

Finding and Returning to the Principle of Town Development

まちづくりの原理を見つけ出し、立ち戻る

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Four Months of Time

[Before the Earthquake]

Through a twist of fortune, I happen to be involved in the town re-development of a certain town. It is a small town which grew out of a fishing village on a saw tooth coastline, one which I had not had occasion to visit before the earthquake struck.

Retrieving a video clip on the Internet, one can see a marine-products processing plant in what looks like a prefabricated building, mass produced single-family houses, a compact car running along a standard road with a noticeable lane edge, all sandwiched between a huge concrete levee and the greenery of the mountains running along the town periphery. This apparently was what things looked like.

As an autonomous municipal organization the town is comprised of several hamlets. Each depended mostly on commercial fishing for its industry. However, even since before the earthquake some of the hamlets had been processing imported seafood rather than using the fish that they themselves caught, and some of the hamlets

functioned as bedroom communities for a nearby city. Problems which provincial communities in Japan typically face - the hollowing out of industry, population decline, aging of the population - had proceeded to a rather severe degree. Nevertheless, perhaps because of their background as a fishing village, very high community solidarity characterized each of the hamlets and residents possessed strong pride in their neighborhood. However, there apparently had been no move for the hamlets to join forces and incorporate themselves as a town.

How would the recovery of a town such as this look?

[Immediate Aftermath of the Earthquake]

In the immediate aftermath of the earthquake, several of the hamlets were cut off from the outside world. Some hamlets channeled all of their energy into restoring severed roads, leaving aside temporarily the search for missing family members. Fighting against the darkness and the cold, holding onto the slim objective of mere survival, residents joined one another to remove debris and managed to secure the distribution of supplies and people. There is a video of a Self-Defense Force member who, after arriving three days later and seeing the progress, related, "I was shocked and very impressed."

The extent of damage is overwhelming. More than 10% of the population of 15,000 died or are missing. The mayor lost his life to



Photo1 Overlooking the layout of the entire disaster-struck town and sawtooth coastline, as seen from Shiroyama where the community hall is located
写真1 公民館がある城山から見渡す、被災したまちの全貌と、リアス式海岸という大きな風景の構造



Fig.1 Hypocenter
図1. 震源地

the tsunami. The “autonomy” of the autonomous municipal organization has ceased to function. In various places I hear the story of the firefighter who was engulfed by the tsunami when he purposefully went to shut the floodgate in an effort to save the entire town. The waterfront is in utter ruin: levy, buildings, railway all gone. Fires occurred. Reinforced concrete buildings which are somehow still standing are covered in soot and ashes; the cedar tree plantation on the mountain slope is discolored a dirty brown.

How would the recovery of a town such as this look?

[One Month After the Earthquake]

Approximately one month after the disaster, I had an opportunity to talk directly to one of the victims. Just before the disaster occurred residents had been conducting evacuation drills, and, upon checking the old evacuation route and concluding that it might be dangerous, had decided to change the evacuation route from one cutting directly across the town center to the elementary school to one going directly up the steep mountain slope at the rear. Apparently this decision had saved their lives. The elementary school gymnasium which normally would have served as the official shelter was swamped in water, no prospect existed whatsoever for erecting temporary shelter, and the condition of peoples’ precious belongings remained unchanged from what it had been since immediately after the disaster: a pile of rubble. Officials at the town office, which was conducting business out of a temporary shelter, could only mechanically continue to whittle away at the mountain of work that had piled up during the state of emergency.

To address this situation, residents in their early thirties took action by calling for meetings of town residents conferred by residents for the sake of residents. After several gatherings had been held at the community hall of each hamlet, six meetings including one mainly for high school students were organized. The space thus provided proved to be a precious one in which a variety of opinions were put forth. I could strongly feel the hesitation and wavering amongst the residents. No one knew what lie ahead. On July 1st, the residents submitted the results of the citizen’s conference to the town hall.

Resident victims at one refuge shelter, with the help of the residents of a nearby city, took the initiative to organize a “commons”, to which anyone could drop in unannounced, share their concerns, and get some information which allowed for a glimmer of hope. It is a commons in the true sense of the term. This place, located where a calm mountain stretches to the riverbank, is truly refreshing.

It took more than three months to reach this point. People strove to bear the stench of rotting fish leaking from the damaged storehouses. The number of flies increased. However, the scent of the ocean also drifted through the air whenever the direction of the wind changed.

How would the recovery of a town such as this look?

Plan for Town Development

Four months have passed since the earthquake. In the grounds of the elementary school which serves as a refuge shelter, children play baseball, some people relax after having had a bath, others energetically clean up after dinner... Each spends this evening moment sharing this one space together.

