

PRESERVATION OR DEGRADATION OF LOCAL CULTURAL ASSETS IN CENTRAL TOKYO – THE CASE OF THE PLANS TO RELOCATE THE TSUKIJI FISH MARKET

Matjaz Ursic¹

Abstract

Most cultural-led redevelopment projects in today's global cities are devised with the clear objective of stimulating their economic growth. Redevelopment schemes usually aim to develop consumption services and urban settings to make the city more attractive for investors. In many cases, redevelopment has led to a diminishment in diversity of local cultural spaces in the inner-city areas. Historically and socially important services and institutions like Tokyo's Tsukiji Fish Market tend to be relocated and replaced by less traditional and culturally less attractive spaces. This short-term strategy cannot really succeed in preserving or integrating local cultures, which may in the long run help Tokyo to become distinctively different from other global competing cities and to benefit from these advantages. The article analyses the plans to renovate or redevelop specific local consumption spaces in Tokyo, and explores what mechanisms and strategies are being used by the involved actors to accomplish their goals.

Keywords: urban policies, culture, preservation

Introduction - competitive (global) urban policies and the diminished importance of local consumption spaces

The prosperity of today's global cities largely depends upon preserving their comparative advantages, networking capabilities and efficient management of the economic strategic resources that provide adequate conditions for the city's fast economic growth. In order to follow this scheme, cities are required to implement very competitive urban policies, exerting heavy pressure at the local level. Competitive urban policies are directly reflected in urban redevelopment projects that strive to concentrate the consumption activities, products, information, urban

¹ University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences, Centre for Spatial Sociology

settings, and events that make the city attractive to investors, visitors, and affluent groups of the population. The article focuses on the processes of transformation affecting the remaining locally embedded consumption spaces in central Tokyo. More specifically, it explores the attempts and plans to relocate, renovate, or redevelop these spaces to stimulate the city's economic growth. To gain better insight into the extent of these transformation processes, we took a closer look at a particular urban redevelopment scheme, the plans to relocate the Tsukiji Fish Market, located in one of Tokyo's central wards (Chūō-ku). Although the Tsukiji Fish Market is symbolically, historically and socially one of the most important local consumption spaces in the city, the spatial plans of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government² (2006) have once more made it one of the focal points of the city's future redevelopment.

Most urban redevelopment projects may indeed introduce new qualities (e.g. new shopping areas, improved traffic infrastructure, new green spaces) to the transformed areas, but the basic objective remains economic growth. Competitive urban policies bring new economic resources to the city, but redevelopment often leads to a diminishment in diversity of consumption spaces at the local level. Many unique, vibrant, culturally and socially important consumption spaces, like the small economic subjects, local establishments, which in the past contributed to "urbanism as a way of life" (Wirth 1938, 2000), are being either removed, transformed, or substituted with high street shops, exhibition halls, exclusive shopping malls, and other consumption spaces of the type found in any metropolis around the world. As such, the diminishment in diversity of consumption spaces refers not only to the reduced heterogeneity of ethnic, cultural, historical elements present in these spaces, but also to the diminishment in variety of activities, services and experiences, constituting and integrating local communities and granting specific identities to these spaces. Local consumption spaces therefore cannot be simply defined as any open/closed space where the operation of trade, the exchange of materialized economic value, is performed, but also as places constituting networks of personal relationships and sustaining special forms of "embodied" and "institutionalized cultural capital" (Granovetter 1985; Bourdieu 1986; Thornton 1997).

When it comes to transforming local consumption spaces, Tokyo is not an exception in comparison to other world cities. Nevertheless, Tokyo has special features that intensify these processes. During its short modernisation history, which started about a century and a half ago, Tokyo has climbed from the position of a rather peripheral Asian city to

2 Below referred to with the abbreviation 'TMG'.

that of a nodal point for international trade, investment and headquarter operations. As one of the main centres for the operation of global capital, Tokyo is often described in terms of a “world city” or “world-class city” (Sassen 1994, 2001; Taylor 2004). Although Tokyo has a strong position in the global system, it has to constantly renew its status against the rival cities that try to divert the flows of foreign investments, transnational corporations and tourists.³ Machimura (1997, 149) mentions that there are huge differences between Tokyo and other primary world cities in the core countries. Compared to New York or London, Tokyo lacks a more “ethnically and culturally diverse nature” and does not have a long history as an immigrant destination. Both London and New York have long histories as centres, not only of economic, but also global political power; combined with their great influx of international immigrants, this presented them with a favourable starting point for trade, exchange of information, and creative industries. Tokyo, on the other hand, is a “purely economic world centre” (ibid.), distant from the western countries, and consequently highly dependable upon the network system, advances in telecommunications, and transport technology, and the city is therefore compelled to implement a competitive urban policy in order to keep up the economic pace.

Globalization policies carried out within the city generate strong ambivalences at the local level. By stimulating competitive urban development they both enable economic growth and exclude small local actors, who generally are not capable of joining the big “growth coalitions” (Logan, Molotch 2007). Especially areas occupying strategically important spaces in the city, full of less profit-oriented small economic services accumulated in the past, now experience huge pressures from urban developers. These developments enhance our awareness of the importance of alternative or non-standardized local consumption spaces, which represent an important cultural asset but are gradually being driven out to marginal locations and replaced by less traditional and culturally less attractive spaces.

Though the article centres on an analysis of the effects of the possible relocation of the Tsukiji Fish Market, it also tries to address the problem of diminishment in diversity of local consumption spaces from a broader perspective. Based on qualitative analysis of interviews the article tries to identify various views, opinions and ideological perceptions of the

³ Based on a network analysis of global producer services, Taylor (2004) identifies Shanghai, Seoul and other Asian metropolises as cities that would like to join the prestigious club of cities with the highest global connectivity index like London, New York, Hong-Kong, Paris, and Tokyo.

different actors involved in the process of relocation. Analysing the attempt to relocate the Tsukiji Fish Market is actually an investigation into the discourse strategies used by the various actors to support their arguments. The discourse of the city authorities is confronted with that of other important city actors involved in the spatial transformation of Tokyo. Comparisons between the groups reveal huge discrepancies in the perceptions and orientations on how to continue with the redevelopment of local consumption spaces. These discrepancies are thoroughly explored in the article as they may in the long run lead to the process of redevelopment that would diminish the value of local cultural assets and attractiveness of the central wards for specific groups of users. Consequently, these processes could reduce the advantages of rich cultural heritage that Tokyo has in comparison with other global cities.

