

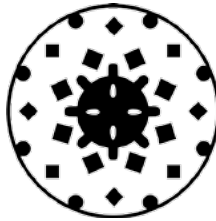
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THE (HIGH DENSITY) METROPOLIS
AND REGION IN PLANNING HISTORY

20TH IPHS BIENNIAL CONFERENCE
JUNE 28 2024 (ONLINE)
& JULY 2-5 2024

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Convenors

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20th IPHS Conference, Hong Kong 2024

The (High Density) Metropolis and Region in Planning History

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The International Planning History Society (IPHS) is dedicated to the enhancement of interdisciplinary studies in urban and regional planning history worldwide. The theme of urban transformation is critical now due to the new information and technological revolution, the contradistinction of the neoliberal and centre-planned economy, local identity and globalisation and new roles and uses of urban heritage.

Urban history has witnessed continuous changes, which included transformations of urban plans and objects, changing images or identities of certain spaces or whole cities.

This proceedings volume follows in its structure the organisation of the conference panels. Each presentation comprises an abstract, or a peer-reviewed full paper, traceable online with a DOI number. The full conference proceedings ebook, as well as all full papers individually are published online on the website of the proceedings books series:

<https://journals.open.tudelft.nl/iphs>.

Letter from co-conveners

Dear Conference Participants,

Welcome to the 20th Biennial Conference of the International Planning History Society (IPHS)!

This document, the Proceedings of the IPHS's 2024 conference held at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, includes abstracts and papers broadly relating to the historical nature of urban culture and the practice of urban planning in Hong Kong, Asia, and beyond. Abstract and papers are composed by persons heralding from almost thirty different countries based in five different continents.

As an organisation with a truly global outlook to the discipline of Planning History, the IPHS via texts such as this Conference Proceeding and its journal, *Planning Perspectives*, offers unique opportunity, first, to think deeply as to what urban planning has occurred in the past, and, second, to recognise the different approaches and methods employed by scholars to understand how and why different forms of planning occurred in history. Indeed, for those of you coming to present your work in Hong Kong, the city as a high density and world renowned place offers a distinct window to grasp the dynamics affecting urban development in the high density context. Additionally, as a city nowadays increasingly tied to global markets and to its regional setting, by visiting Hong Kong you will be granted a new possibility to not only know its past but, in conjunction, to recognize what from beyond the local territorial borders has shaped, and is nowadays shaping, the built fabric. Whilst by no means a perfect urban place, Hong Kong has become a high density, globalised city with a local character that offers numerous advantages to daily life often lacking in other parts of the world.

We encourage you to carefully read through this document, and to contact each other so as to help enrich Planning History discourse!

Sincerely,

Prof. Ian Morley and Prof. Hendrik Tieben

Co-conveners, 20th Biennial Conference of the IPHS.

Letter from IPHS president

Dear Members of the IPHS Community,

As president of the IPHS, I would like to thank you for attending our 20th international conference. It was a pleasure to see so many of you in person here in Hong Kong. Such a big gathering is a real achievement, especially considering the last two cancelled conferences and the limits of the hybrid event we held in 2022 in Delft with little advance notice.

We are very grateful to the conveners of this year's conference, Professors Ian Morley and Henrik Tieben. They did an amazing job organizing this hybrid event, which started online on Friday the 28th of June, and continued from Tuesday, July 2nd, to Friday July, 5th, with on-site lectures, presentations, field visits, and a wonderful set of proceedings. I would also like to thank all the other members of the international and local conference committee as well as all the local hosts and sponsors who made the conference possible. I am grateful to our multinational management team and the many other people who contributed to putting this event together.

I would like to highlight a few points that are, for me, an essential part of the IPHS. We are international, innovative, and inter-generational. These are strengths that can help us make a difference for and in the future. This conference has helped build the personal ties and community needed to move the society forward. The IPHS is a truly international group of scholars, who talk to each other at eye level and hold conferences around the world. Such international engagement comes with challenges—including diverse political, economic, social, and cultural perspectives.