There is no doubt that this scene encapsulates everyday life as it was before the earthquake.

It is a calm time of neither the past nor the future in which

people, even while bearing the deep pain of having lost loved ones, commend themselves to the present.

The residents of this hamlet have begun a move to create a town development plan. The words and symbols which they drew as they pleased are haphazard, bearing no considerations for consistency or achievability. Yet, it is not the residents’ intent to have all of their demands achieved. It is also understood repeatedly that there are differences of opinion among residents. Furthermore they are aware that in order to actualize the town development plan they will have to consolidate those differences, and that during that process there are bound to be confrontations.

However, the fact that the town residents are trying to create a town development plan means that they have their eyes on the future. This means that they are prepared to make an effort to achieve something more than that temporary evening calm at the elementary school, or alternatively, to restore that calm as a solid fact.

At last, we have come to be able to see how the recovery of a town such as this would look.

There is no choice but to return one time to the source of the feelings which all of the residents are expressing. Behind the act of drawing the words, “soccer ground” in large letters on the grounds of the now defunct seafood processing plant by the sea, lie compacted the feelings of the residents: they do not wish to live near the ocean, but also do not wish for the vacant space to go to waste, they desire for a children’s place, and they wish for people from outside to come there. There are probably other more suitable places to build a soccer ground, and there are also likely to be arguments for and against its construction which may prevent the forming of citizen consensus. However, there is common ground in residents’ feelings of “we can’t live on the shoreline like this” and “we want a place for the children”, feelings which would likely correspond with the technical perspectives of urban planning.

The places in which residents’ consensus and the technical perspectives of urban planning intersect are what we can refer to as the “principles of town development”. We must identify principles of town development that vary according to hamlet, to era, and to social conditions. Toward this end, it is essential to return to the fundamental question of what kind of town it is that residents wish to make, in what kind of town it is that residents would like to live. This is a question for each resident at the same time that it is an issue for the community known as a town. It is furthermore simultaneously an issue concerning the capacities of the specialists known as town development planner or urban designer, persons who by occupational definition should have wider spatial and longer temporal perspectives in mind.

There is no mistake that relations with the ocean will be questioned in instances where the principles of town development share the common point of being tsunami disaster areas. This is because, in restoring the site locations of towns which face the ocean, which is not merely beautiful but also demanding as well as being a provider of livelihood, we have no choice other than to meticulously ponder over the issue of, “Why insist on rebuilding there, and not somewhere else?”.

Next, after having thus devised a town development plan, the process of how to actually achieve it will become a large issue to be faced.

(English translation: Fusako & Jeff GAYMAN)

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四ヶ月という時間

[震災前]

縁があって、ある町の復興まちづくりをお手伝いしている。リアス式海岸沿いにある漁村から発展してきた小さな町だが、震災前に訪れたことはなかった。

インターネットで動画を検索すると、長大なコンクリートの堤防と緑の山がそれぞれ横たわっている間に、プレハブラシキ海産物加工工場やハウスメーカーの戸建て住宅が建ち、歩行者用通路を示す車道外側線が目立つ規格道路に軽自動車走っている、そんな風景だったようだ。

自治体としての町は、いくつかの集落から構成されている。それぞれの集落の多くは漁業を産業としてきた。しかし震災前からすでに自分たちで獲った魚ではなく輸入した魚介seafoodの加工を主産業とするようになっていた集落もあったし、近くの都市のベッドタウンとして機能していた集落もあった。産業の空洞化、人口減少、高齢化、日本の地域社会が抱える問題の深刻度はかなりのものだった。それでも元々漁村集落だったせいなのだろうか、それぞれの集落の中での結束は非常に固く、高い誇りを持っている一方で、複数の集落が力を併せて一つの町をつくらうという状況はなかったようだ。

こういう町の復興とは何なのだろうか？

[震災直後]

震災直後、いくつかの集落は孤立した。行方不明となった家族を捜すこともいったん置いて、分断された道路を復旧することに、全力を注いだ集落もある。寒さと闇に震えながら、生きのびるといざぎりの目的のために力をあわせて瓦礫をとりぞぎ、物資と人の流通を確保した。三日後に自衛隊がようやくやってきたときに「大変驚いて感動した」と語った映像があった。

被災の状況は大変厳しく、1万5千人いた人口の1割以上が亡くなったり、行方不明になっている。町長も亡くして、自治の体ではなくなった。集落全体を救うためにわざわざ水門を閉めについて津波にのまれた消防団員の話はあちこちで伺う。海沿いは壊滅状態で、堤防も建物も線路もなくなった。火災も起こった。今もかろうじて建っているRC造は煤にまみれ、斜面の杉山は茶色く変色している。

