, it is also visible the arrangement of what will be the temporary runway of the Ring Road 2.

TSUKIJI 2.0
FUNCTIONAL AREAS

1 Gate Area
2 Exchange and Promotion Area
3 Waterfront Production Area
4 Hospitality Area
GATE AREA

TRANSPORTATION HUB

CENTRE FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT AND DISASTER PREVENTION.

HOTEL

EXCHANGE AND PROMOTION AREA

EVENT AND CONGRESS AREA

JAPANESE-STYLE GARDEN

RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT FACILITIES
FIGURE 132-140.
(Top left) Pioneer Plaza Ginza; (Top center) Apple Store in Ginza; (Top right) Bottega Veneta Store in Ginza; (Center left) Chanel Store in Ginza; (Center) Mikimoto Store in Ginza; (Center right) Hermes Store in Ginza; (Beneath left) Louis Vuitton Store in Ginza; (Center beneath) BOSS Store in Omotesando; (Beneath right) Prada Store in Omotesando.
HOSPITALITY AREA

A NEW SCENARIO FOR TOKYO

PROJECT VIEWS

THEATER AND CONFERENCE HALL

HIGH QUALITY HOTEL

MALL AND CASINO
Lack in Conservation or Economic Strategy?

Lacune in materia di conservazione o strategia economica?

The act of demolition is a common phenomenon in Japanese history that over time has assumed different meanings according to the circumstances and needs of the period; this practice is the consequence of a much wider range of events and conditions that have led to the maturation of a perception and sensitivity of the building completely different from the one born in parallel in the Western context and therefore, without a proper contextualisation, may lead a European observer, in the formulation of a summary judgment affected by a typically conservative ideology.

“As Japanese we have rushed through the modern era, tearing down and building up. Nevertheless, our awareness of how our urban environment has taken shape is rather poor.”

Hidenobu Jinnai

It is well known that Japan is a territory frequently affected by seismic phenomena, this natural condition that over time has destroyed the country, has not only influenced the construction methods\textsuperscript{93} but has also made the population used to see buildings as a precarious and temporary object capable of vanish in any moment;

“Come giapponesi abbiamo attraversato l’era moderna in fretta e furia, abbattendo e costruendo. Tuttavia, la nostra consapevolezza di come il nostro ambiente urbano ha preso forma è piuttosto scarsa.”

Hidenobu Jinnai

È risaputo che il Giappone è un territorio soggetto a frequenti fenomeni sismici, questa condizione naturale che nel tempo ha causato devastazioni in tutto il paese, oltre ad aver influenzato le tecniche di costruzione\textsuperscript{93}, ha abituato la popolazione a
These events will greatly influence the mentality of the nation, which still today is used to attribute value and meaning to the intrinsic function in the activity of the person rather than to the building that encloses it; an attitude that highlights, unlike the European context, a lack of affection towards the object intended as building. In support of this vision, with the Meiji Restoration, Japan’s frenetic rush towards globalization will start, leading to the promotion of economic value at the disadvantage of cultural value, as a way to improve the international competitiveness of the country; this phenomenon is still ongoing and is the cause of the rapid changes and transformations that have affected the Japanese city in general, causing the continuous variation of its profiles.

“Remembering the past is crucial for our sense of identity... to know what we were confirms that we are”

David Lowenthal

Deeply rooted in the culture of the nation, these aspects are still visible today, starting from the fact that the soil is the most important and most significant part of the property, which often exceeds many times the value of the building above; this phenomenon, in turn, influences the construction techniques of the building, which in most cases is built cheaply, in short time and with a limited life cycle, between twenty and thirty years; a strategy that allows the owner to not constrain the land for too long, enabling him to adapt to the dynamic context and the variability of the price of land, both of which are easily affected by the social trends of the country.

“Tsukiji’s market was perceived as a practical structure and not as a cultural one, which is why the inhabitants have not shown any interest in the issue.”

Hidenobu Jinnai

As highlighted in the previous chapters, the demolition of the market is the result of a larger set of dynamics and events that have occurred for just more than twenty years; these, added to the above remarks, reveal that from a purely local point of view, Tsukiji is nothing more than another case, where economic needs in the broad sense have overridden the existing, a common feature that has always affected the country. At the same time, however, Tsukiji contains some peculiarities that have made it a unique case; certainly, the 23 hectares of the site is unusual in a densely developed context such as Tokyo, where generally the replacement of buildings on large lots is done progressively since the property belongs to different subjects; the position is another attribute linked to the singularity of the case, this is located in the heart of the city surrounded by natural elements that make it a privileged point within the dense urban system of Tokyo; the age of the complex is certainly emblematic, his 83 years make Tsukiji one of the oldest del prezzo dei terreni, entrambi facilmente affetti dai trend sociali del paese.

