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SHRINKING CITIES
Philipp Oswalt

For two centuries global urbanization has progressed at a rapid pace. Around 1800, 2% of a billion people worldwide lived in cities. In 2000 it was about 50% of approximately 6.5 billion people. It is estimated that by 2050 it will be about 75% of some 8.5 billion people. However, not all cities are growing. Between 1950 and 2000 more than 350 large cities experienced, at least temporarily, significant declines in population. In the 1990s more than a quarter of large cities worldwide shrank. The number of shrinking cities is continually increasing, even though urban growth will continue to dominate in coming decades. An end is in sight, however: around 2070–200, the world population will reach its zenith and the process of urbanization will largely come to an end. Then processes of growth and shrinkage will reach a balance, and urban shrinkage will be a process as common as it was before industrialization began. This is difficult to imagine from the perspective of people in developed industrialized nations, because for generations they have experienced all but continuous growth in many areas of society. From a global perspective, growth processes have dominated thus far. Nevertheless, this growth is increasingly unevenly distributed geographically, and many places are already experiencing serious shrinkage. In a series of countries, moreover, the urban population as a whole is declining. Drastically increasing prices for oil and raw materials and climatic warming caused by human activities demonstrate economic limits on growth. Thus urban development makes it possible to perceive and experience fundamental, epochal change. The modern period of growth is a very brief span relative to human history as a whole: not even three centuries. Hints of the end of this era have been around for decades, and the first signs of it are unmistakable in the older industrialized nations of both West and East.

Shrinkage leads, as expansion once did, to fundamental shocks, which with the ensuing changes in models, modes of action, and methods result in societal reorientation. The phenomenon of urban shrinkage is based on several processes of transformation. Within the context of established developed countries, which in past decades have experienced the brunt of shrinkage processes, the essential causes have been suburbanization, deindustrialization, demographic shrinkage, and postsocialist change. For the Shrinking Cities project, an exemplary urban region was selected for each of these processes. Detroit, the “Motor City,” is an example of shrinkage due to the process of suburbanization, the textile region of Ivanovo (Russian Federation) is an example of shrinkage as part of postsocialist change, and the former industrial region of Manchester/Liverpool (Great Britain) is an example of shrinkage through deindustrialization. All three of these processes are reflected in the fourth example: the Halle/Leipzig region (Germany). The Japanese city of Hakodate was recently added to the project as an example of demographic change.

Suburbanization: Detroit

Detroit, in the northern Midwest of the United States, became the center of the American automobile industry in the early twentieth century. Taylorism radically modernized production, and Henry Ford’s introduction of the conveyor belt in 1913 made automobiles into a mass product. Detroit was the first city to have a street asphalted and an urban freeway built. It became a symbol of unprecedented economic growth. In the 1920s, numerous skyscrapers,
department stores and movie theaters sprang up. Between 1900 and 1950, the population grew from 285,700 to 1.85 million. After 1950 the boomtown became a pioneer of greenbelt development: the inner city shrank whereas the suburbs have since then grown continuously. Suburbanization in Detroit was caused in part by the increased mobility of a car-driven society, but also by racial conflict. Between 1940 and 1960, the African American population grew to one third of the city’s total population. As a result, the white middle class moved out to surrounding areas. By 1998, 78% of suburban residents were white and 79% of the inner-city population was African American. Whereas the inner city became increasingly impoverished, the majority of the 127 boroughs in metropolitan Detroit prospered with an average per capita income almost double that of inner-city residents. Americans perceive Detroit as a symbol of the failure of the modern metropolis: a third of the total urban area has been abandoned. Between 1978 and 1998, Detroit authorized 108,000 demolitions but only 9,000 new buildings or conversions. Thousands of tenements, offices, and movie theaters stand vacant, and all department stores have closed down. In many streets Detroit resembles a ghost town. There, where the few isolated clusters of guarded, single family houses are constructed, suburbia conquers the inner city. Attempts to revitalize the city by planning have had little effect beyond the downtown area. Here, it is mainly initiatives by local residents and a strongly articulate African American culture that holds its own against ongoing depreciation and dereliction. Not least it was here, too, that Techno music was born.