Diminishment in diversity of local consumption spaces – from reflexive to instrumental spaces

In the context of globalization and competitive urban planning, the process of diminishment in diversity is obvious from the specific organization of space, aimed at attracting global capital investments and maximizing the city's profits (Harvey 1989; Friedmann 1995). The consequence of this primarily urban-growth oriented formula is reflected in the accumulation of similar elements, i.e. the homogenization of world cities whose economic bases, social structures and spatial organizations are becoming more and more alike. Even though New York, London, and Tokyo have different types of market economies and are governed by different political and cultural systems, their common denominator remains a trend towards concentrating global capital flows. Striving for their cities to have greater appeal and a globally competitive edge, their business and political leaders do not want to risk disappointing potential investors, and they resort to an organization of space that will yield the highest level of economic profitability in the shortest possible time. This results in a new cultural and commercial redevelopment strategy which by "...rebuilding the centres of cities produces an instantly recognizable corporate zone with cultural amenities for a discerning 'global eye' ..." (Zukin 2009, 23). Similar developmental ideas, connected with the expansion of branded businesses, shopping and cultural quarters, are applied in many cities around the world, resulting in turn in a pronounced homogenization of central areas.

Zukin (1998, 825) notes that city governments tend to rely on "strategies that 'aestheticise', or focus on the visual consumption of public space - although this has been accompanied by an increase in private groups' control over specific public spaces". By distinguishing between

'acceptable' and 'non-acceptable' elements, authorities establish specific rules or standards to be applied in the course of urban redevelopment processes. This evaluation process produces standardised spaces, resulting in uninspiring urban impulses, depleted of local identity elements and experiences.⁴ Analyzing urban lifestyles, Donald (1999) writes that the balance between the Apollonian and disciplinary dimensions of modernity in the city has been upset. The latter dimensions are greatly endorsed by municipal authorities, which try to remove, or at least camouflage, all traces of social conflict and chaos, which are an equally important aspect of urban experience. Sennett (1996) explains that the body becomes more stimulated when confronted with difficulties and ruptures in the routine of everyday life. Moderate impulses of confrontation and stress are necessary elements for stimulating and enlivening the senses, enabling the individual to acquire specific life experiences through the process of entering a dialogue with the environment and negotiating with it. These experiences also serve the individual to construct self-identification and establish personal defence mechanisms for coping with the challenges of everyday life. Standardised spaces cannot fully reproduce the excitement of heterogeneity and unexpected events. In fact, these spaces reproduce impulses of planned stress, i.e. adrenaline surges or amusement advertised by multifunctional shopping malls and theme parks, but they cannot provide opportunities for experiencing real social confrontations or ambivalent urban situations of the kind a person needs to experience to construct a socio-critical view of society.

The processes of standardization of spaces combine with changes that have occurred to the notion of urban lifestyle and the use of public spaces. Although urban lifestyles tend to become more diversified through individual switching between the use of one or another lifestyle (Featherstone, 1991), urban spaces and their users are also inherently more consumption oriented. Zukin (1991, 2009) notes that cities are no longer seen as landscapes of production, but rather as landscapes of consumption, relying on the offer of standardized products and spaces to stimulate urban growth. In order to create a more attractive space for consumers, urban planners tend to organize public space on the basis of a safe and highly controlled environment, functioning as a "theatre in which a pacified public basks in the grandeur of a carefully orchestrated corporate spectacle" (Crilly 1993, 153). In a similar vein, Tanaka (1994, 58) writes that the reconfiguration of Tokyo's commercial landscape in

⁴ Zukin (1998, 2009) mentions various cases of 'sterilization' of space (e.g. Las Vegas, Disney World, Times Square in New York), which combine protection of visual appeal with strict measures of surveillance and control over space.

the 1980's gave rise to a number of mediated urban spaces that relied on "cultural guidebooks", fashionable urban lifestyle magazines, which reshaped people's perception of consumption in the city. In effect, new navigation charts commodified urban spatial units as readily consumable products, saturated with pre-prepared fashionable contents for potential consumers.

Along with commodification pressures, it seems that public spaces are losing features of "heterogeneous reflexive placeness" and acquiring features of "standardized instrumental spaceness" (Hocevar 2000, 140). Standardized instrumental spaces are related to the features of homogenization, universality and globalization. From the perspective of everyday users, they represent a reliable structure or 'container', functioning according to well-known patterns of social behaviour. Instrumental spaces also operate as mediators, means, and factors, helping users to accomplish specific goals and they are strongly associated with the use of infrastructural networks. Reflexive spaces, on the other hand, are closer to the features of diversity, distinctiveness, and individualization. They are embedded in a specific context, which to some extent does not depend on the larger structure. They are "alone according to the context, goal and source (resource) of actors' activity" (ibid.). Reflexive spaces are based on an active process of self-organization and self-realization, creating unique spatial identifications with a very unpredictable span of duration. The distinctions between instrumental and reflexive urban spaces are presented in table 1.

Table 1: Comparative features of instrumental and reflexive urban spaces

INSTRUMENTAL SPACES	REFLEXIVE SPACES
Similarity (homogenization, indistinctiveness)	Diversity (heterogenisation, distinctiveness)
Exchangeability (universality, standardization)	Irreplaceability (uniqueness, particularity)
Repetitiveness	Occasionality (periodicity)
Rational selectivity (expediency)	Reflexive selectivity (contextuality)
Monotony (routinization, incumbency)	Dynamics (agitation)
Streaming (circulation)	Presence (attendance, stabilization)
Physical accessibility (transitoriness, access)	Joining (accession, participation)
Performance (necessity, usefulness)	Happening (desirability, event)
Atemporality (timelessness, durability)	Temporality (temporariness, fluidity)
Consolidation (fixed dependency)	Embeddedness (situated dependency)
Applicability (cognitive utility)	Expressiveness (symbolic-aesthetic expressiveness)
Materiality (resource)	Symbolism (source)
Anticipation (expectedness)	Surprisingness (unexpectedness)

Source: Hocevar, M. (2000). *Novi urbani trendi; Prizoriska v mestih - omrežja med mesti* (New Urban Trends; City Scenes – City Networks). Ljubljana, Znanstvena knjiznica.