A meeting like this is an opportunity for all of us to look carefully at terminologies, methodologies and theories, both shared and diverging, and to work towards innovative practices. For example, when scholars of the ancient world from China, Vietnam, or Iran submit research on traditional urban forms some question whether they are doing planning history. Many historians look at planning as a discipline created in response to the industrial revolution. To bridge this gap, I would argue that modern planning practices are always a reflection on historic practices and forms. So, I invite all to be inclusive and generous to the scholars you encounter at such events and to engage with everyone attending as peers from whom you can learn.

While we have scholars from many different continents with us in Hong Kong, there are also notable gaps, and as society members we should reach out to those areas of the world like Africa, where we have fewer members. Also keep in mind that writing international, innovative and inclusive planning histories requires constant innovation and inter-generational collaboration. This means that the society's effectiveness depends on members of all ages interacting with one another in a community of learning.

As a society of planning history, we need to show planning history matters. Planning history makes it possible to evaluate practices of the past for the design of the future. Understanding

the motivations and tools of planners in different times and places can help develop new approaches for the future. Providing an analytical foundation, planning history can help us tackle today's wicked problems. We can explore the reasons why some plans of the past succeeded and others failed and use this analysis to improve contemporary planning.

We may find that we need planning based on ecosystemic thinking to transcend monofunctional and individual approaches. Research on ecosystemic approaches of the past can facilitate inclusive and sustainable practices, an approach in line with the UN Sustainable Development Goals. I am convinced that at a time of individualistic, small-scale and even circular thinking, we need comprehensive planning that benefits from transnational, ecosystemic approaches to planning history.

The past is the foundation of our current spaces, our institutions, our way of thinking. Understanding how we got to where we are can help us design the future. Historical analysis can help us better understand how successful or unsuccessful we have been with the strategies, institutions, and planning tools we have developed and put into practice. Planning historians like Sies and Silver (1996) have noted the opportunity for studying complexity through the lens of history. I propose taking advantage of these and other opportunities to use historical analysis to better understand how successful or unsuccessful we have been in implementing the strategies, institutions, and planning tools we have developed. I would like to expand on this approach and offer a few additional ideas.

Specifically, I would like to emphasize a few elements: Systems thinking can illuminate how and why societies in the past have addressed environmental conditions and transitions, what systems have lasted and the role planning has played. Understanding what went wrong, why and when, and how we got into the situation we find ourselves in today can help us understand the complex challenges we need to overcome. The past provides us with extensive data on how societal choices that guide planning affect economic and social development and what happens when we ignore important ecosystem context, social justice, or beauty.

Analyzing historic path dependencies and their impact on contemporary spaces and planning can provide insights to use in developing a more societally just future. The stories we tell about the past and the heritage we keep, including human achievements and failures of planning, are related to the future we hope to achieve. If we want to address the future challenges that the world is facing involving a changing climate and energy transition, we need to acknowledge that we have created these problems. This means that we must rethink the foundations of our institutions and our planning tools to overcome path dependencies.

Heritage is crucial in connecting the past, present, and future, and its preservation and reuse play a key role in achieving this. Historic successes in planning as well as failures merit attention not only in museums, but also in everyday understanding and experiences. As planners design the future, how are we going to interpret the shortcomings of the industrial revolution and the petroleum age that have led to the challenges we are facing today? How can planning historians develop collective histories and historiographies that build bridges to future planning? One hundred years from now, which histories of past planning will be seen as success stories?

Prof. Carola Hein,
IPHS President

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Building Tokyo by the Sea

Visions, strategies and projects on the edge of the water 1950-2020

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Abstract

Since the time it became the new de-facto capital of Japan with the name of Edo in early XVII century, modern Tokyo has kept a special relationship with its waterfronts and on several occasions the expansion of the city has been pursued by looking at the sea as potential new habitat for growth and development. At the dawn of 20th Century, and especially in the aftermath of the end of the Pacific War, bold architectural ideas and city planning schemes were proposed and enacted to convey a phase of unprecedented economic resurgence and urban sprawl articulated by an impressive process of infrastructure build-up and industrial modernization. Looking at the different stages of city development in the 70 years from 1950 to 2020s, the paper will shed light on several aspects of the process of urban development of the waterfronts of Tokyo during this period. It will provide a critical account of the transformation of the city and the various innovative visions, ideas and projects from the initial stage of economic boom of the 1960s and 1980s, to the end of the “Bubble” in the 1990s, and the phase of relative decline at the start of the New Millennium, until the current new phase of urban regeneration and new wave of large-scale urban development projects driven by new national ambitions in the context of the competition with other East Asian megacities.