Deindustrialization: Manchester/Liverpool
Population loss: –44.9% Manchester (1930–2002)

Manchester and Liverpool lie in northwest England, barely 35 miles apart. In the early nineteenth century, they epitomized the beginnings of industrialism. Manchester is considered to be the world’s first industrial city. Although the United Kingdom’s very first passenger train connected the two cities, and the Manchester and Liverpool Ship Canal was built in 1855, they have always been urban rivals. Manchester came to prominence as a center of world trade, whereas Liverpool’s docks assured the city’s role as the logistical center of the region’s textile mills. The demise of the region’s textile industry after 1950, spelled dramatic decline for Manchester and Liverpool. The transport sector was also badly hit by the revolution in container haulage. In 1930, Manchester had around 766,000 and Liverpool 857,000 inhabitants. Today they have only half that number. Extreme deindustrialization and suburbanization were accompanied by an acute loss of their increasingly impoverished working-class populations and very high unemployment. In the 1980s, the situation changed significantly. During the Thatcher era, when British local authorities were reorganized in line with neoliberalist policies, Manchester adopted a cooperative stance, whereas Liverpool dug in its heels in protest. The result was that Manchester recovered from the crisis more quickly than Liverpool did, although signs of shrinking—such as high vacancy rates, poverty, demolition, and crime—remain glaringly apparent in both. Both cities succeeded in revitalizing their downtown districts. This remarkable transformation was initiated by the music scene as well as by gay and migrant communities that emerged in the partly abandoned areas and made the cities internationally renowned cultural centers. The city administration was quick to see the potential in a change of image and banked on public-private partnerships rather than on conventional, democratically controlled planning procedures. The transition from traditional industries to the service sector brought new, post-production-line forms of labor—the temporary boom in the call center industry, for example, with its poorly paid and insecure jobs. Increased social tension led to a greater
desire for safety. New housing developments are now conceived with greater regard for crime protection, and existing buildings are fitted with a whole arsenal of security precautions. The revitalization of downtown districts is accompanied by an ongoing crisis in the surrounding districts. These are still marked by unemployment, poverty, and vacant housing. The region is polarized: success and failure are parallel realities.

**Postsocialism: Ivanovo**


Ivanovo is located 300 kilometers to the northeast of Moscow, has 447,100 inhabitants, and is the capital of the region of the same name that has 1.1 million inhabitants. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, the region developed into the center of the Russian textile industry. Ivanovo played such a prominent role in the Bolsheviks’ accession to power in 1917/18 that Lenin described it as the “third proletarian capital.” The construction of many constructivist buildings in the late 1920s is a further reflection of its importance at that time. In contrast to cities in Western Europe, Ivanovo also preserved urban constructions with a distinctly village-like character throughout the twentieth century. Even in the city center, one still encounters entire districts with traditional, one-story wooden houses with small gardens and no running water. Since the mid-1950s, large-scale prefabricated housing developments such as those found throughout the whole of the former Soviet Union were built. After 1990, monostructuralism proved disastrous for industry. The demise of the Soviet Union plunged the city into an unprecedented economic crisis. Uzbekistan stopped sending cotton. Sales sank as a result of sudden competition from Western Europe and the Far East. Industrial production dropped by around 80%. Both the birthrate and life expectancy declined dramatically. It is above all the younger, better-educated people who leave Ivanovo in search of work. Yet in spite of the drastic economic situation, population loss has remained moderate because mobility is limited. Moreover, because there was already a housing shortage, there are as yet no vacancies. The switch to capitalism and global free trade led to technological regression and the decline of international relations and the modern division of labor. Machinery was dismantled and the airport closed down. Because many inhabitants were obliged to turn to their vegetable gardens or dachas to supplement their livelihood, urban life reverted to a more rural rhythm based on agricultural cycles. Premodern and postindustrial practices hence overlap, giving rise to new lifestyles. Deindustrialization also spelled the end of the factory’s central role in cultural and public life, and comparable new structures have failed to emerge. The modern regime of factory labor has ceded to a postmodern patchwork of individual solutions and cooperative initiatives undertaken by closely woven social networks.