こういう町の復興とは何なのだろうか？

[震災から一ヶ月]

震災一ヶ月ぐらいのときに、被災者の方から直接お話を伺う機会があった。震災直前に避難訓練をして、避難路を確認したら、それが危険ではないかということになり、市街地を横切って小学校へ行くのではなく、すぐに裏山方面へと上って行く路線に変更した。それがあったから助かったそうだ。水につかった小学校の体育館を避難所としたままで、仮設住宅の目処も全くなく、人々の大切なモノというモノは瓦礫と化した状態からほとんど変化していなかった。仮設で業務を続ける町役場は、非常事態に山積みされた仕事をとにかくこなすだけの状態に感じられた。

そんな状況を受けて、30代前半の若手住民が立ち上がり、住民による住民のための会議をしようと呼びかけた。各集落の公民館など

での回が続いたあとに、高校生を主な対象とする回も含めて六回の会議が開催され、様々な意見が提示される貴重な場となった。住民の方々の迷いや揺れる想いが強く感じられた。誰にも先は見えていなかった。7月1日には、住民会議での議論が町役場に提出された。

また、ある避難所では被災住民が中心となって、周辺都市住民の支援を受けながら「広場」を運営していた。だれもがふらっと立ち寄り、心配事を分かち合い、多少の希望を見いだせる情報を得られる、本当の意味での広場だ。川沿いに穏やかな山が広がる場所にある広場は、清々しい。

ここまでで三ヶ月以上の時間を要していた。壊れた倉庫から漏れだす腐った魚の臭気は堪え難いものになっていた。蠅も増えた。しかし風向きが変わると海の香りが漂った。

こういう町の復興とは何なのだろうか？

まちづくりプラン

震災から四ヶ月を経た。避難所となっている小学校のグラウンドでは、野球をする子供たち、お風呂あがりの人々、夕食の片付けに精を出す人々…。それぞれが一つの場を共有しながら夕暮れのひとときを過ごしている。

震災前の日常がぎゅっと凝縮されているに違いない。

愛する人々を失うという深い悲しみを抱えながらも、過去や未来ではなく、日常に身を置くとときの穏やかな時間だ。

その集落の方々が、まちづくりプランを描きたいと動き始めた。思い思いに描き込まれた文字や記号は、ばらばらで、整合性や実現性への配慮はない。住民も、自分たちの要望がすべて実現するとは思っていない。住民同士の間で意見の食い違いがあることも重々わかっている。さらにはまちづくりという実践のためには、それらの食い違いをまとめなければならないし、その過程では衝突が避けられないこともわかっている。

しかし、住民が自らまちづくりのプランを描こうということは、将来を見据えているということだ。その意味は、グラウンドでの夕暮れ時のような、つかの間の穏やかさ以上のものを実現するために、あるいはその穏やかさを再び確固としたものとして取り戻すために、挑戦しようという覚悟である。

ここにきて、こういう町の復興のあり方がようやくみえてきた。

住民の方々が口々におっしゃる想いの根源にまで、一度、遡ってみるしかない。海岸沿いの廃業した海産物加工場敷地に、住民の方が大きく「サッカーグラウンド」と描き込んだ背景には、海沿いには住みたくない、けれども空白のママにはしておきたくない、子供のための場所が欲しい、外からも人に来てほしい、といった想いが詰まっている。サッカーグラウンドの立地にはもっと相応しい場所があろうし、サッカーグラウンドの建設には、住民の間でも賛否両論があって合意は形成されないだろう。しかし「このままでは海沿いには住めない」「子供のための場所が欲しい」などという想いは共有されるものであろうし、都市計画の技術分野の知見にも合致するものであろう。