Every public space in the city contains elements of both instrumental and reflexive spaces. In general, an efficient public space model comprises features of both types and the mixture will depend on the local context. A similar view can be applied when analyzing current transformations of local consumption spaces. Whereas traditional local consumption spaces had a lot of elements of both reflexive and instrumental spaces, they have recently been undergoing changes and acquiring more features of instrumental spaces. We may then speculate that traditional consumption spaces are losing specific elements of “cultural capital” found in embodied, institutionalised or objectified state (Bourdieu 1986, 248-250). The cultural capital in embodied state is represented in the individual, as a type of socialisation that has shaped his or her personality and is strongly linked to one's habitus - a person's

character and way of thinking.⁵ The embodied cultural capital is linked with institutionalised cultural capital, represented in the individual's institutional perceptions, and most often understood as a credential or qualification acquired in the process of 'schooling - education' at a specific institution (*ibid.*). Objectified cultural capital is found in material things such as scientific instruments, works of art, or architecture. These cultural goods in physical form can be translated into economic capital and today represent a well-established form of commercial entity.⁶

In specific occasions, competitive urban planning intentionally evades such complex definitions of cultural capital. By taking into consideration the features of instrumental spaces, redevelopment procedures often tend to concentrate on the mere physical preservation of objectified cultural capital. The shift from reflexive to more instrumental spaces may thus be marked by a shift in the level of preservation of the specific forms of cultural capital present at a specific locality undergoing redevelopment. Such redevelopment orientations cause the diversity of cultural elements of consumption spaces to be reduced by redeveloping whole streets of small, local establishments and substituting them with "Disneyfied" (Serizawa 1987; Zukin 1991, 1995) shopping districts, offices, gentrified housing units or theme parks. Even when the redeveloped areas include a mixture of various elements in the form of interrelated offices, housing, restaurants, museums and street structures, the new urban arrangement usually does not support close coexistence of different social groups, luxury and cheap shopping spaces, or highly (corporate) and non-profitable economic activities. Consequently, the collateral damage of redevelopment projects is evident in the spatial segregation, adapted forms of zoning and gentrification processes.

How to establish spaces of non-destructive coexistence of different interests, less compatible functions and distinctive lifestyles, is one of the most subtle challenges of (post)modern planning. How to overcome the principles of exclusion, zoning or gentrification, which may be subdued, but are still present during the redevelopment process? The most attractive and picturesque scenes in a city are usually found in

5 While people can possess objectified cultural capital by owning a house or a painting, they can only 'consume' a painting, i.e. understand its cultural meaning, if they have the correct type of embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu 1986).

6 Cities with a rich cultural-historical heritage (e.g. Venice, Florence), important museums (e.g. Louvre, Prado) or art galleries (e.g. National gallery) have relied on this type of capital for centuries. By using various marketing and promotional strategies they convert cultural capital into economic capital.

places with the highest contrast between apparently non-compatible ingredients. Such concentration of extremes and diversities is undoubtedly highly problematic and potentially conflictive. For these reasons, specific formal and informal spatial regulations undoubtedly have to be in place - not with the intention to exclude, but to integrate and enable the coexistence of various groups, institutions and services. The following chapter describes what various actors involved in the redevelopment of the Tsukiji Fish Market view as the most suitable form of applying spatial regulations. The official redevelopment scheme, proposed by the city authorities (TMG 2006), is supposed not to harm the existing coexistence of groups, institutions and services in the market. However, our analysis of the interviews revealed radical differences in opinions between specific groups, implying that an important part of the socio-cultural features at the present locality may be irreversibly transformed during the redevelopment process.

Analysis of the issues connected with the relocation of the Tsukiji Fish Market

Contextual description of the Tsukiji Fish Market

Tokyo is a so-called “postmodern multi-centred city” (Soja 1996) with not just one distinguishable centre, but a network of centres supplementing each other’s functional roles. In accordance with the urban structure, the areas under the greatest pressure of redevelopment are located around the central terminal stations of the suburban railways and main stations on the Yamanote Train Loop. Because of their exceptional location, the areas close to the main transport hubs face great transformations. Yet, even in these areas one can find spaces which have managed to establish themselves as niches in the redevelopment process. According to the data from the research studies “Social atlas of Tokyo” (Kurasawa 1986) and “New social atlas of Tokyo” (Kurasawa, Asakawa 2004), these non-standardized spaces mostly constitute of ‘small pockets’, i.e. limited areas with a special functional and social structure, which for various reasons managed to escape intensive redevelopment and commodification. Many of these small pockets⁷ can be found in various central areas of the city, including the Tsukiji Market, which is located in

⁷ Examples range from miniature areas, pockets like Omoide-yokochō, “Memory Lane” or colloquially ‘Piss alley’ (a small alley full of yakitori bars, eateries near the Shinjuku station) to bigger areas like the Shinjuku Golden Gai (a small network of alleys full of tiny bars and eateries), as well as neighborhoods like Shimo-Kitazawa (a vibrant area full of second-hand shops, galleries, studios, bars, cafés etc.). Recently, all these have been facing great challenges due to intensive redevelopment processes that try to change their social, economic and functional structure (see Echanove 2006).

Chūō-ku,⁸ between the district of Ginza and Tokyo bay. Chūō-ku lies on the “gentrification frontier” (Smith, 1996), which encompasses Tokyo on the periphery and extends from Shinjuku-ku, Shibuya-ku, Ikebukuro to the west, to Ueno, Asakusa, Sumida-ku, Edogawa-ku to the north and east (Uemura 1989; Kondo 1990). The area of Chūō-ku is interesting for further analysis, not only because it is close to some of Tokyo’s central commercial areas, but also on account of the many brown fields, which are being redeveloped into commercial and business areas following the relocation of industrial plants. As such, the area is subjected to more intensive redevelopment and commodification processes.