**Peripherization: Halle/Leipzig**


The central region of Germany around Halle and Leipzig has been characterized by lignite mining and the chemical industry for almost one and a half centuries. Forty kilometers separate the two cities. Halle has 240,077 inhabitants and since the nineteenth century has thrived primarily on industry. Leipzig has 496,532 inhabitants and is more of a trade center with regular major trade fairs. For the people of the former German Democratic Republic, reunification in 1990 was accompanied by brutal transformation. In many cases the privatization of State owned industries was closely followed by their closure. It was widely touted that the
future belongs to the service sector. However, what was overlooked was that value-added services to industry require an industrial base. Today the eastern German economy fails even to reach the European Union’s average growth rate. Deindustrialization’s legacy in the Halle/Leipzig region is an unemployment rate of over 20%. In spite of investments in eastern Germany to the tune of trillions of euros, the promised “Eastern Upturn” has never come about. Halle currently numbers about 80,000 fewer inhabitants than in 1989, and Leipzig around 93,000. Whereas in the first half of the 1990s, high unemployment and migration to western Germany or abroad were behind this development, the main reasons in the second half of the decade were suburbanization and a 50% drop in the birthrate. The spezial write-offs for investors in eastern Germany, along with state subsidies for owner occupied homes, the proliferation of shopping malls, and the relocation there of larger companies, led to a construction boom that swallowed up vast areas of the greenbelt. Shrinkage and growth are hence two sides of the same coin: reduced density in the cities is matched by urban sprawl. The vacancy rate in Halle has now reached 20%. Huge demolition programs are planned for the coming years, above all for the prefabricated housing developments built in the 1970s. The region’s smaller, mono-industrial towns such as Bitterfeld, Wolfen, and Weißenfels are facing a still more radical decline. Leipzig, despite its equally high vacancy rate, is considered a winner in the reunification stakes. As an established trade fair venue, it was a strong contender.

Between 1950 and 2000, more than 350 cities worldwide lost a significant number of their inhabitants at least temporarily. Shrinkage is a phenomenon that occurs primarily in wealthy developed countries. Until 1990, more than 80% of all shrinking cities were in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, France, and Japan. In 1988/89, drastic processes of shrinkage began in the postsocialist countries, in which every second city has lost population in the meantime.
The downtown area is declining, while the agglomeration of Detroit is growing at a rapid rate. The abandonment and decline of former structures have led to a dramatic and unchecked thinning out of the city.

A double tabula rasa in the Manchester district Hulme is an extreme case of planned destruction and failed planning. After the Victorian buildings had to give way to modern deck access housing in the 1970s, these were demolished less than twenty years later despite a thriving subculture. Today, the district is characterized by vacant lots and patches of postmodern building plots.

Ivanovo’s decline is prototypical of enormous urban change without physical change: the built fabric has remained almost unaltered, but the use of buildings, urban life, and economic activity have changed dramatically.

The former chemical-worker settlement of Wolfen-Nord in the Halle/Leipzig region is an example of temporary urbanization: demolition began only a few years after the settlement was completed.
CONCEPTS FOR ACTION

How can the unplanned process of shrinkage be qualified? Strategies for action to date have failed to formulate a satisfactory answer to this question.

If we agree with the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu that social space translates into physical space, it must be said that social problems are reflected in the crisis of physical space in shrinking cities, and that without efforts to address this crisis, little of substance can be said about the transformation of cities. But that is not all. Not only are social constellations expressed in urban space—which can be read as a kind of mapping of them—but social problems are reflected in the conception of the models for action themselves (and their crises).

In the days of the High Modernism of architecture and urban planning, people still dreamed—building on the political ideas of socialism and a general faith in progress—of overcoming contradictions, of harmony in an ideal society, of eliminating the contradiction between city and countryside. Essential to this model is the idea of overcoming disparities of social space and producing living conditions based on equal value. The presumption was that economic aid to lesser-developed regions was desirable not only for reasons of social policy, but also for reasons of economic policy, for the funds invested there would have the greatest spin-off effects on growth. Economic and social goals supported each other in a win-win situation—or so the assumption went. Today, the opposite view is prevalent: only in the existing growth areas of large agglomerations can economic development be pursued effectively with the maximum spin-off effect on growth. This view results in a dilemma: should the existing funds be invested for the greatest effect on growth, thus maximizing the wealth of the society as a whole, while simply putting up with increasing polarization of the social geography? Or, should we renounce growth and concentrate on balancing differences in living conditions?