Keywords

Tokyo, waterfront development, Asian urbanism, marine city, Japanese architecture

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INTRODUCTION: TOKYO WATERFRONT AS AVANT-GARDE

Water has been crucial for a city's foundation since ancient times. Historians like Frank Broeze have even depicted port cities as “Brides of the Sea,”¹ broadly highlighting the strict relation between the liquid bodies of rivers, canals, and seas and a society's cultural, economic, social, political, and technological development.

The presence of water has always propelled the birth and the growth of cities worldwide, later favouring intense interactions of goods and ideas, development of cultures and urban identities, also embodying strategic survival places for entire territories and nations. Facing the ancestral importance of the seminal threshold between waterfronts and port cities, between water, land and communities, many critics have recently underlined the renovated and recurrent relevance of water at the core of many current social and political issues.² Contemporary water threats—such as flooding, dryness, and sea/river level rise—reposition humans into a different perspective on the environment, with a “profound alteration of our relation to the world.”³ The ecological crisis forces an environmental ethic shift from anthropocentric (human-centred) to eco-centric (earth-centred)⁴, urging different disciplines to focus on a new way of living with water.

This becomes crucial in Asian cities facing the Pacific, where increasing urbanisation imposes 2.1 billion people to live with high pressure on urban water resources.⁵ In particular, in Japan, waterfront design has remained a crucial topic in the face of water threats, both in the past and nowadays. If in the 20th century, the pressure of the city on water became a central topic for urban experimentations in the Japanese capital, nowadays, the fear of the pressure of water on the territory seems to propel even more drastic and critical solutions. For example, the 400 km seawall recently built on the northern east coast to defend against tsunamis opens new questions on the dismissed social and ecological “porosity”⁶ of the waterfront, which is instead an important contemporary feature for urban regeneration of port cities.

Faced with these urgency and contradictions, this paper prompts the importance of deepening our knowledge of Tokyo's historical development as a primary case study to rethink the urban relation with water also nowadays. The history of Tokyo Bay profoundly embodies the waterfront's design as an avant-garde of urban design and architectural thinking, which influenced architecture worldwide. Tokyo's bay became the place of radical experimentation and proposals for the expansion of the city and urbanisation of the sea, which had never been explored so far. The paper traces the history of Tokyo Bay—from its natural-sustainable “marriage” between the ancient urban structure of Edo and the canals to its more atomic-aged, technological, megastructural-utopian proposals by Metabolism's architects—allowing us to reflect upon the transformations of relations between society and water, uncovering roots and pivotal references for future developments of our built environment on waterscapes.

URBAN TRADITIONS FROM EDO TO TOKYO

Before being named “Tokyo” 東京 in 1863, the city was “Edo” 江戸, literally meaning “bay-entrance” or “estuary,” exemplifying the symbiotic relationship established between urban and nature. During this period, Edo was defined by scholars as the “city of water,” featuring a network of rivers and canals taking advantage of topographical elements, valleys and hills as they facilitated its early development. The relationship between water and the development of Edo is multilayered and rooted in socio-economic and spatial decisions through which the water’s infrastructure flourished over the years, along with urban expansion and human behaviors.