The Tsukiji Fish Market⁹ is the focal point of the food and culinary industry in Tokyo and influences the whole chain of seafood distribution in Japan and wider. It functions as the main hub linking Japan’s domestic fishing and food industries to international networks. Day after day, tons of fresh fish are delivered to Tsukiji by plane from all around the globe, to be sold at the auctions. The Tsukiji Fish Market has an approximate 15 percent share of all the seafood that goes through Japan, but even more importantly, it is a special cultural and economic institution that helps to determine the prices of specific seafood at the global level. The market functions as a cultural institution in the sense that it promotes specific culinary trends and governs what is fashionable or not in the field of seafood preparation. In this form, it functions as a central node for accumulating human potentials in specific fields of culinary culture and industry. The Tsukiji Fish Market operates as a delicate structure of social relationships, concentrating a great deal of knowledge about the preparation of seafood in Japan.

The marketplace is a good example of how unique and complex forms of cultural capital can be. All three forms of cultural capital can be found here. The old functionalist architecture, influenced by Bauhaus and the International Style, stands for objectified, i.e. materialized cultural

8 The area of Tokyo City is divided into 23 special wards (tokubestsu-ku), which have special administrative relationships with the prefectural and metropolitan government. The Chūō-ku or Chūō ward is historically one of the three core wards of Tokyo, together with Chiyoda and Minato. The Chūō ward consists of several districts, one of them being the Tsukiji district where the wholesale market is located.

9 The Tsukiji Central Wholesale Market (Tsukiji Shijō) is the world’s largest seafood market. Although most of the market’s area is occupied by the seafood division, a small part of the market includes a division with a variety of other food products. When referring to the seafood division, we will use the term Tsukiji Fish Market (Tsukiji Uoichiba) or TFM, and the term Tsukiji Market (Tsukiji Shijō) will refer to the entire market, including both divisions.

capital. The institutionalized and embodied forms of cultural capital are less visible on the surface, but they are in fact the most important part of the marketplace's cultural heritage. Bestor (1999) explains that the marketplace and its provisioning roles are "generators of cultural meaning", where "traders – both small and large scale¹⁰ – regard themselves as stewards of Japan's culinary heritage, a significant source of cultural capital"(1999, 203-209). The Tsukiji traders and their knowledge about seafood, accumulated over generations, represent embodied and to some extent institutionalised cultural capital. As Bestor describes: "Traders possess cultural capital through their affiliation with the upscale marketplace that lays claim to great historical venerability. At the same time, their cultural positions are reproduced and reinforced daily by their central involvement in disseminating and creating the distinctions among foodstuffs upon which the restaurant trade as well as amateur connoisseurship depend" (ibid.). The role of the traders and the importance of their cultural capital is most evident from the marketplace's auction system, the principal mechanism determining the prices of specific types of fresh seafood. The auction enables traders to show their unique skills, knowledge and to confirm their reputation as primary judges of the quality of fresh seafood. Because of its importance to the cultural and economic structure of Japan, it is not surprising that the debate about the possible relocation of the Tsukiji Fish Market raised a number of problematic issues.

The marketplace is located just a few blocks away from the glittering lights of Ginza, one of Tokyo's most famous shopping districts. The headquarters of some of Japan's leading companies like Dentsu and Asahi Shimbun are located in its vicinity. New business and commercial areas are constantly emerging in the area, and together with the protected Hama-rikyu gardens they now virtually encircle the Tsukiji market (see figures 1 and 2).

10 The market has a complex internal socio-economic structure. The main actors at the market are 7 primary wholesalers or auction houses, which sell seafood to approximately 800 intermediate wholesalers and 350 authorized buyers (see the Tsukiji Market's official web page: http://www.tsukiji-market.or.jp/tukiji_e.htm). All the socio-economic actors require a special license, issued by the TMG, to operate in the market. The authorized buyers have the right to participate at the auctions, but not to resell the seafood in the market. This group consists of agents buying seafood for big customers like supermarkets and restaurant chains. The intermediate wholesalers not only have the right to participate at the auctions, but also to resell the seafood from their stalls in the market. The intermediate wholesalers sell seafood to more than 30,000 small buyers, who come to Tsukiji on a daily basis.

Figure 1(left): Part of the Tsukiji Market (left from the bridge) and the new high-rise estates to the north-east of Chūō-ku

Figure 2 (right): Day-time operations at the Tsukiji Market and the redeveloped area in the background (e.g. Dentsu Incorporated building, Asahi Shimbun newspaper building)



Source: Photographs taken by Matjaz Ursic (14.8.2009)

The unique position of the Tsukiji Fish Market, which sits on one of the world's most expensive building grounds, has provoked numerous plans, talks and rumours about its reconstruction or rebuilding at a new location

in the past.¹¹ So far, all the announced plans have been abandoned or have been realized only in part. The most ambitious plan for reconstruction at the present location was unfolded in 1990, when the TMG presented a vision of a technologically sophisticated complex, which would integrate all possible infrastructures needed for the marketplace's functioning. The existing pre-war structures, some of them built in the 1930s, were to be gradually replaced with adequate modern buildings. Reconstruction began in 1990, but was stopped in 1996 after the governor elections and the restructuring of government funding. During this period only one of the great buildings was finished – the multi-storey garage - while the marketplace continued to operate in its pre-war buildings.

In 2001, a new plan for the area of the Tsukiji market was presented by the TMG. The plan changed from reconstruction to complete relocation and building a new modern market at a location in Toyosu island in Tokyo bay. The relocation plan raised a number of issues dividing the public, city authorities, and the workers at the Tsukiji Fish Market into two groups, one opposed to and the other supporting relocation.

Besides the problems with contaminated soil on the de-industrialised land of Toyosu¹², some of the most problematic issues related to the tangible and intangible cultural heritage that would be lost by the relocation.

To analyse the problematic issues of the Tsukiji Fish Market's relocation, we performed a series of in-depth interviews with the various actors connected with the marketplace and wider spatial processes in Tokyo. The information acquired through these interviews was then combined with field on-site observations of Tsukiji and its neighbouring environments. The analysis included diverse information, but the primary

11 For example, in the official announcement of Tokyo's bid for the Olympics 2016, the area of the Tsukiji Fish Market was designed to be cleared to make way for the media center or Olympic Village (see Mainichi Daily Hantai News, 28th April 2006), while the TMG's 2006 spatial plan, called "Tokyo's big change – The 10 year plan", included a series of traffic infrastructure projects for this location.