住民の方の合意と都市計画技術の知見が交差する部分は、まちづくりの原理とっていいだろう。集落によって、時代によって、社会状

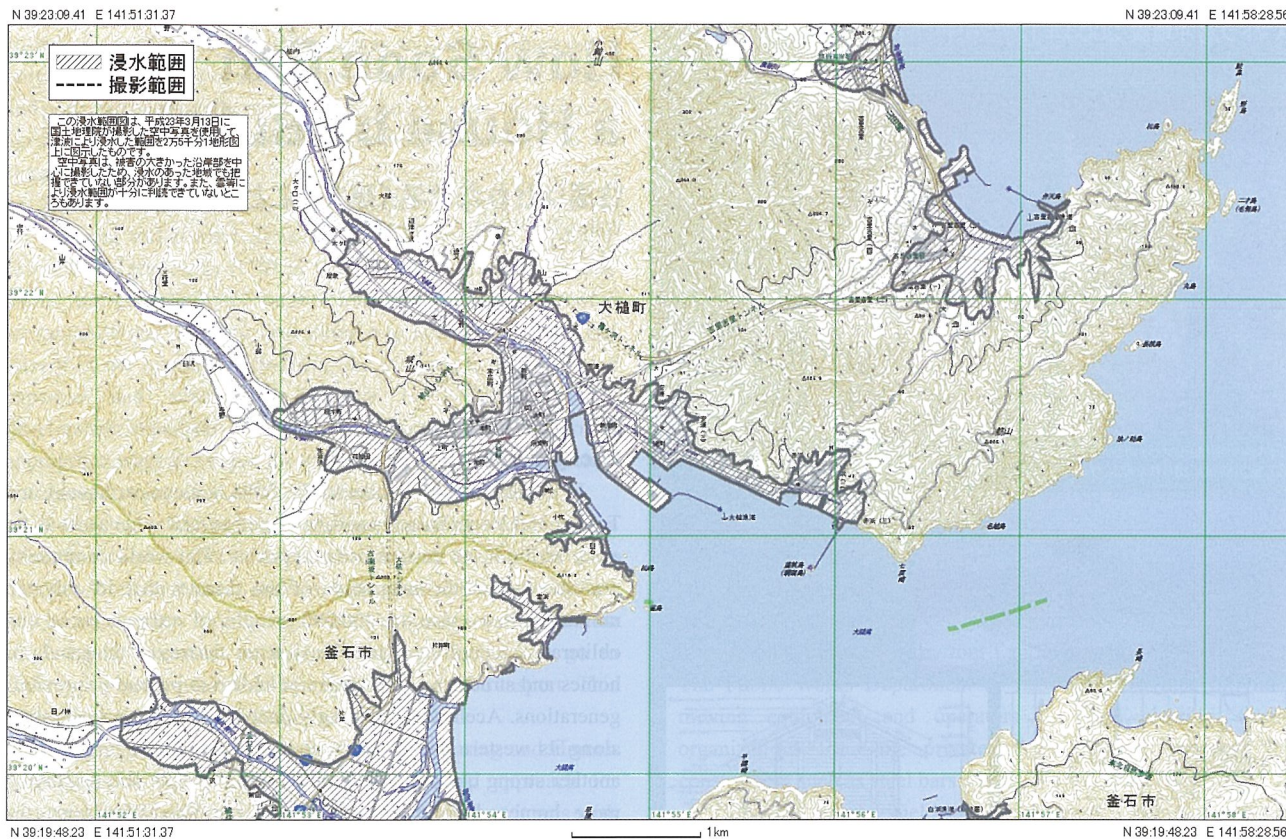


Fig.1 Flooded Area (Otsuchi-Cho, Iwate Prefecture) (Source: Geospatial Information Authority of Japan)
図1 岩手県大槌町浸水範囲概況図 (出典: 国土地理院)



Photo 2 The height at which houses remained; significance of the location of the shrine which served as an evacuation site; disaster conditions as seen from the road: configuration of the village based on streets running straight to the mountains can be seen.
写真2 家が残る高さ、避難場所となった神社の立地の意味、山に真っ直ぐ延びる道路を基本とした集落構造が理解できる路上からの被災状況



Photo 3 Not rubble, precious everyday objects
写真3 瓦礫ではなく日常のモノたち

Photo 1~3 Cognizing disaster on a different scale of scenery / town / hamlet / object
写真1~3 風景/まち/集落/モノ、という異なるスケールで被災を理解する

況によって、変化するまちづくりの原理を明らかにしなければならない。そのためは、どんなまちにしたいのか、どんなまちで暮らしていきたいのか、そんな根源的な問いに立ち戻らなければならない。それは住民一人一人の問題であると同時に、まちという共同体の問題でもある。さらに、より広い時空間を念頭にしているはずの、まちづくりプランナーや都市デザイナーという職能をもつ専門家の能力の問題でもある。

津波の被災地に共通するまちづくりの原理は、海とのつきあい方が

問われることは間違いなさだろう。ただ美しいというだけではなく、厳しさと生きる糧も同時に提供してくれる海に沿ったまちが、その立地で復興するためには、なぜ他に移らずに、そこで復興したいと思うのか、徹底して考えるしかないからだ。

そして次には、そうして練られていくまちづくりプランを、どのように実現していけるのか、そのプロセスの展開が大きな課題となる。

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