“Il mercato di Tsukiji era percepito come una struttura pratica e non come una struttura culturale, per questo la popolazione non ha mostrato interesse sulla questione”

Hidenobu Jinnai

Come è stato messo in luce nei precedenti capitoli la demolizione del mercato è il risultato di un più vasto insieme di dinamiche ed eventi che si sono susseguiti nell’arco di poco più di vent’anni; queste sommate alle considerazioni appena fatte, fanno emergere, che da un punto di vista puramente locale, Tsukiji non è altro che un ennesimo caso, dove le esigenze economiche in senso lato hanno prevalso sull’esistente, un fenomeno comune che da sempre interessa il paese. Allo stesso tempo però, Tsukiji racchiude delle particolarità che lo hanno reso un caso unico; sicuramente i 23 ettari del sito sono una dimensione insolita per un contesto densamente edificato come quello di Tokyo, dove generalmente il ricambio degli edifici sui lotti di grandi dimensioni avviene in modo progressivo dato dal fatto che la proprietà appartiene a diversi soggetti; la posizione è un altro attributo legato alla singolarità del caso, questo si trova nel cuore della città circondato da elementi naturali che lo fanno un punto privilegiato all’interno del denso sistema urbano di Tokyo; l’età del complesso è sicuramente emblematica, con i suoi 83 anni fanno di Tsukiji una delle strutture più antiche della città, in un contesto dove difficilmente un edificio supera i cinquant’anni. Queste tre peculiarità difficilmente individuabili in un unico lotto, ironicamente sono anche la causa che ha favorito il processo decisionale legato alla demolizione di
structures in the city, in a context where a building rarely exceeds fifty years. These three peculiarities hardly identifiable in a single lot, ironically are also the cause that favoured the decision-making process related to the demolition of Tsukiji, as, on one hand, the intrinsic characteristics of the site made it unique and attractive to the eyes of big developers, becoming an easy source of income for the administration, on the other hand, the maintenance of the status of the first fish market in the world, required the observance of the international requirements imposed by the wholesale markets and the global standards of speed, which partly due to the age of the structure, partly due to the location, could no longer be satisfied. For the nature of the building and the history of it, something like this would have never occurred in Europe, due to the abundance of rules and laws on conservation that distinguish the European panorama. In the case of the Asian context, as Paul Waley observes, the reality of the regulatory frameworks related to the preservation, unlike the European ones, that encourage conservation, prioritise the development of the new. Based on this consideration, as Professor Jinnai reported to me, Tokyo has seen two trends rising alongside each other in recent decades; on one hand, we have the strong pressures of the rush to modernization, that aims at the continuous development of large urban interventions to remain competitive on an international level, even if the city does not have a real need; on the other hand, the new generations of architects and the local population are returning to “take possession” of the small realities inside the large metropolis, preserving the existing and operating with punctual interventions.

Tsukiji, in quanto da un lato le caratteristiche intrinseche del sito l’hanno reso unico e attraente agli occhi dei grandi sviluppatori diventando una facile fonte di guadagno per l’amministrazione, dall’altro il mantenimento dello status di mercato ittico numero uno al mondo, imponeva il rispetto dei requisiti internazionali sui mercati all’ingrosso e canoni di velocità globali, che un po’ per l’età della struttura, un po’ per la posizione, non riusciva più a soddisfare. Un tale episodio in Europa, per la natura del fabbricato e della sua storia, non sarebbe mai avvenuto vista la ricchezza di norme e leggi in materia di salvaguardia che contraddistinguono il panorama europeo. Nel caso del contesto asiatico, come osserva Paul Waley, la realtà dei quadri normativi in materia di conservazione, a differenza di quelli europei che incoraggiano la conservazione, danno priorità allo sviluppo del nuovo. Sulla base di questa considerazione, come riportatomi dal professor Jinnai, Tokyo vede affiancarsi negli ultimi decenni due tendenze; da un lato abbiamo le forti pressioni della corsa alla modernizzazione, che punta al continuo sviluppo di grandi interventi urbani al fine di mantenersi competitivi a livello internazionale, anche se la città non ha un reale bisogno; dall’altro le nuove generazioni di architetti e la popolazione tornano ad “appropriarsi” delle piccole realtà all’interno della grande metropoli, salvaguardando l’esistente e operando con interventi puntuali.

What do you think of Tsukiji relocation?

31% OPPOSE RELOCATION. Long history, markets need to be restored and preserved
43% RELOCATION IS CORRECT. Old facility is dangerous
19% WHICHEVER. It is more important that prices do not rise
7% OTHER. (please describe freely)
1. Tokugawa Ieyasu; (January 31st, 1543 - June 1st, 1616) was a Japanese military man and the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate; he officially governed until 1605 and then abdicated in favour of his son.

2. Kanto; located in the central-eastern area, is one of the eight regions that constitute the country of Japan; inside it includes the prefectures of Tokyo, Gunma, Tochigi, Ibaraki, Saitama, Chiba and Kanagawa.

3. Edo; literally entrance to the bay or estuary was the name that the current capital of Japan has carried from 1180 to 1868; in the 16th century, Edo was a group of small fishing villages spread within the Kanto plain.

4. Edo Castle; was the residence of the local lord, it was built by the daimyo Ota Dokan in 1457; rebuilt by Ieyasu it was destroyed several times over the centuries; nowadays is no longer identified under the designation of the castle but of the imperial palace, which is now the emperor’s residence.

5. Shogun; literally commander of the army, was the equivalent of the rank of general and was reserved for the highest officer of the armed forces of the country.

6. Go-Yozei; (December 31st, 1572 - September 25th, 1617), the 107th emperor of Japan, the imperial seat remained in Kyoto during the entire Tokugawa period, maintaining the status of the country’s official capital.

7. Edo Period; this period runs from 1603 to 1869; it began with Tokugawa Ieyasu’s triumph of the battle of Sekigahara in 1600, however, it is usually made to start in 1603, when Ieyasu assumed the title of shogun.