The urban configuration of Edo is based on duality: the ‘upper city’ and the ‘lower city’, on the hill and the city on the water, recognizing the topography as the generating element of urban and social space. It is thus originally divided into two parts, Yama-no-te 山の手 (the mountain hand) and Shita-machi 下町 (the lower city). The city’s topography clearly shows socio-spatial organization and segregation, creating a clear link between social class and residential typologies in relationship to water, and topography. On one hand, the daimyō, the most relevant feudal lords, with the samurai were located in the higher topography, and their settlement typology was wider and organic. On the other hand, the traders and the proletariat lived in the lower topographical part, near the sea, characterized spatially by a narrow and dense urban grid⁷. Each social class corresponds to a predefined dialectic settlement typology: feudal owners dominated the topographically higher and western areas of Yamanote, although they occupied 3/4 of the urban surface in smaller numbers. The lower classes, the majority of the population, were concentrated in the lower city, the city of water, Shitamachi. These two urban structures are still recognizable in today’s Tokyo, a latent morphology that resiliently survives wars, fires, and deconstruction.

The water and the channels, now mostly undergrounded, characterized ancient Edo and served as transport routes, vital arteries for the economy, and mercantile activities. Edo was based on distributing goods and activities along waterways, such as the Sumida River, canals, and the bay. Subsequently, some of the most important stations, Shinbashi, Ryogoku, and Iidamachi, were built along the main canals. For this reason, on the edge of the bay, in general, warehouses and markets were concentrated on the quays where land and water met, which gave the “city of water” a palpably lively and congested image full of activities. Especially in the Shitamachi, the city of water and density where the largest number of inhabitants reside in the smallest available space, transportation and trade occurs. Here, both people and goods oriented their movements toward the waterfront, becoming the favorite subject of many artists, including Hiroshige Utagawa, and visible in the traditional paintings and vistas of Edo. This environment “truly provides a barometer for measuring the urban activities, from trade and distribution to recreation, proper to each area.”⁸



Fig. 1. View of Edo waterfront in middle of the 19th Century represented in a series of woodblock prints (ukiyo-e) by Utagawa Hiroshige (1797-1858)

Another layer that arose from the city's connection to the water was the world of pleasures and entertainment. The Sumida River, in particular, was the cultural symbol of the floating world, with theaters, fireworks events, and houses where geishas resided were located.⁹ The river, especially after dark, was Edo's most democratic public space, a "performative space, an "extraordinary" fiction where the populace gathered in search of a sense of liberation, was thus associated with water and enveloped in an atmosphere that was both festival and emotive."¹⁰ Thus, for some hours every day, social divisions between districts and classes were erased in a world of social interchange that escaped the control of government and military authority. Ultimately, the connection to water was not limited to living and livelihood but also to worship through various spiritual and cultural functions in religion, festivals, and theater.

The world of water gave rhythm to Edo's life, creating transportation networks, ensuring a reliable water and food supply, securing the strategic defense of Tokugawa's castle, and promoting the democratization of public spaces in a rigidly structured society. The case study of Shitamachi morphology is a concrete example of a mixed urban form with proximity between activities, architectures, inhabitants, and usages at the core of today's urban question.¹¹

At the beginning of the 20th century, with the end of the isolation policy and the start of modernization, Japanese economic development changed the relationship between water and human habitat. During modernization, railroads needed to be constructed, but due to economic problems, the Japanese government could not purchase land. As a solution, they started to fill rivers and moats; therefore, river widths narrowed due to railroad construction, and moats were partly filled, but still, transportation by water was possible.¹² The second phase of the disappearance of rivers was at the end of World War II, which ultimately disrupted the ancestral relationship between the water environment of Edo and its inhabitants.

POSTWAR TOKYO AND THE URBAN GROWTH 1945-1970S

Following the defeat in the WWII, and the consequent collapse of the economy, for five years Japanese cities languished in a state of despair and ruins. With the start of the Korean War and decision of the US military forces to utilize Japan as strategic ally against the common threat of the Communist expansion in the Far East, fresh capitals and substantial resources were poured in. During the 1950s many large-scale projects for the development of new industrial complexes and urban infrastructure were put in place to foster the rebirth of the economy and consolidate a process of urban reconstruction in all major Japanese cities. The fast economic recovery triggered a strong immigration process from the rural areas towards the main productive areas of Japan which were mostly located in the larger cities, especially the capital Tokyo. A fast rate of urban expansion and demographic growth resulted in the sprawl of the suburban fringes and the hyper densification of the core of the city capital, which became a haphazard, largely unregulated, and chaotic patchwork of industrial zones, residential areas, and extensive and intricate systems of mass transport and mobility infrastructures. In spite of the accelerated and largely unplanned urban development, there were many early efforts to control the vigorous growth of Tokyo.