12 According to the preliminary blueprints, the Tsukiji Fish Market is to be transferred to a vacant lot owned by the Tokyo Gas Company. The soil analysis from the area drew a lot of attention from civil groups because of the high degree of soil liquefaction and concentration of heavy metals and other toxic waste. The construction of a seafood market on unstable and contaminated land could present a potential risk in the case of earthquakes, floods or corrosion of building materials. This article does not deal with the environmental problems, because its main focus is on the analysis of the social and cultural issues connected with the market's relocation.

data came from in-depth interviews with representatives of official institutions, economic and civil groups, as well as local leaders familiar with the planned relocation of the Tsukiji Fish Market. More specifically, the interviewees included: traders at the Tsukiji Fish Market (intermediate wholesalers), experts on Tokyo's and Japan's spatial issues (urban sociologists, planners, architects), TMG officials involved in spatial issues, adjacent residents (up to 500m from the location), residents from other parts of Tokyo (outside the Chūō ward), and representatives of the civil initiative for the preservation of the Tsukiji Fish Market. Each interviewed group consisted of 5 to 6 persons, while the total number of performed in-depth interviews was 34. The method of interviewing was based on a semi-structured questionnaire or "structured open-ended interview" (Kitchin, Tate 2000, 213), according to which the interviewee's responses were not fully constrained to the categories provided by the interviewer. Using this method, all the interviewees were asked the same basic questions in the same order, but given the opportunity to change their mode of response and add their own opinions. The interviews were performed in August and September 2009.

In the analysis of the interviews, several discourse analytical methods (Fairclough 1992; Wodak 2001; Verschueren 1995) were used. The analytical approach did not follow the conceptual schemes of specific authors in detail, but was developed as a mixture or combination of various discursive approaches. To be even more exact, the used methodological approach cannot be defined as discourse analysis, but more appropriately as text analysis fitting into the field of discourse analysis. The basic intention was to establish an approach that would explore and reveal the fabric of meaning production in the case of the various groups connected to the issue of the marketplace's relocation in a simple and adequate manner.

The comparative analysis of the interviews revealed how the different groups, in which the individuals are embedded, produce different discourses in order to have a certain effect on the listeners. Discourses can be described as "patterns in argumentation" (Cruikshank 2003, 4) in the sense that opinions about a specific subject can be connected to other opinions about related subjects. Based on the numerous connections between related subjects, discourses have the form of 'solid' structures, which have "an intrinsic logic between different opinions and meaning connected to them" (ibid.). The main subjects of discourse analysis are therefore not fragmented opinions emerging in conversation, but entire patterns of meaning, i.e. meaning systems.

The analysis of meaning systems within the various groups enabled us to differentiate between real (actual) and potential (apparent) interests, relations and processes generated by the debate concerning the relocation of the Tsukiji Fish Market. The analysis shed light on a great variety of communication, i.e. discourse techniques, used by specific groups to try and legitimise their interventions in space and gather sufficient public support for them. By emphasising some themes and arguments and silencing other, unpleasant ones, below the threshold of attention, these groups try to steer the public discussion towards 'desirable' topics.

“Location does not matter” - Instrumentalisation of the Tsukiji Fish Market in debates on the marketplace’s relocation

The Tsukiji Fish Market contains various forms of cultural capital, which are not recognized in the same way by all the interest groups involved in the issue of its relocation. Unsurprisingly, the central issue of debate in the interviews was the definition and value of the intangible cultural capital, revealing sharp distinctions between the perceptions, opinions, and use of arguments between the different actors.

Based on opposition/indifference/support to the marketplace’s relocation, the interviewed groups can be divided into three clusters. These three clusters are further differentiated by the intensity of using instrumental/reflexive features to describe the marketplace. In most groups the members stated that the Tsukiji Fish Market comprises features of both instrumental and reflexive spaces. Consequently, each group could be included in several clusters. However, for the clarity of this analysis, some secondary or residual group features were excluded and specific groups were judged only according to the dominant feature (see table 2).

Table 2: Dominant features of clusters, divided by opposition/indifference/support to the marketplace’s relocation

	1st cluster SUPPORT to relocation	2nd cluster INDIFFERENCE to relocation	3rd cluster OPPOSITION to relocation
INSTRUMENTAL features	XXX	XX	X
REFLEXIVE features	X	XX	XXX

* The sign “X” shows the presence of a specific feature and the number of signs shows the intensity- the cluster’s dominant feature

The first cluster consists of groups favouring relocation and they mainly associate the Tsukiji Fish Market with features of instrumental spaces. The second cluster is composed of groups that are more or less indifferent about the relocation and equally use features of instrumental and reflexive spaces. The third cluster includes groups opposing relocation and these largely describe the Tsukiji Fish Market with features of reflexive spaces. Groups tending to use the features of instrumental spaces more intensely are also more prone to deny the presence of more complex forms of cultural capital at the Tsukiji Fish Market. On the other side are groups which mainly use the 'rhetorics' of reflexive spaces and acknowledge the marketplace's complex forms of cultural capital. How the interviewed groups differ by described features is presented in table 3.

Table 3: Interviewed groups and their main features

Interviewed groups, actors	Support/ Indifference/ Opposition to relocation	Types of recognized cultural capital by specific group	Use of DISCOURSE TYPES by specific groups
a) TMG officials involved in spatial issues	- strong support for relocation	* weak materialized	1. safety (hygienic, catastrophic) 2. economic (neo-liberal) 3. professional (functional, technician, systemic)
b) residents from other parts of Tokyo	- advocacy	* weak materialised	1. consumer discourse 2. lay discourse
	- indifference	* weak institutionalised	
c) experts in the field of spatial issues in Tokyo and Japan	- indifference	* weak materialised	1. lay discourse 2. culturalist discourse
	- opposition	* weak institutionalised * weak embodied	
d) residents in close vicinity (500m) of the TFM	- opposition	* weak materialised ** strong institutionalised ** strong embodied	1. localist discourse 2. economic (consumer) 3. nostalgic
e) traders at the TFM	- opposition	** strong materialised *** very strong institutionalised *** very strong embodied	1. nostalgic (culturalist) 2. participative (social, egalitarian, collective, activist) 3. economic (consumer)
f) civil initiative for the Tsukiji Fish Market	- opposition	*** very strong materialised *** very strong institutionalised *** very strong embodied	1. activist (ecological) 2. culturalist discourse 3. participative (social)

* the intensity of shading or the number of asterisks suggests the level of affirmative perception of the listed categories: the higher the number of signs/intensity of shading, the more in favour of the category/proposal the opinion of representatives from a specific interest group is.