8. Daimyo; literally means big name, represented the most important feudal charge between the 12th and 19th centuries.

9. Nihonbashi; literally means Japan’s bridge, the district took this name years later after the bridge with the same name was built.

10. The Tokugawa period, and in the case of the second, it survived and continued to operate until 1923 as an independent entity.

11. Magoemon; was born in 1569 in the village of Tsukuda, within Settsu Province.

12. Settsu Province; it is one of the old provinces of Japan, currently, its territory is located between the eastern area of Hyogo Prefecture and the northern area of Osaka Prefecture.
Tsubudajima; located at the mouth of the Sumida River, thanks to its isolated position from the mainland, survived to several fires that occurred in the city, such as those that occurred after the Kanto earthquake and those during the American bombing of World War II.

14. The bridge of Nihonbashi; during the Tokugawa period was considered among the most attractive areas of the city due to the position and the connections it had with its surroundings; it burned for 8 times and then in 1872 it was rebuilt in a double arch stone version in Renaissance style with metal ornaments; designed by Tsuchi Yorinaka it survived to the World War.

15. Gokaido; wanted and financed by Tokugawa Ieyasu, this was a system of major roads that connected the shogun’s headquarters with the most important cities of the country, the starting point was the Nihonbashi Bridge.

16. Mitsukoshi; it is a commercial centre that has more than four centuries of history; this arose at the time that the Nihonbashi market began to form.

17. Kashi; these were sorting points near the waterways where goods were stored and transferred to be sold in the markets.

18. In 1650, Edo was the largest city in Japan, its growth continued in the years ahead, reaching over 1 million inhabitants in the 18th century and becoming the largest city in the world.

19. Tokugawa Period; another way to identify the Edo Period. (1603–1868)

20. Meiji Restoration; by this expression are meant the events that took place between 1866 and 1869, and which led to the restoration of the imperial system.

21. Bakufu; It was an expression to refer to the military government held by the Shogun as well as that phase in the history of Japan when the Tokugawa family held, through it, the highest political and military power in the country.

22. Kanto Earthquake; The earthquake was named Kanto since affected the province of Kanto. However, the earthquake was not the main cause of the high number of victims, but the biggest problem was the fires caused by the destruction.

23. Shibaura; home of the present-day Hamamatsu-Cho station, is an area of the city within the special district of Minato, just a little further to the south of the Tsukiji area.

24. Tsukiji; literally means built land.

25. Special wards are local authorities that were created to respond to the needs of large metropolises; in theory, they are subject to the same regulations that apply to the city. This system allows maintaining unified administration and control within the department, leaving to the ward governments the issues of day-to-day matters, while the metropolitan government takes over the administrative responsibilities such as water supply, sewerage services, etc., to ensure the provision of uniform and efficient services throughout the metropolitan area. The wards communicate with the metropolitan government through a consultative organ called the Metropolitan-Ward. In the district area, the metropolitan government and the wards also take care of business management and administration, and consequently share tax revenues; in the case of municipal taxes, these are collected by the metropolitan government, which redistributes them through a fixed share to the district government.

13. Tsukudajima; located at the mouth of the Sumida River, thanks to its isolated position from the mainland, survived to several fires that occurred in the city, such as those that occurred after the Kanto earthquake and those during the American bombing of World War II.

14. Il ponte di Nihonbashī; durante il periodo Tokugawa era considerato tra le zone più atraenti della città per la posizione e le connessioni che aveva con l’intorno; bruciò per ben 8 volte per poi nel 1872 essere ricostruito in una versione in pietra a doppio arco in stile rinascimentale con ornamenti metallici; disegnato da Tsuchi Yorinaka sopravvisse al conflitto mondiale.

15. Gokaidō; voluto e finanziato da Tokugawa Ieyasu, questo era un sistema di 5 strade maggiori che collegavano la sede dello shōgun con le città più importanti del paese, il punto di partenza era il ponte di Nihonbashī.

16. Mitsukoshi; si tratta di uno centro commerciale che vanta oltre quattro secoli di storia; questo sorse nel periodo in cui il mercato di Nihonbashī iniziò a formarsi.

17. Kashi; questi erano dei punti di smistamento a ridosso dei corsi d’acqua dove la merce veniva immagazzinata e trasferita per essere poi venduta all’interno dei mercati.

18. Nel 1650, Edo era la città più grande del Giappone, una crescita che continuò negli anni a venire raggiungendo oltre 1 milione di abitanti nel XVIII sec diventando la città più grande al mondo.

19. Periodo Tokugawa; un altro modo per identificare il periodo Edo. (1603–1868)

20. Restaurazione Meiji; con tale espressione si intendono in senso stretto gli avvenimenti che ebbero luogo tra il 1866 e il 1869, e che portarono al ripristino del sistema imperiale.

21. Bakufu; Si trattava di un’espressione per indicare il governo militare detenuto dallo shōgun nonché quella fase della storia del Giappone in cui la famiglia Tokugawa deteneva attraverso questo il massimo potere politico e militare nel paese.

22. Terremoto di Kanto; il sisma assunse questo nome in quanto colpì l’omonima provincia; Di per se il terremoto non fu la causa principale del numero così alto delle vittime, il maggior problema furono gli incendi scaturiti dalla distruzione.

23. Shibaura; sede dell’odierna stazione di Hamamatsu-Chō, è un’area della città all’interno del quartiere speciale di Minato, poco più a sud dell’area di Tsukiji.