In 1956 the “National Capital Region Development Law” was approved with the intent to control the development of the whole Kanto Region (all the territory economically and functionally connected with the capital) up to a radius of 100 km from Tokyo Prefecture. The committee prepared the ‘National Capital Region Development Plan’ which was approved in 1958 with the goal to develop a constellation of new towns around the main metropolitan area but separated from the central urban core. While this project, inspired by the 1943’s Greater London Plan by Patrick Abercrombie, was proposed with the clear intention to contain the problem of traffic congestion and to limit further concentration of industrial plants and residential complexes through a policy of decentralization, other projects aimed instead at the creation of artificial land, for instance by filling in many of the ancient water canals built during the Edo Period and turning them into road arteries, or by expanding the waterfronts by land reclamation and proposing bolder visions for the future of the capital into the sea. Since 1958 Tokyo and Tokyo Bay became a huge urban laboratory for the development of radical urban ideas and experiments, which went on pair with innovative architectural and urban models proposed by a new generation of architects and planners which would echo the cultural and social changes of postwar Japan driven by its economic miracle.

It is certain that the Japanese government strongly encouraged the concentration of factories and industrial complexes in the Pacific Belt region to foster the efficiency gained from the agglomeration of local economies and achieve higher exports. Heavy and chemical industrialization, the sophistication of the industrial structure and the general strengthening of the foundation of industry became the goals of the “New Long-Run Economic Plan” promoted during the years 1958-1962. A large share of public investments for the construction of roads, ports, land reclamation, and railways development was concentrated along the Pacific Belt coasts, aiming at fostering the expansion of strategic industrial sectors such as steel, petro-

chemicals and shipbuilding production. The direct intervention of the State was pivotal in the development of integrated industrial complexes on extensive landfills on the waterfronts of the Pacific Belt region, providing large sites at low cost for the expanding factories. Prime minister Ikeda's "Double Income Plan" of 1960 became functional in achieving the rapid economic growth of Japan following massive public investments in social overhead capitals for the construction of roads, water supply and port installations in the main industrial areas of Tokyo, Osaka and Nagoya, contributing to the concentration of industries and activities especially in the area of Tokyo harbour.¹³

The provision of the new artificial land was achieved by adjusting and reclaiming the edges of the harbor to make room for the settlement of larger factories, gas plants, central markets, sewerage facilities and power houses which were progressively pushed out of the older part of the central city, forming extensive areas of "Kombinatots", clusters of industrial and residential complexes, along the waterfronts. In Tokyo Bay the amount of land reclamation during the period of so-called high economic growth (1956-1975) was 13.000 hectares, for a share of 27 % of the national total, and concentrated 44 % of all Petrochemical plants and 37 % of all Oil plants of Japan, making the capital the primary core of Japanese industrial economy.¹⁴

In the second half of the 1950s, as the national economy gained momentum, the requests for new lands to sustain the economic growth in Tokyo became more and more a priority. Apart from the need for new industrial facilities such as piers and chemical or cement plants, another important problem was the necessity to contrast the land speculation and the surge of land prices. In the April of 1958 the president of the Japan Housing Corporation (JHC), Kuro Kano proposed the land filling of the North-East side of Tokyo Bay creating artificial land by means of atomic bombs blasts. Known as the "Kuro Kano Proposal", named after the JHC president who proposed the plan, this project was strongly criticized because it implied the radical destruction of the natural environment of the harbor, and it was doubtful that in the long run it could limit the congestion and the sprawl of Tokyo.