In line with the level of their opposition/support to relocation, the way they resort to reflexive/instrumental features and their recognition/disregard of complex cultural capital, the groups use different types of discourses to support their arguments and reject the opponents' opinions. Members of the first and partly second group, including TMG officials and residents from other parts of Tokyo, used specific discourses to support relocation. Especially the group of TMG officials strongly advocated relocation, whilst a part of the group, composed of Tokyo residents, was more restrained in their opinions, but still more or less supported relocation for various reasons. The group of TMG officials often decidedly used the safety, economic and professional (functional) discourses to support their arguments (see table 4). Because of the great variety of discourses in the interviews, only a few examples of the most common discourses are presented (emphasized in italics) in tables 4 and 5 to show the basic rhetoric strategies used by specific groups.

Table 4: Types of discourses used by groups in favour of relocation

Discourse	Example
Safety discourse	"The market is in bad hygienic condition due to its outdated infrastructure ..." "The market cannot provide appropriate security standards in case of fire, earthquakes or other natural disasters..."
Economic discourse	"The fish market has a great potential, but not in the present state, its potential is non-developed, non-existent..." "...the relocation (of the market) will benefit the trade and help all the employed at the TFM." "It (the relocated market) will provide clean, safe, comfortable and specialized tourist facilities..."
Professional discourse	"The experts think the only solution is to relocate the market..." "Based on professional opinions, the new location will improve the performance of the TFM ..."
Consumer discourse	"Sometimes, I go to buy food in the morning but it's too crowded and not really clean and tidy" "It's just a market where I go from time to time to buy fish"

One of the most common rhetoric strategies in the safety discourse was the use of terms associating the marketplace with the process of irreversible deterioration. In the debate, the emphasis was strictly on the

process of the marketplace's degradation, while terms associated with the process of renovation and regeneration of the Tsukiji Fish Market were as good as absent. The safety discourse was often linked with the professional discourse, focusing on functional aspects of deterioration and perceiving relocation as an improvement, which would eliminate dysfunctional elements, i.e. "improve the market's performance". During the interviews, some group members identified these dysfunctional and "disturbing elements" as "bad hygienic condition" or inappropriate "security standards in the case of fire, earthquakes or other natural disasters". Simultaneously, the use of an economic (neo-liberal) discourse was strongly present in interviews with members from this group. The importance of economic arguments and the financial welfare of all the actors involved were frequently stressed. Superficially, TMG officials agreed that the Tsukiji Fish Market represents an important economic entity with a long tradition, but that this would be respected and recreated at the new site in Toyosu. According to them, changing the location of the economic activity will not influence the market's basic functioning, but on the contrary benefit the traders due to improved working conditions, better technical infrastructure, sanitary standards, tourist facilities and expanded shopping and storage space. The aspect of tourism, recreated at the new facility and location, was perceived as the fish market's great economic potential by this group. The interviews revealed that the members of this group imagine the potential in the form of a standardized mass tourist attraction - "clean, safe, comfortable and specialized tourist facilities", separated from the actual marketplace, which at present includes in an integrated form a mix of production, trading and auction areas. To support their arguments, they often resorted to the professional (functional) discourse, trying to convince the other discussants to accept 'facts' based on 'professional' knowledge. This rhetoric strategy is based on the presumption that the other discussants will accept expert opinions without questioning them and single out this group as 'people who know the truth'. However, it is not clear who exactly is supposed to be part of the profession (expert team) that demands certain measures.

One part of the group of Tokyo residents voiced support for relocation based on information gathered from the mass media. To justify their support for relocation they mainly relied on the consumer discourse, emphasizing the reasons that would offer them a comfortable, reliable, clean, safe shopping experience at the fish market. At the same time it turned out that members from this group tend to identify more with Tsukiji's 'outer' market, not with the 'inner' wholesale fish market. The outer market is situated alongside the Tsukiji Fish Market and is excluded from the redevelopment and relocation plans. The

neighbourhood offers a number of restaurants, shops and other consumption spaces, connected with or dependent on seafood products from the inner market. Due to its offer and its location between the inner market and Ginza, many consumers first stop at the outer market and do not enter the fish market's facilities. Consequently, some interviewees even perceive the outer market as the only original Tsukiji Market.

Another part of the group of Tokyo residents, together with a part of the experts on Tokyo's and Japan's spatial issues, was much more indifferent towards the marketplace's relocation. Their members showed a lack of adequate information and were, due their dependency upon the availability of mass-mediated news, indifferent about the marketplace's relocation. To some members of these two groups the situation at the Tsukiji Fish Market is ambiguous and confusing. Aware of their ambiguous perception, the members of these groups gave points of approval to both the advocates and opponents of relocation. During the interviews they therefore relied on the lay discourse, frequently stating that they were not competent enough to voice a proper opinion, that they "could not properly judge" the relocation issue. Interviews with members of these groups showed that the Tsukiji Fish Market is a strongly "mediated urban space" (Yoshimi 1987) and that it is not presented adequately in the public sphere due to the lack of basic sources of information.

Parts of the expert group, the group of adjacent residents (up to 500m from the marketplace), the group of traders at the marketplace, and the civil initiative group for the preservation of the Tsukiji Fish Market opposed relocation and highlighted several problems that may arise during its redevelopment. First and using the culturalist, localist discourse, their members emphasized that the marketplace's organizational structure is not similar to that of a standardized place of consumption and production, but includes some features of public spaces (table 5).