24. Tsukiji; letteralmente significa terra costruita.

25. I reparti speciali sono enti pubblici locali che nascono con l’intento di soddisfare le esigenze delle grandi metropoli; in linea di principio sono soggetti agli stessi regolamenti applicati alla città. Questo sistema permette di mantenere l’amministrazione e il controllo unificati all’interno del reparto, lasciando ai governi di rione le questioni riguardanti gli aspetti di carattere quotidiano, mentre il governo metropolitano si assume le responsabilità amministrative come l’approvvigionamento idrico, i servizi di fognatura ecc., al fine di garantire la fornitura di servizi uniformi ed efficienti su tutta l’area metropolitana. I reparti comunicaono con il governo metropolitano mediante un organo consultivo chiamato Metropolitan-Ward. Nell’area del rione, il governo metropolitano e i reparti si occupano inoltre della gestione degli affari e dell’amministrazione, di conseguenza condividono le entrate fiscali; nel caso delle tasse e municipali queste vengono riscosse dal governo metropolitano che le redistribuisce...
ts; the financial adjustment between the 23 special districts is intended to correct the imbalances in the tax revenues of the individual wards due to the unequal distribution of resources. (TMG resource)

26. Chuo; around 1650 a new problem arose, with the growth of the city also the waste produced increased, so the landfills were implemented in the bay, especially in the area that today represents the district of Chuo; the new landfill was taken away from the swampy areas of the bay, promptly occupied by the Daimyo, who built their mansions, while a part became home to many buildings for religious use such as temples and shrines.

27. This area had always been separated from the rest of the city because of the canals; this peculiarity meant that the area never aroused great interest, lending itself perfectly to the cause.

28. Shimibashi; at that time it was a very important railway junction connecting Edo with other cities in the country.

29. Prefectures; they are regional authorities that include municipalities; both the prefecture and the municipalities are public bodies that cooperate in local government; in total, it has 47 prefectures in Japan.

30. Extraterritoriality; this act exempted foreigners from the laws and control of the Japanese state, giving them the freedom to move within the city; delegations moved to more central areas near government buildings, while many residents settled in the outer areas of the city where the spaces were larger.

31. The opening was followed by reforms to the rules and supplies of fish based on the auction principle, so that many of Nihonbashi’s ton’ya joined forces and created one of the first market auction houses, acquiring a monopoly on supplies. The newly created company generated much controversy among the companies that questioned the legitimacy of this institution, but as often happened, through political intrigue and intimidation the debate was resolved.

32. As time went by, the upper floors were restructured and expanded, and these were marked by an intricate path of corridors and exposed walkways juggling random compartments.

33. Jogai Shijo; literally external market, a way to distinguish it from Tsukiji who was called Jonai Shijo literally internal market.

34. The Second Sino-Japanese War; (7 July 1937 - 2 September 1945) was the toughest confrontation ever between the Chinese Republic and the Japanese Empire.

35. Brokerage; brokerage activity carried out by the broker, a financial intermediary practising in offering search services for counterparties in the markets of financial goods and assets (currencies, securities) in exchange for a commission, calculated concerning the volume of business concluded through it. (source Treccani Dictionary)

36. A condition dictated not by luck but most probably by the presence of a part of the foreign settlement and the hospital of San Luke.

37. The period of American occupation lasted from 1945 to 1952.

38. The Americans established activities such as offices and laundry.

39. TMG; Tokyo Metropolitan Government.

40. Ota; is one of Tokyo’s special districts, located south of the prefecture overlo-
Amministractive within the metropolis; he has the authority and responsibility for the management of the metropolitan administration and the general control of the affairs concerning the city.

45. International competitiveness; Tokyo in the 2015 international ranking of cities was placed first by Monocle for quality of life; fourth by A.T. Kearney for attention to human capital; fourth by Mori Memorial Foundation for economic power.

46. Report of the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries

47. In February 2015, Mayor Yada declared his intention to establish sports facilities such as baseball and soccer fields or theme parks on the site and said they would be good options.

48. Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly consists of 127 members directly elected by the people; it is the decision-making body that has the authority to issue, amend and repeal metropolitan ordinances, approve the budget and certify its composition, elect the members of the Electoral Administration Commission and other similar bodies. The Assembly is managed by a president, elected by the members, who have the task of presiding over its sessions and supervising the affairs within it, and also has the task of communicating to the public the opinions taken during the Assembly; since the roles of the metropolitan administration are vast and complex, to ensure in-depth discussions, the Assembly sets up committees for the study and discussion of specific topics; the committees are divided into permanent and special.

49. 49. Ring Road n.2 is an urban road of a total length of about 14 km, starting from Ariake in Koto-ku and crossing Chuo-ku and Minato-ku to Kanda-Sakuma-Chō in Chiyoda-ku; the project was first proposed in 1946, to create a strong connection between the city centre and the future bay under construction. For the first works, it will be necessary to wait until 2002, while for the inauguration of the first stretch in March 2014; as of 2019 about nine kilometres have been opened today.

50. The vehicle depot has been sized to accommodate a capacity of about 2,700 buses and cars dedicated to transporting athletes and officials of the Tokyo 2020 Games.