Shrinking cities question existing social practices, values, and models and thus call for fundamental cultural reflection and reevaluation. Can differences take a positive turn without fostering social polarization? Is urbanism conceivable without density? Can slowness itself represent quality? What role does prop property play in the use of space? Can unused spaces and materials be used in different ways? Are there informal practices that can be read as positive models for action? How do mentalities and identity crises influence urban space?

Every model for action is structurally incomplete: it may be successful in certain areas, but in others it will have little effect or even worsen the problems. The ideas behind the “entrepreneurial city” that have been practiced in shrinking cities like Manchester, Birmingham, and Baltimore exemplify this. On the one hand, they have achieved remarkable success at revitalizing city centers; on the other, they have tended to have negative effects on outlying districts, because less public funding is available for them even as they continue to suffer from economic decline and population loss.

Any urban development plan is biased. Rather than offering an allegedly objective or neutral promise of salvation through planning, this bias has to be exposed and negotiated. There needs to be a discussion about what social ideas, what interests, and what goals manifest themselves in a given project. There needs to be a repoliticization of urban development without having it completely absorbed by politics, as happened in the 1970s.
In the context of shrinkage, there needs to be a new debate over the instruments of planning analogous to the one that took place at the beginnings of High Modernism: the development of new tools of action was essential to the formation of the architecture and urban development of High Modernism. On the basis of a new sociopolitical model, new clients and sponsors were created, as were new forms of financing, new models for taxation, new concepts for community politics, new institutions, and so on. Today we urgently need to address such themes once again. For years, countless urban development plans have been produced in reports and urban development proposals, in competitions and direct commissions, yet they have not had any noticeable effect. One reason: all the projects are based on growth-oriented models for action that do not take hold in contexts of shrinkage, making the plans obsolete from the outset.

Urban development is influenced by many different forces that are based on a wide range of structures for decisionmaking, developmental processes, and power structures. Most of them lie outside the level on which urban planning and local action occur. Indeed, they extend across all conceivable scales: from the neighborhood to the globe. For this reason, giving shape to urban space cannot be limited to the local, but calls for action on a number of levels that are only loosely connected. We have investigated various possible fields of action over the course of our work in the Shrinking Cities project. The field “Deconstructing” examines the questions of how urban rollback—that is, the process of deurbanization—can be shaped and what qualities can be obtained by that which remains. The field “Reevaluating” explores how the traditional, the abandoned, can be reappropriated and used differently. The field “Reorganizing” is concerned with the question of social organization: how can processes, structures, and programs be conceived differently in order to create new opportunities for development? The field “Imagining” considers urban action from the perspective of the imagination and addresses mental processes of communication memory, identity creation, and the production of desire. For these respective fields of action we formulated several urban concepts, each of which encompasses the complexity of urban reality only in part and is thus unavoidable incomplete. They outline conceptual models, which are the basis for any kind of urban action. This makes the ideological premises explicit, and in turn negotiable. Within the course of the project “Shinking Cities” these urban models were examplified with a series of studies, proposals and criticisms.

**Deconstructing**

**Demolition City**
Demolition is a means of adjusting shrinking cities to a drop in local demand. Tearing down the old to make way for the new has always been part of the history of urban development. Demolition today has gained a hitherto unknown quality: it is an end in itself. It hence becomes an issue in itself. The question of dying cities follows as a consequence: what does it mean when cities completely disappear?

**Evolutionary City**
Cities and buildings are subject to a constant process of construction and decay, the course of which can be rarely anticipated. Planning means creating spatial structures that are open to various future developments and that thus become spaces of potential. Their specific indeterminacy generates architectonic and urban qualities. Design can also consist of making processes of transformation visible and thus can challenge our perception of permanence.

**Feral City**
Urban withdrawal creates vacant spaces. Wasteland, forests, and fields creep back into the city and increasingly determine its look and its structure. Typical landscapes thereby undergo change and absorb urban elements and functions. Urban agriculture or community gardens can generate new social networks or the basis for local economies.