In this context new bold proposals for marine habitats based on urban prototypes built on artificial land took shape. The first to propose using offshore artificial islands for the design of marine cities were the architects Masato Otaka and Kiyonori Kikutake, both members of the avant-garde architectural movement Metabolist Group, whose manifesto of utopian megastructures for a new urbanism was presented at the Tokyo World Design Conference in May 1960. Otaka's "Neo-Tokyo Plan - City on the Sea", and Kikutake's "Marine City" represented the beginning of a completely new approach in the Japanese urban design and architecture envisioning and exploring especially the sea and cities waterfronts as potential areas for urban expansion. Their large-scale projects envisioned the extensive use of high density and super-rise residential buildings on reclaimed land or floating platforms in the sea as an alternative to traditional low-rise suburban development complexes built outside the fringes of the metropolitan centres, and, coherently with a general trend of the time, investigated new ways to connect the single architectural unit with the total urban infrastructural system.¹⁵



Fig. 2. Tokyo Plan 1960 by Kenzo Tange. The project was conceived as vast super-urban infrastructure designed around mass circulation systems for the linear expansion of Tokyo across Tokyo Bay.

At the same time, as an alternative to the decentralized model based on the redistribution of people and activities in a system of new towns proposed by the planners of the government, the project “Tokyo Plan 1960” proposed by architect Kenzo Tange emphasized instead the possibility of the city’s future expansion occurring on the bay.¹⁶ The fundamental characteristic of the project was the divergence from the traditional radial pattern of urban growth, which dated since the foundation of Tokyo, and the proposition of a linear model of development across Tokyo Bay along major vast and multi-level arteries of circulation. Tange proposed to convert the core of the city from a “civic centre” to a “civic axis”. Tange’s Tokyo Plan highlighted the importance of mobility channels based on mass-transportation systems and massive and huge structures of suspended bridges and artificial floating platforms, Plan for Tokyo was a substantial deepening of a study started with the research experience of Tange himself at MIT of Boston in 1959 and further refined during his association with the Metabolists.

MODERN DEVELOPMENTS IN TOKYO BAY 1980-2020

The 1980s were among the most prosperous period in modern Japan due to undisputed economic prominence and global influence, which fuelled the ambition to turn Tokyo in a global city on pair with London and New York. During the “Bubble” in the late 1980s a new awareness of the

importance of modern and more efficient public facilities and urban infrastructures for industrial cities, aimed to strength their competitiveness into a more globalized and interconnected world system of cities, resulted into the development of an impressive amount of new mega urban projects in all the major cities of Japan largely financed and supported by the government.¹⁷

In the 1986 the Tokyo Metropolitan Government proposed the creation of a “multi-polar metropolis plan” in order to limit the further spread of the city central business district, and in doing so to control its urban congestion and the excessive population density, balancing the business and residential functions in the metropolitan territory. The main features of the proposed scheme, known as the “Amano Proposal” after the name of the governor of the city council, was the development of a decentralized system of urban sub-centers, with particular attention at the physical and functional expansion of the areas on the West side of Tokyo Bay.

The main core of this urban restructuring of Tokyo was located on the waterfront, between the Tsukishima and Daiba reclaimed lands, and was named “Tokyo Teleport Town” (named also “Tokyo Rainbow Town”). The construction of the new Tokyo waterfront sub-center developed over many years and absorbed consistent resources and capitals but several of the built urban and architectural projects resulted in what many critics decried as an anachronistic and unfitted late-modernist urban layout, with largely unused public open areas extremely distant from the bustling core of the city.¹⁸ The reclaimed areas were filled with groups of large neo rationalist architectures and buildings scattered about vast empty spaces of reclaimed land and connected by long boulevard- like paths that lacked any formal relation to Tokyo’s traditional urban street-scape and pattern of mixed land use. Especially problematic for Tokyo Teleport Town (as well as in other projects of new waterfront developments) was the connection with the mainland and other main urban district of the city in terms of transportation and working activities, which resulted in higher costs for islands’ commuter residents and workers.