Table 5: Types of discourses used by groups opposing relocation

Discourse	Example
Culturalist discourse	"The Tsukiji Fish Market is an important part of Tokyo's history..."
Localist discourse	"I live in the neighbourhood but I meet with friends who work at market every day..." "Oh, I remember the traders from my street, who would go to the Tsukiji Fish Market to buy..."
Participative	"Me and my friends traders will not move until we

(social, egalitarian, collective)	know the details...” “There should be another agreement (lottery) to keep the group spirit alive...”
Nostalgic	“I still remember the times when we would...” “There were times when everybody was involved...”
Activist discourse	“The modernist buildings in the market must be preserved at any cost...”

These features include non-stop accessibility, the lack of efficient control over visitors, spontaneously formed grass-root social networks, and their symbolic representations in space. Especially the free access of visitors, who sometimes cross the invisible lines between the private and public¹³ in the marketplace, puzzled the group members. The visitors, who may also be potential consumers and enter the marketplace to buy seafood or observe its functioning, have helped to establish the Tsukiji Fish Market as a world famous attraction, recognized in its present form. By enforcing tight security controls over the visitors and consumers, the traditional organizational structure of the marketplace would break down and new, unpredictable relationships would be formed. The members of these groups are convinced that in the long-term the marketplace would adapt and develop mechanisms that would establish peaceful coexistence of all involved actors, and thus preserve the core of the present organizational structure.

The groups of adjacent residents and marketplace traders voiced many doubts about the new plan, because it “does not explain in detail the functional and economic restructuring of the market” that may occur during the transfer. Although specific elements of the economic discourse were evident in these two groups, most members opposed relocation because they were concerned about the future organisation of the fish trade and its financial prosperity. Similarly to the civil initiative group, the traders’ group stressed that in its present form the Tsukiji Fish Market represents a special cultural institution, based on a set of delicate social relations, shaped over decades. According to them, the forms of institutionalized and embodied cultural capital are best represented by the live auction system. Their concerns about the marketplace’s relocation were therefore related to the (possible)

13 A series of violations of the market’s internal behavior rules, mainly by foreign visitors, have been reported. These ranged from simple trespassing of restricted auction areas to touching seafood and improper behaviour towards market employees. Although the number of violations was minimal compared with the total number of visitors, they were highly exposed in the media, triggering huge debates about closing the market to specific groups of visitors (see Yoshida 2008).

introduction of new technologies, computerizing seafood distribution, which would diminish the importance of live auctions, the trader's traditional knowledge and their reputation as judges of fresh seafood.

The traders dedicated a lot of attention to preserving the social networks that constitute their community at the TFM. In this context, they often used the participative (social, egalitarian, collective) discourse in order to emphasize the importance of the internal, horizontal links existing inside the marketplace's walls. The community is made up of a variety of groups, based on friendship, camaraderie, family ties and informal educational processes, where knowledge is passed on from master to apprentice. In the case of the Tsukiji Fish Market, the internal community is not just a simple structure of superficial, temporary links, established for the purpose of exchanging information and for economic reasons. The community is an important element of social stability, aimed at "diminish[ing] socially disruptive competition by downplaying structural difference and amplifying a sense of egalitarianism" (Bestor 2004, 247). For this purpose, the traders at the TFM try to organize themselves in a manner that meets the social and economic needs of the individual and the collective.

How the community at the Tsukiji Fish Market strives to maintain its sense of egalitarianism is best illustrated by the intricate processes of reassigning stall locations, which takes place every four or five years. The reassignment follows a lottery procedure organised by the Tokyo Fish Market Wholesalers' Cooperative Federation (Tō-Oroshi) and moves the traders from their present location regardless of their wealth, specialties, size, or social influence.¹⁴ The lottery prevents the marketplace's best locations from being monopolized and in the long run more or less evenly distributes the risks among all intermediate wholesalers. The last lottery and rotation of stalls occurred in 1995, but since then the timing of the next lottery has turned into a delicate issue. The plans for relocation inserted doubts, uncertainties among the traders and triggered many speculations about the marketplace's future

¹⁴ The first lottery was performed in 1951 and since then repeated every 4 or 5 years. Each lottery was carried out under different circumstances and each with slightly different procedures. The lottery rearranges the position of approximately 1600 stalls of intermediate wholesalers. The reassignment of the intermediate traders' location in the market gives them the opportunity to upgrade their stalls with new infrastructure and equipment. It also allows intermediate wholesalers to rethink their trading activities and maybe close some economic operations and open new ones. The lottery is seen as an equity system that: "overcomes short-term inequalities created by physical location to ensure that wholesalers compete on a relatively equal footing on the long run" (Bestor 2004, 279).

organisation. The opponents to the relocation plan reported that all kinds of scenarios were being imagined, bringing great instability to the community of traders and slowly deteriorating the social networks, which for decades had maintained the principles of risk distribution and sharing.

To sum up, the analysis of the interviews showed that some groups did not fully recognize the importance of the Tsukiji Fish Market's institutionalized and embodied cultural capital. Especially the discourse of the city authorities is in the analysis confronted with the discourse of other city actors, who emphasize that the processes of redevelopment might at the same time transform socially and culturally diverse local consumption places into standardized i.e. non-distinctive spaces, deprived of the historical meanings and social character that shaped them in the past. By emphasizing the importance of the marketplace's economic dimensions and improved functioning at the new location, the advocates of relocation played down the role of the marketplace's subtle cultural environment, which constantly renews its embodied and institutionalized cultural capital. These groups perceived the marketplace as an abstract economic category without localized social networks, practices and cultural meanings. Similarly, the traders at the Tsukiji Fish Market were not perceived as generators of cultural meanings or "cultural intermediaries" (Urry 1995, 90), but as personnel involved in economic transactions. When the traders voiced their objections to this purely commercial categorization, the advocates of relocation often described them as sentimentalists and their attachment to the Tsukiji Fish Market as a form of nostalgia without real substance.