**Contraction City**

Shrinkage stirs hopes that cities might be reduced to their essential core and in this way make qualitative gains. Depending on the respective viewpoint, the aim of such controlled shrinkage is to develop a compact city, an urban archipelago, or a reticular strip city. Even when, given the open property market and a mobile society, such comprehensive spatial concepts cannot be realized, they do mold perceptions of the city and influence where spatial interventions are located.

**Depleted City**

Shrinking cities have reduced density, yet spill over into surrounding areas despite the decline in urban substance. Depleted cities are characterized by older populations, for it is usually the young who leave. In areas with decreasing densities, spatial interventions, urban planning strategies, new organizational forms, and digital technologies help ensure that existing urban qualities can be retained and new ones can be created. The parameters of time, mobility, and access take the place once held by physical presence. Pendular migration and tourism turn places into part-time towns.

**Polarized Regional City**

The ideal of equitable development is being eroded. Provocative models propose that spatial development should be polarized: compaction of urban agglomerations vis-à-vis the depletion of peripheral areas. Can regional disparity be turned into a productive force? Can peripheral regions develop qualities beyond those of traditional growth scenarios? The potential for taking action is increased through the creation, within present agglomerations, of regional administrations that encompass zones of shrinkage and growth in equal measure.

**Reevaluating**

**Temporary City**

A surplus of freed-up space provides new possibilities. A dearth of long-term options for repurposing is replaced by the ephemeral activities of interested parties who have little capital to spare. They experiment with new uses and forms of cooperation, create social interactions, and give new cultural meaning to what was found there. Not every vacant space will find interested parties, and the fleeting actions are of limited duration. Still, sometimes they become seeds for longer-term developments.

**Pioneer City**

Many people are leaving shrinking cities and regions; for others, this opens up new perspectives on life. Pioneers of space—whether entrepreneurs, dropouts, or cultural producers—are moving into shrinking areas in order to build new lives, and bringing with them great motivation and a willingness to invest. The unutilized and cheap space in interesting buildings and landscapes offers opportunities for alternative lifestyles. In larger cities, there are efforts to put such practices to use for placemaking.
Reinterpreted City
Materials and buildings that are no longer used take on new functions through reinterpretation and reorganization. This helps save resources. Through the reforming of existing material, social transformation is assimilated culturally. A productive tension results from the difference between the given and the new situation desired. This tension produces new typologies, programs, and connections, and also reveals unexpected qualities of the seemingly obsolete large housing developments of the postwar era.

Reorganizing

Do-It-Yourself City
Crises in government organization and economic development have led to a new emphasis on the selforganization of people in urban areas. Citizens are being challenged to take economic, social, cultural, and urban development into their own hands. This has led to contradictory goals: is the intention to reduce state spending and hand over the responsibility for public assistance and the common good to citizens? Or should the authority for decisions about resources be decentralized, with more power given to the less privileged and space for innovation created?

Strong City
The crisis of the city can only be overcome by strengthening the city. The authority to make decisions and plan a course of action should be shifted from the state back to the municipalities, which must in turn be reorganized. The spatial expansion of the municipalities is a prerequisite for shaping urban development and balancing out regional disparities. Competencies and tasks should be renegotiated between municipalities, society, and business, yet without orienting urban development toward private economic criteria in the sense of an “entrepreneurial city.”

Commodified City
In capitalism, the city is a commodity. Economic commodification of urban spaces shapes the city; the logic of market growth determines the rules. Contrary to the assumptions underpinning the ideal model of the economy, the individual drive toward economic efficiency sometimes works against the goal of achieving overall prosperity. Communal forms of granting loans and utilizing property can open up new possibilities and promise greater prosperity for both the individual and society as a whole, particularly during times of crisis.

Emerging City
The city is only to a limited extent the product of conscious planning; largely it is the result of rules and forces originating far beyond the realm of planning. A city’s development is shaped by the consequences and side effects of laws, funding programs, markets, and technological progress. Relevant interventions in urban development are thus dependent upon changes in the social parameters, such as in immigration policy, property laws, or economic development measures.

Exceptional City
Territorial islands allow for experimentation with special rules or measures to balance out local weaknesses, for example by granting unique privileges. Since the Middle Ages, cities have been granted special rights upon their founding or during periods of decline, making them attractive for immigrants and enabling them to revitalize the economy. The special economic
zones of today are limited exclusively to offering economic incentives. Emancipatory projects and social libertarian experiments, by contrast, are very rare.