51. Plan 1, being an intensive renovation of the existing one, provided for the relocation of the wholesalers to a temporary site until its completion to facilitate the works; the works of the plan provided were: improvement of the anti-seismic and fire fighting performance; measures to contain and remove asbestos where possible; improvement of hygiene, implementation of measures concerning soil pollution; installation of a cold chain system; improvement of the logistics plan; restructuring of the flow of goods; improvement of tourist functions and services; maintenance of the green space. In the case of Plan 2, activities were moved within the complex and the buildings provisionally emptied were being ha il compito di comunicare al pubblico le opinioni prese durante l’Assemblea; Poiché i ruoli dell’amministrazione metropolitana sono vasti e complessi, per garantire discussioni approfondite, l’Assemblea istituisce commissioni per lo studio e la discussione di argomenti specifici; i comitati sono divisi in permanenti e speciali.

49. La Ring Road n.2 è una strada urbana della lunghezza totale di circa 14 km, che parte da Ariake a Koto-ku e attraversa Chuo-ku e Minato-ku fino a Kanda-Sakuma-cho a Chiyoda-ku; il progetto venne proposto per la prima volta nel 1946, con l’intento di creare una forte connessione tra il centro città e la futura baia in costruzione. Per i primi lavori bisognerà aspettare il 2002 mentre per l’inaugurazione del primo tratto marzo 2014; al 2019 sono stati aperti circa nove chilometri, ma la costruzione del tunnel sotterraneo che passa al disotto dell’area del mercato di Tsukiji ed esce a Shimibashi verrà completato solo dopo la conclusione dei giochi olimpici di Tokyo 2020.

50. Il deposito mezzi è stato dimensionato per accogliere una capienza di circa 2.700 autobus e autovetture dedicate al trasporto degli atleti e dei funzionari dei Giochi di Tokyo 2020.

51. Nel piano 1, trattandosi di un intervento intensivo di rinnovo dell’esistente, per agevolare le lavorazioni veniva previsto il trasferimento dei grossisti presso una sede provvisoria fino al suo completamento; le lavorazioni del piano previste erano: miglioramento delle prestazioni antismiscele e antincendio; misure di contenimento e rimozione dell’ammasso dove possibile; miglioramento dell’igiene, attuazione delle misure riguardanti l’inquinamento del suolo; installazione di un sistema a catena del
This type of operation is very common in Japan; it is based on a process of relocation of the internal activities to another building in the complex until it is restored or, in the worst-case scenario, rebuilt; the whole operation is carried out in this way until all areas of the project have been completed. This system makes it possible to keep the functions active and not to completely interrupt the entrances of the structure.

The intervention would have required a series of precautions and operations to ensure the correct and safe conduct of all phases between these at the time: The attempt to minimise the impact on day-to-day sales activities by separating the traffic lines of trucks, work vehicles, buyers and tourists in time slots; the containment of dust generated by the work, which risked contaminating the goods; the reclamation of structures contaminated by asbestos; the removal of temporary buildings constructed during the renovation of the 1990s, which were considered illegal; the adaptation of all those buildings that did not meet seismic standards.

The costs of relocation, dismantling and removal are recorded under 'Administrative and operational costs' as expenses for each fiscal year.

About 900 commercial enterprises were allowed to buy at Tsukiji's morning auctions.

The units where the traders carried out the retail processes, better known as stalls, were allocated through a lottery that was repeated every 4 years - the first draw state at the time, these entities were increased between 2 and 7 times before the winning bid was chosen, contributing to an increase in the costs for the preparation of the Games. However, other large tenders are also under investigation (national broadcaster NHK).

The tendering procedures for three Olympic venues were investigated after potential prices - a price set by the contracting entity - were increased between 2 and 7 times before the winning bid was chosen, contributing to an increase in the costs for the preparation of the Games. However, other large tenders are also under investigation (national broadcaster NHK).

The Tsukiji Fish Bank consists of two main buildings forming an L, the Odawara Bridge Building and the Kaikobashi Building connected by a walkway; the complex hosts a seafood and fruit & vegetable market; on the upper floors there is a gallery where you can eat in some restaurants; and on the roof there is a recreation area; a kitchen studio for gastronomic events.

The open-cut method is a time-consuming practice, but at the same time, it is the only way to proceed due to the proximity of the Sumida river, which prevents the use of normal drills.

Urban planning legislation in Japan was established in 1888.

1) Maintain and develop internationally competitive urban dynamism 2) Live with the global environment, which is essential for sustainable development 3) Restore beautiful urban spaces surrounded by vegetation and water 4) Create, transmit and pass on our unique urban culture.
5. Create a city where residents can live comfortably, safely and quietly
6. Obtain and coordinate the participation of a variety of entities, including residents, municipalities, corporations and non-profit organizations

4. 1) Improving regional transport infrastructure 2) Establishing centres that increase economic vitality 3) Making the transition to a low-carbon city 4) Forming water and vegetation networks 5) Creating attractive urban spaces 6) Achieving a better living environment 7) Creating a highly safe and disaster-resistant environment for cities

65. IOC; International Olympic Committee.

66. The new market is part of a plan called Tokyo Smart City TOYOSU22; this aims to create a new city surrounded by green space and aquatic space with a mixed development of residential, commercial and business functions.

67. Japan’s district planning system was established in 1980, allowing local governments to better serve the interests of the local community by giving up decision-making power over most urban planning issues. These plans are implemented by municipalities to preserve or realize a shared vision by establishing fine-grained controls (parks, open spaces, roads, shopping malls, etc.) and can override area restrictions.