In the same vein, the members of the civil initiative group were labelled extreme activists without real solutions for the issue. The nostalgic and activist discourse, evident from the interviews with traders and the civil initiative group, was often used by the relocation's advocates to disparage the importance of the Tsukiji Fish Market's existing cultural capital. The advocates of relocation substituted the notion of 'marketplace' as a heterogeneous and socially situated place with the notion of 'market' as a limited economic space that is not embedded in the current networks of personal relationships (Granovetter 1985; Bestor 2004; Knorr-Cetina 2006). The advocates perceived the Tsukiji Fish Market as an instrumental space which can be transferred to another location without losing much of its standardized qualities, or as one of the TMG officials stated: "In the case of the fish market, the location does not matter". On the other hand, the opponents to the relocation recognized the marketplace as a unique, reflexive space that might lose an important part of its distinctiveness in the transfer.

Conclusions

Global cities need attractive, unique places like the Tsukiji Fish Market. City authorities and other interest groups at times acknowledge their cultural heritage potential, but at the same time try to fashion it in line with global standards and mainly use it as a form of cultural curiosity to attract visitors and consumers. For this purpose, cities not only protect the existing cultural heritage, but also adapt or rather produce new, artificial cultural spaces, which “reinterpret local culture” (Urry 1995). Many world cities boast historical quarters, streets or districts with various layers of medieval, baroque, art nouveau, and other architectural styles that are legally protected as important cultural heritage. However, in the process of protecting these spaces, many original uses and spatial features have been substituted with ‘safer’, sterile environments, which rule out unpredicted social practices, rituals and events. In the process of protection or renovation, important quarters, historical buildings and streets can easily lose part of their ‘intangible’ cultural capital, while preserving that part of their original ‘tangible’ cultural capital that attracts the public.

In the case of the Tsukiji Fish Market the task is much harder since its cultural capital is literally embodied in the knowledge, practices, rituals and social networks of its community and thus more difficult to protect in the media and among the public. Furthermore, embodied cultural capital is by nature transferable, i.e. portable: it can ‘move’ with the individual, providing relocation supporters with a useful pretext. Their opponents have the difficult task of defending intangible cultural heritage on the basis of the argument that an inseparable link between the marketplace’s built environment and its embodied cultural capital can only exist at this specific location. The unique spatial organization of the stalls, the auctions and the traders are products of both the physical and social conditions that accumulated over decades. The Tsukiji Fish Market is embedded in a wider context, which would be difficult, if not impossible, to recreate at another location and keep the current relationships within the traders’ community intact.

The analysis of the interviews showed that in the case of the Tsukiji Fish Market the links between the locality and its non-materialized forms of cultural capital are not adequately acknowledged by all interest groups. The huge discrepancies in the use of a specific discourse suggest that the representatives of the city authorities tend to instrumentalize the issue, i.e. to represent the Tsukiji Fish Market as a cultural manifestation in a reduced or impoverished form in order to better fit into the commodification process. This instrumentalisation is evident from the vocabulary emphasising applicability, performance (rational selectivity),

exchangeability, universality, standardization, flow (circulation), materiality (resource). For this purpose, the members of this group resort to three types of discourse (safety, economic, and professional discourses), which serve to camouflage the intended implementation of competitive urban policies. Moreover, the elements or fragments of embodied cultural capital, identified by other interviewed groups, are sometimes 'translated' into economic capital, represented as mass tourism services and facilities. Although some features of instrumental spaces can be detected in all groups and although the foundations of the Tsukiji Fish Market are undoubtedly economic (market) mechanisms, it is impossible to overlook that its unique "spatial practices, representations of space, spaces of representation" (Lefebvre 1974, 1991) and other collective experiences of space have, over time, produced a new space which eludes the simple definitions of a standardized economic area. The Tsukiji Fish Market can be seen as a locality with a unique set of layers of memories, accumulated over decades and reflected in the social networks of the traders. To Bachelard (1969), memories are materially localized and their persistency depends on the actual place where they were formed. The relocation of the Tsukiji Fish Market would destroy part of the collective memories that accumulated at the location and may deeply affect the social networks and spatial practices of its community of traders.

Similar examples of instrumentalisation of intangible cultural heritage, leading to a diminishment in diversity of consumption spaces, can be found in other global cities, where competitive urban policies also try to create safe, economically viable and attractive, but culturally sanitized spaces. The cultural and economic development of global cities is based on efficient models of a "production and consumption strategy" (Bianchini, Parkinsson 1993), which seeks to promote cultural products that can be consumed both outside and inside the production region. The criteria to define a place of high cultural quality are in reality very fluid and cannot be easily defined. The case of the Tsukiji Fish Market suggests that during the process of 'preparing' such a cultural product, important qualities may be lost and more attention should be dedicated to methods trying to measure the non-monetary and non-material i.e. intangible values of a specific locality. In this respect, a shift in the paradigm of what is presumed to be a culturally worthy and attractive space should be implicit. Under these circumstances, the Tsukiji Fish Market in its current form could occupy a very high position in Tokyo's future symbolic hierarchy.

The analysis of the group discourses used in the case of the marketplace's relocation points to mechanisms of instrumentalisation,

which by limiting, i.e. putting restrictions on interpretative schemes of what is to be a valid form of cultural capital, dissolve the existing traditional symbolic hierarchies. According to this limited perception, an old and physically deteriorating market cannot be appreciated as a place of high cultural importance. Transforming unique, not yet standardized and locally embedded consumption spaces in accordance with obsolete symbolic hierarchies, or even using them as bridging gentrifiers for various political and economic interests, is defined by Berman (1988) as a form of “urbicide”, where resistance to any transformation of existing urban relations blocks the potentials of developing socially and culturally more inclusive mechanisms of urban planning.

At present, the Tsukiji Fish Market continues to operate at the old location, but the debate about its relocation goes on. Many unanswered questions remain, not only about its relocation, but also about renovating it at the present location. Inadequate renovation at the same location may equally radically transform the internal organizational structure within the traders’ community. As mentioned by members from the traders’ group, the Tsukiji Fish Market inevitably needs new adaptations due to its current physical state, limited visitor capacity, and degrading work conditions. How these transformations will in turn affect the delicate social networks of the traders’ community remains unanswered. We may speculate that an increasing number of visitors to the marketplace will probably force its authorities to adopt certain restrictions and consequently diminish the ‘genuine experience’ of less standardized spaces. The need for adaptation of the Tsukiji Fish Market is an issue recognized by all interviewed groups, but the principal question of how to address the (non)perception of non-materialised cultural capital by important city actors remains unanswered.

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