**Imagining**

**Communicating City**
Cities are places of communication and exchange. Yet this basic condition of urban life is critically undermined by the effects of shrinkage—migration, population decline, fragmentation, and introversion. Artistic interventions foster communication and new relationships between individuals, between a city and its residents, and between the people who moved away and those left behind. At the same time, novel forms of representation and changes in perception lead to reflection about oneself and a reappraisal of one’s environment. The very diversity of conflicting opinion lends a new quality to public space.

**Marketing City**
Cities thrive on an influx of residents, tourists, and investors. After losing economic sectors once vital to their identity, cities seek to create a new profile and promote their locational advantages by means of marketing campaigns, major events, and prestigious architectural projects. Urban marketing targets a public beyond the city as well as local residents and thus must attempt to satisfy contradictory demands.

**Profiled City**
Cities acquire a profile by building on their singular local strengths. This gives the urban transformation of shrinkage—at first a disintegration imposed by external forces—direction and contour. Conflict, crises, and difference can be catalysts for the development of new identities and local character. Urban profiling is imperative in order that cities with uneven spatial development can assert themselves as competitive locations.

**Imaginary City**
Imagination generates different pictures of the past and the future. Practices of remembrance mold our understanding of history and in this way influence how we see the present. Desire designs another future, opens up space for new possibilities, and thus sparks off change in the present. Urban action is born of the power of our imagination.
TEMPORARY CITY
PIONEER CITY
REINTERPRETED CITY
DEMOLITION CITY
EVOLUTIONARY CITY
FERAL CITY
CONTRACTION CITY
DEPLETED CITY
POLARIZED REGIONAL CITY

Shrinking Cities
Shrinking Cities
この200年来、グローバルな規模で急速に都市化が進んできています。1800年頃は全世界の10億人の人口のうち2%が都市に暮らしていましたが、2000年には約65億人にのぼる全人口のうち50%近い数字になりました。さらに2050年には、全人口のうち約75%が都市に暮らしているだろうとされています。しかし、すべての都市が成長するわけではありません。1950年から2000年までの間に、特に古からの先進国の中で、少なくとも一時的にも明らかに人口が減少した大都市は全世界に350以上あります。1990年代には全世界の大都市の4分の1以上が縮小しました。今後数十年間は成長プロセスのほうが引き続き優勢だとしても、縮小する都市の数は常に増えてゆきます。ただ、この現象の終わりは予測可能です。2070年/2100年頃には世界の人口が頂点に達し、広範囲にわたって都市化プロセスが終わりを告げるでしょう。そうすると成長プロセスと縮小プロセスのバランスがとれ、都市の縮小は、産業化が始まる以前にそうだったように、都市の正常な発展プロセスとなるでしょう。

しかしこれは、発展した先進諸国の視点から今見るとなかなか想像しがたいことです。何世代にもわたって、私たちは多くの分野でほぼ常にお成長を体験してきましたが、今までのところ全世界的に見て、成長プロセスのほうが支配的なのですから。しかし、成長する場所は地理的にますます偏り、すでに縮小プロセスに転換しているところも多いのです。一連の国々ではもう都市人口の総数が減少しています。原油価格や原料価格が劇的に高騰し、人間が原因をつくって気候が温暖化していることを見ると、成長の限界を身をもって感じることです。

こういった意味では、都市の発展を見れば根本的な時代の交替がはっきりと目にみえ、時代が変遷していることが分かります。人類史上で考えれば、現代の成長時期は時間的には非常に限られた、300年にも満たない期間にすぎません。時代の終わりは数十年も前からその兆候を現しており、西洋および東洋の古くからの先進国では、その兆候はすでに歴然としているのです。
1950年から2000年までの間に、少なくとも一時的にでも、顕著に人口が減少した大都市は全世界に350以上あります。都市の縮小は主に富裕で発展した先進国における現象です。1990年までは、縮小する大都市全体の80％以上がアメリカ合衆国、イギリス、ドイツ、イタリア、フランス、日本などの都市でした。1988/1989年以降、劇的な縮小プロセスがポスト社会主義諸国で始まり、大都市の二つに一つが人口を失っています。
デトロイト
都市の縮小が、都市計画上の重要な変化をもたらしているところもあります。例えばデトロイトの都市構造が急速に進む一方で、核都市は衰退しています。かつて繁栄していた建物が破壊され、都市化し、都市の住民は徐々に縮小したのです。