68. In April 2005, Singapore’s Prime Minister, Lee Hsien Loong, announced the government’s decision to develop two integrated resorts within the city-state to attract foreign investment and boost the country’s economy in deep recession.

69. The casino space will be contained within 3% of the IR area.

70. Las Vegas Sands, MGM, Caesars and Melco Resorts & Entertainment.

71. Macao was one of the first countries in Southeast Asia to establish an integrated resort and it is also the one that benefited the most, so in 2012 the small enclave generated five times more revenue than Las Vegas, making it the world’s first gambling destination.

72. In addition to Tokyo, Tomakomai and Kushiro in Hokkaido, Sendai in the northeast, Wakayama in the central area; Sasebo in the southwest, Osaka, Yokohama and Chiba have shown interest.

73. Concerns stem from the fact that Japan has a high number of people suffering from game-related diseases (about 4% of the population in 2019); moreover, this sector has always been associated with organised crime in Japan.

74. Model Singapore; as in Japan also in Singapore the population was concerned about the establishment of two casinos in the small city-state, but through a series of policies and initiatives the population was soon reassured by the government; first of all the presence of the Ministry of Social and Family Development in the IR affairs was imposed, to promote responsible gaming; also a series of effective measures were implemented to publicize informed and self-regulated gaming to customers. The Government of Singapore is constantly updating and implementing the measures and control systems, also constantly monitoring the impact their casinos have on society.

75. In Japan, residents will have to pay an admission fee of 6,000 yen ($74); up to three visits per week, with a maximum limit of 10 visits per month. There is also a 30% tax on the casino portion to be paid to visione condivisa, stabilendo controlli a grana fine (parchi, spazi aperti, strade, centri commerciali, ecc.) e possono scavalcare le restrizioni di zona.

68. Nell’aprile del 2005 il Primo Ministro di Singapore, Lee Hsien Loong, annunziò la decisione dal governo, di procedere allo sviluppo di due resort integrati all’interno della città stato; l’obiettivo era di attrarre investimenti stranieri e rilanciare l’economia del paese in forte recessione.

69. Lo spazio del casinò verrà contenuto entro il 3% dell’area destinata all’IR.

70. Las Vegas Sands, MGM, Caesars e Melco Resorts & Entertainment.

71. Macao è stato uno dei primi paesi nel sud-est asiatico a istituire un resort integrato ed è anche quello che ne ha ottenuto i maggiori benefici, tantoché nel 2012 il piccolo enclave produceva entrate cinque volte superiori a quelle di Las Vegas, diventando la prima destinazione al mondo per il gioco d’azzardo.

72. Oltre a Tokyo hanno mostrato interesse: Tomakomai e Kushiro nell’Hokkaido, Sendai nel nord-est, Wakayama nell’area centrale; Sasebo nel sudovest, Osaka, Yokohama e Chiba.

73. Le preoccupazioni deriva dal fatto che il Giappone presenta un alto numero di persone affette da patologie legate al gioco (circa il 4% della popolazione nel 2019); inoltre in Giappone questo settore è da sempre associato alla criminalità organizzata.

74. Modello Singapore; Come in Giappone anche a Singapore la popolazione si è mostrata preoccupata per l’istituzione di due casinò nella piccola città stato, ma attraverso una serie di politiche e iniziative la popolazione fu ben presto rassicurata dal governo; per prima cosa venne imposto la...
the respective central governments.  
76. James Murren; President and CEO of MGM Resorts International. 
77. In 2002, during Shintaro Ishihara’s government, the first expenses regarding research on integrated resorts were recorded; this was also the subject of a meeting with the members of the Diet in the Tokyo metropolitan government observatory; other analyses were conducted from 2014 to 2017 this time on casinos abroad and their impact on the city; still in 2018 about 10 million yen were recorded in the budget for research. All the analyses were entrusted to private sector agencies. 
78. Royalty; is an Anglo-Saxon term that has entered into international use in the broadest sense, the remuneration paid to the owner of an asset, the creator or author of a work of genius, the owner of a patent or copyright, as consideration for the concession to use the asset, work, patent commercially; it is usually commensurate as a percentage of turnover or the number of copies put on the market. (source Treccani Dictionary) 
79. The consumption of fish per capita dropped from 40.2 kg in 2001 to 24.6 kg in 2016. 
80. Changes and the consequent shift of global supply channels are negatively affecting the markets; one of the causes is related to sales made by distributors directly to supermarkets; unfortunately, this phenomenon is growing and is becoming the main purchasing channel for the catch, influencing dramatically the volumes of trade managed annually, reducing the importance of wholesale trade. 
81. In 1989 Japan emerged from the deep crisis; on January 7th 1989 with the death of the emperor - as a result of a long illness - the new kingdom (Heisei) was announced, putting end to the oppressive self-control of the previous months. The national mood grew and many believed that the booming prosperity of recent decades would rapidly recover, but it soon became clear that the new era could never match the economic frenzy of the previous period. With this realization, the era of the so-called Bubble Economy (baburu keizai) was “discovered” after the fact. (T.C. Bestor 2004). In the years following the bubble, the 2002 urban revitalization law (Toshi Saisei Ho) was promulgated. In essence, planning laws were revised by increasing indexes and urban planning standards to encourage large private individuals to undertake urban development projects; besides, awards were given for those who combined several lots for a single project, thus reducing the time of the approval process. 
82. The market with its highest sales in 1987, since the bursting of the bubble, has suffered a progressive decrease in the volume of trade that in 1998 will register a loss of trade equal to 20%, inevitably followed by an average devaluation of the product of almost 1 dollar per kilogram corresponding to 15%. 
83. The principles of Japanese real estate valuation are established by the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport (MLIT) which defines the principles and issues the licenses. The word Real Estate in Japanese Fudosan means immovable property. 
84. The governor will delegate power to the planners, but he will still have the power to approve the plan or not. 
85. PFI; a private finance initiative (PFI) is a way of financing public sector projects through the private sector. PFI’s rato o al numero degli esemplari messi in commercio. (source Dizionario Treccani) 79. Il consumo di pesce pro-capite è passato dal da 40,2 kg del 2001, ai 24,6 kg nel 2016. 
80. I mutamenti e il conseguente spostamento dei canali di approfittograma di acquisto per il pesca- to influendo pesantemente sui volumi di scambio gestiti annualmente, andando a ridurre l’importanza del commercio all’in- grosso. 
81. Nel 1989 il Giappone emerge dalla profonda depressione; il 7 gennaio 1989 con la morte dell’imperatore – in seguito a una lunga malattia – viene annunciato il nuovo regno (Heisei) ponendo fine all’opprimente cosiddetta Bubble Economy (baburu keizai). L’umore nazionale crebbe e in molti credevano che la prosperità in forte espansione avvenuta negli ultimi decenni sarebbe presto ripresa, ma divenne ben presto chiaro che la nuo- va era non avrebbe mai potuto eguagliare la frenesia economica del precedente periodo. Con questa realizzazione, l’era della cosiddetta Bubble Economy (baburu keizai) è stata “scoperta” dopo il fatto. (T.C. Bestor 2004). Negli anni successivi alla bolla venne promulgata la urban revitalization law (Toshi Saisei Ho) del 2002 in pratica venivano rivisitate le leggi sulla pianificazione attraverso l’aumento degli indici e gli standard urbanistici al fine d’incoraggiare grandi privati a intraprendere progetti di sviluppo urbano; in più venivano dati pre- mi per chi avesse combinato più lotti per un singolo progetto, riducendo così i tempi del
alleviate the government and taxpayers of the immediate burden of coming up with the capital for these projects. (source: investopedia)