Sensitive to the spirit of the time and aiming at less commercial design schemes, other projects for the re-design of Tokyo Bay were proposed by renown architects. Among these there was Kenzo Tange and Kisho Kurokawa. Tange’s 1986 project for a “Tokyo Bay City Plan”, which proposed the creation of a system of large mixed use artificial islands, following his comprehensive and social oriented approach to planning and suggesting again an open-ended and linear pattern of urban growth. Basically, the urban lay-out of the project was a softer and more up-to-date version of the monumental and strictly hierarchical structuralist order of spaces and movement networks that he had already put forward in his first earlier 1961 “Tokyo Plan”, but with minor visual impact and reduced concern for mass-housing issues. “Neo Tokyo Plan 2025”, proposed by Kisho Kurokawa in 1987, showcased a poetic but sterile vision of architect, simply translated on a grander scale many of his earlier Metabolist urban architectures, that were arranged as clusters of floating structures around and atop a doughnut-shaped area of reclaimed land built in the center of Tokyo Bay. Masato Otaka’s masterplan project for Yokohama Minato Mirai 21 (or MM 21 - City of the Future in the 21st Century) - was symptomatic of a process of urban development conceived for and structured around large commercial hubs which presented broad walkable promenades for shopping in largely empty plaza-like open spaces. Overall, Tokyo Bay waterfronts projects development in the 1980s (e.g. Yokohama Minato Mirai MM21 urban development and Odaiba and Chuo breakwater island projects) were envisaged and designed as large

and comprehensive urban master planned office, leisure and commercial enclaves fundamentally intended for a consumerist society (but also flagship of international corporations, and municipal or national governments expressions of their various local and global ambitions), which especially from the middle of the 1980s were sponsored and supported by means of capitals from many public corporations and private companies.



Fig. 3. Recent development of Tokyo Bay waterfronts. Old industrial spaces are progressively removed and converted into new residential complexes filled with high rise towers and green amenities.



Fig. 4. Tokyo Bay waterfronts. The water canals once busy with the traffic of industrial products are now transformed in quiet water promenades which provide relaxing views to high-rise residential buildings.

The burst of the Bubble and the subsequent economic 'lost decade' which started from the early 1990s put a stop to many of the often purely economic speculative and redundant large-scale urban developments and initiated instead a prolonged period of stasis of construction activities which persisted until the programming of the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games (postponed 1 year later due to the Covid-19 Pandemic). In a fierce competition with other Asian rival megacities, Tokyo's metropolitan government enacted programs to stress the city as a global multicultural centre through several new projects aiming at the upgrade of transport infrastructures and urban service provisions, and the showcase the most recent sustainable technologies, local ecology protection initiatives and disaster preparedness developments. This international event thus became an occasion to initiate projects to revitalize old areas and regenerate many urban spaces and facilities on the waterfront by retrofitting or transforming most to the obsolete and unused industrial factories and facilities, and other emptied service areas, into more attractive green and recreational zones (e.g. the relocation of the famous Tsukiji Fish Market and the reconversion of the old Harumi port ferry terminal into a park), suitable for new residential projects and the general use by the people in an improving natural environment. A widespread wave of environmental movements started from the 1960s at the pick of the economic growth, and had a very relevant role in exposing the sense of urgency caused by the growing general pollution of the urban environment in Japan. These were directly responsible for the passing of strict environmental laws which together with the rise of public awareness for the necessity of the recovery and the protection of the natural habitats, in recent years have resulted in an improvement of the quality of the air and water in all the major industrial conurbations.

Currently a better natural environment and in general lessened pollution levels has promoted a renovated interest for living and leisure activities on the waterfronts of Tokyo. A new process of urban densification has prompted new high-rise residential developments which are now mushrooming on the edge of the water bringing the people back to the sea, in the joy of rediscovering the wonders and the beauty of Tokyo Bay and reviving the largely lost memories of this city on the water.

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DISCLOSURE STATEMENT

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Figure 2 Public Domain (Kenzo Tange Associates)
Figure 3 Author's personal collection (Pernice Raffaele, 2023)
Figure 4 Author's personal collection (Pernice Raffaele, 2023)

ENDNOTES

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16. See: Pernice Raffaele, "Japanese Urban Artificial Islands: An Overview of Projects and Schemes for Marine Cities during 1960s-1990s"; *Journal of Architecture and Planning*, (2009), pp. 1847-1855
17. The "Bubble" in Japan indicates a period of strong economic growth following the increased value of stock markets and real estates that characterized the Japanese economy from late 1980s to early 1990s.
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