マンチェスター/リバプール
マンチェスターのヒューム地区の二のイタリア・ラサは「破壊の計画」と「計画の失敗」という矛盾するケースです。70年代にピクトルリア様式の建築が近代的なデザインアーキテクスの様式に置き換わられました。この近代化計画は失敗のサブカルチャーがあったにもかかわらず20年も経たないうちに再び取り壊されました。今日では、空き地とポストモダン建築ブロックの都市はが自立した地区となっています。

イヴァノフォ
イヴァノフォの衰退は物理的な変化を伴わずにもかかわらず都市が大きく縮小する現象の典型です。建物がほとんど変わらずに存続している一方で、その利用のあり方、都市生活、経済活動が徐々に変化しました。
海面と水産業の衰退と新たなインフラストラクチャーの導入により、市の活動の中心が北に移ったと考えられます。この時間帯の都市の変化が、かつて東京の中心地であった海面に対する選択の数を引き起こし、一部は周辺地化し化しつつあります。

社会の構造：面積

北海道

1980年の人口：1,451,162
2006年の人口：1,294,212
人口減少：15%（1980-2006年）

本州から見て北海道の端緒に位置する縄文遺跡に
関する言及は、19世紀末より追求が進められ、1969年（昭和44年）の綾波島遺跡の発見からを
きっかけに発掘調査が進められて発展した。その後、
遺跡の発掘調査が進められ、1984年（昭和59年）に
は6万もの墓が発見され、縄文遺跡の研究が進展
したと知られる。1960年代から10年にかけての発掘
調査が行われており、さらに1990年代以降は20年間
の発掘調査が行われている。
行動コンセプト

無計画な縮小のプロセスを形にするにはどうすればよいのでしょうか。これまでのやり方では、うまく対応できる回答は出せられません。

都市空間は物理的な空間にその形をもつ、というバランスの社会学者ビール・ブルッゲの言葉に従って、縮小する都市における物理的空間の危機の中で社会の抱える問題が反映され、問題に焦点を当てることなく、ほぼ実態のないのが都市の変容という形に表現されることが確認できるでしょう。その状況が読まれるものは、その縮小とされる都市空間だけではありません。行動モドニズムの発想自体（そしてその危機）の中に社会の抱える問題を反映するのです。

建築や都市計画のクラシックモダニズムでは、人間社会の政治理念に支えられ、新たな進む方向への信仰を抱きながら、矛盾の克服、理想社会の調和、都市生活の対立解決を夢見たました。このモデルの中をなっていたのは、社会空間の不均衡を克服し、均一な生活水準を達成するという理念でした。発展から縮小される地域の経済振興、投入された資金で最大の経済効果が得られるのは社会政策的必要性だけでなく、経済政策も望ましいことだ、というのは考えていませんでした。今日人は新たな覚解を持っています。つまり、集積度の高い既存のゾーン都市では、国の資金による経済効果を効果的に促進することはできいいと考えているのです。こういった視点から、限定的でまとまりのある都市計画が生まれました。既存の資金は最大の経済効果を得るために投入されるべきなのか。そうすることで社会全体を最大限に豊かにし、さらに社会空間の対極化が進むのを受け入れられるのでしょうか。あるいは、生活水準の格差を調整するために、成長を断念するべきなのですか。

都市の縮小は既存の社会の実践生活、価値、モデルに疑問を投げかけ、これらを根本から文化的に捉え直し、新たな評価を求める変革を必要としています。社会の対極変化を助長するように格差をブラスに転化することができるのですか。人口団集をともなわない都市化は可能ですでしょうか。テノポが選ばれ、それは自体がふたつのクラシックリーとなり得るのでしょうか。所有関係は空間利用にどのように役割を果たすのです。利用されていない空間や素材を別のことに利用するにはどうしたらいいのでしょうか。プラスの行動モデルとして考えられ、インフォーマルな立ち方はあるのでしょうか。メンタリティあるいはデイヴィッド・ハッビートの危機は都市空間にどんな影響を与えるのでしょうか。