86. Hama Rikyu's garden was the home of a former feudal family mansion; today the site is a public park bordering the Tsukiji area to the south.

87. Among other objectives, a local council has been established to promote the extension of the high-speed railway line 12 with surrounding municipalities; this is included in the Council Report No. 198 on Transport Policy of the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism as "Railway Network Project to Improve International Competitiveness”. The extension of the urban high-speed rail line 12 aims to make transport convenient in the northern part of the city. Currently, the Urban Highway Line 12 (Toei Subway Oedo Line) is the longest metro in Japan with a total length of 40.7 km.

88. A quarter of Japanese territory is planned, i.e. it has a designation that indicates the type of development that can be promoted or simply that it is under the control of urban planning regulations. Land that possesses these allocations are in turn divided into standard zones of use; in the case of land identified as "Promotion Areas,” they may also possess district plans (main plans, etc.) that are implemented by the relevant municipalities.

89. Floor area ratio (FAR) - yousekirit-su - sets the maximum possible area (total on all floors); it is expressed as a percentage of the site area; it depends on the land use zones and how the property is classified; however, local planning authorities can bypass a different ratio by establishing districts and implementing district plans. Processo di approvazione.

82. The market with the highest mass of goods in 1987, if after its collapse the bolla has subito una progressiva diminuzione del volume di scambio that in 1998 registra una perdita di scambi pari al 20%, inevitably implies the need to reduce the energy and air penetration; vaguely controls the urban character.

89. Building Coverage Ratio (BCR) - kenperitsu - regulates the maximum portion of land that can be built, varies according to the land use zone where the property is located; limits the density of the property, preventing the spread of fire between adjacent buildings; ensures light and air penetration; vaguely controls the urban character.

90. In June 1970, to promote the standardization of land and its intensive use, the City Planning Act was partially revised by increasing from four to eight districts of use, height limits and the restriction on the shape of the building in the case of specific areas were abolished and the FAR (building index) and BCR (coverage ratio) were introduced within the district regulations.

92. In 1990 the Urban Planning Act and Building Standards Act were revised again by introducing the FAR bonus district planning system; this will expand district planning by establishing the rules for planning intensive use zones and unused land, the so-called promotion areas; this will be followed two years later by the City Planning Act and the Building Standards Act, significantly reformed, which among other changes will bring the subdivision of districts of use from eight to twelve.

93. The strong seismic activity of the country, influenced the construction techniques and processes starting from the choice of the material; this had to be easily available, economically sustainable, workable and flexible to meet the stresses; the choice for obvious reasons related to the period and the absence of modern high-performance materials, fell mainly on wood and the like, but these were flammable and subject to strong deterioration nella parte settentrionale della città. Attualmente la Urban Highway Line 12 (Toei Subway Oedo Line) è la metropolitana più lunga del Giappone con una lunghessa totale di 40,7 km.

88. Un quarto del territorio giappone se è pianificato, ovvero possiede una designazione che ne indica il tipo di sviluppo promovibile o semplicemente che è sotto controllo delle regolamentazioni urbanistiche. I terreni che possedono queste assegnazioni a loro volta vengono suddivisi in zone standard d’uso; nel caso dei terreni identificati come “Aree di promozione” possono anche possedere piani distrettuali (piani principali, ecc.) che vengono attuati dai comuni di riferimento.

89. Rapporto area pavimento (FAR) - yousekirit-su - imposta la massima superficie possibile (totale su tutti i piani); viene espresso in percentuale dell’area del sito; dipende delle zone d’uso del suolo e come la proprietà è classificata; tuttavia, le autorità locali di pianificazione possono scavalcare un rapporto diverso stabilendo distretti e attuando piani distrettuali.

90. Building Coverage Ratio (BCR) - kenperitsu - regola la porzione massima del terreno che può essere costruita, varia in base alla zona di utilizzo del terreno in cui si trova la proprietà; limita la densità dell’immobile, prevenendo la propagazione degli incendi tra edifici adiacenti; assicura la penetrazione della luce e dell’aria; controlla vagamente il carattere urbano.

91. Nel giugno 1970 allo scopo di promuovere la standardizzazione della terra e del suo impiego intensivo, il City Planning Act venne parzialmente rivisto e aumentato, conseguendo una spinta intensiva per le proprietà identificate come "Aree di promozione" che possono anche possedere piani distrettuali (piani principali, ecc.) che vengono attuati dai comuni di riferimento.
92. Nel 1990 la legge sulla pianificazione urbana e gli standard edilizi vengono nuovamente rivisti introducendo il sistema di pianificazione distrettuale di tipo bonus FAR; questo consentirà di espandere la pianificazione distrettuale andando a stabilire le regole per la pianificazione delle zone a uso intensivo e dei terreni inutilizzati, le cosiddette aree di promozione; lo seguiranno due anni più tardi anche il City Planning Act e il Building Standards Act, significativamente riformulati che tra le varie modifiche porterà la suddivisione dei distretti d’uso da otto a dodici.

93. La forte attività sismica del paese ha influenza le tecniche e i processi costruttivi a partire dalla scelta del materiale; questo doveva essere facilmente reperibile, economicamente sostenibili, lavorabile e flessibili per rispondere alle sollecitazioni; la scelta per ovvie ragioni legate al periodo e alla assenza dei moderni materiali altamente performanti, ricadde prevalentemente su legno e simili; questi però erano infiammabili e soggetti a forte deterioramento se non curati opportunamente. Sempre collegato a questo aspetto gli stessi piani di prevenzione hanno promosso l’utilizzo di materiali sempre più lontani dalla tradizione e portando in molti casi all’abbattimento di tanti edifici che non rispondevano ai severissimi requisiti sismici della normativa giapponesa.

94. All’interno del contesto Tokyo la si possono osservare solo due casi dove le proteste di un buon numero di esperti e cittadini riuscirono a bloccare le demolizioni convincendo l’amministrazione a proce-
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FIGURE 134. Bottega Veneta Store (Author’s pic.)
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FIGURE 136. Mikimoto Store (Author’s pic.)
FIGURE 137. Hermes Store (Author’s pic.)
FIGURE 138. Louis Vuitton Store (Author’s pic.)
FIGURE 139. B&O Store (Author’s pic.)
FIGURE 140. Prada Store (Author’s pic.)
FIGURE 141. Tokyo Station (Author’s pic.)
FIGURE 142. Social survey on Twitter (Source: 11/10/2018 @sputnik_jp)
In October 2018, the historical market of Tsukiji was closed and relocated to Toyosu, a new unique market place capable of responding to the current global needs regarding distribution, hygiene and safety. After years of uncertainty and promises not kept, regarding the future of the market and its land use, in January 2019, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government presented a new plan for the area; strongly criticized, the proposal announced the complete demolition of the existing facility, to make room to a new international business pole, enriched by luxurious hotels and a casino. This decision will mark the end of what for 83 years has been the largest fish market in the world and which nowadays is nothing more than a huge urban void in the centre of the city of Tokyo, waiting to be filled. What appears to be a choice guided only by the perspectives of profit, is the result of a long process that has taken over twenty years, driven by complex urban economic dynamics and specificities linked to the Japanese cultural context, that if not properly understood can lead a European observer to make a rough judgment, influenced by a typically conservative ideology.

Nell’ottobre 2018, lo storico mercato di Tsukiji venne definitivamente dichiarato chiuso e trasferito presso Toyosu, un nuovo edificio mercatale unico nel suo genere in grado di rispondere alle odierne esigenze globali in termini di distribuzione, igiene e sicurezza. Dopo anni d’incertezze e promesse non mantenute riguardanti le sorti del mercato e dell’uso del suo suolo, nel gennaio 2019, il Tokyo Metropolitan Government presentò il nuovo piano per l’area; la proposta fortemente criticata, annunciava la completa demolizione dell’impianto esistente, al fine di fare spazio a un futuro polo internazionale arricchito da lussuosi hotel e casinò. Questa decisione segnerà la fine di quello che per 83 anni è stato il più grande mercato ittico al mondo e che oggi non è che un enorme vuoto urbano al centro della città di Tokyo, in attesa di essere colmato. Quella che appare come una scelta guidata solo dalle prospettive di guadagno, in realtà è il risultato di un processo durato oltre vent’anni, dettato da complesse dinamiche economico urbane e specificità legate al contesto culturale giapponese, che se non opportunamente comprese possono portare un osservatore europeo alla formulazione di un giudizio approssimativo, contaminato da un’ideologia tipicamente conservatrice.