どんな行動モデルも構想上不完全なものでしかありません。つまり部分的には成功しても、他の部分ではあまり効果がなかった、問題を突き放してしまいました。そのような例がマンチェスターとパリナガム、パルティモアといった縮小都市で実施された「企業家精神溢れる都市」のコンセプトです。このコンセプトは都市の中心部を活性化するという目指す成功を収めた一方で、郊外の都市区ではむしろマイナス効果を生んでいます。いうまでもなく、これは引き続き経済の衰退と人口減少に苦しんでいるの、公的資金の無効出が少なくありませんと言えているからです。

都市計画に中立なものをありません。一見すると客観的あるいは中立的な成功を約束するかのように見えるプランニングでも、中立性のなさが著しく、話し合いによる交渉が必要となります。

どういった社会理念がプロジェクトで明らかにするのであろうか。どのような利害関係、どのような目的を満たすのかにについて議論することが必要なのです。かつて1970年代にそうだったように、都市計画が政治の一部となって消減することなく、都市計画を再び政治化しなくなってしまう。

都市の縮小化の文脈では、プランニングのツールをもる新たな論理が必要ですが、これはクラシックモダニズムの初期と同じです。クラシックモダニズムの建築と都市計画を形づくるには、当時新しい行動ツールの開発が不可欠でした。社会政策モデルをともに新しい建築主や出資金が現れ、浅い資金調達形、新しい課税モデル、新しい地方政治のコンセプト、新しい機関が生まれました。現在はこういったテーマを再び取り上げることが早急に求められます。ドイツ東部の縮小する都市には、数年前から多数の都市計画草案が提案書や都市開発コンセプトの中で、あるいはコンペ参加者や直接発注の際に作成されていますが、注目に値する効果は得られておりません。その理由は、これらのプロジェクトが都市の縮小を視野に入れておらず、成長志向の行動モデルをベースとしているため、計画が長くまた時代にあっていないからです。

都市開発はさまざまな決定構造、発展プロセス、権力構造をもとにする数多くの要因に影響されます。多くの要因は都市計画やローカルな行動レベルとは別のところにあり、近隣からグローバルまでといった考えられる限りのすべてのレベルを越えて広がっています。そのため、都市の形成はローカルレベルに留まらず、互いに緩やかな繋がりしかなく、さまざまなレベルでの活動が必要とされるのです。

「シュリンクリング・シティ——縮小する都市」プロジェクトの他にもわるな活動で、私たちは考えられる限りのさまざまな行動分野を調査しました。行動分野「取扱取り（I-Ⅵ）」は都市の後退、逆都市化プロセスなどのように形成されるのか、残されたものはどのようなクリティカルを持続できるのか、といった疑問に取り組んでいます。行動分野「再評価（Ⅶ-Ⅷ）」では、受け継がれたものを新しく自分もののにし、それまでとは違う形で利用するにはどうしたらいいかを調査しています。行動分野「再編（Ⅸ-X）」は社会組織上の問題を扱っています。例えば、新たな発展の可能性を広げために、プロセス、構造、プログラムを今後も進めるとするかという問題を提出します。行動分野「空想（Ⅹ-XⅢ）」は社会システム、記憶、アイデンティティ発見、願望の産物という矛盾にあたるプロセスに焦点をあて、想像力を基点とする都市行動を考えます。これらの行動分野それぞれについて、私たちは複数の都市理念を論理化しましたが、それぞれ複合的な都市の実現の一部を包括するに足らず、必ずしも不完全なもので、これからの都市理念は、都市行動のあらゆる形のもとになっている思考モデルの輪郭を描き出しながら、さらにはさまざまなプロジェクトや実現のものとなるイデオロギー上の前提をも明確にして、話し合いして取り扱うことを可能です。本プロジェクトの出版物や展覧会で、これらの都市モデルをさまざまなプロジェクトや理論的な考察によって具体にしてみました。
シュリンキング・シティ

手作りの都市
高い都市
商品化される都市
散発する都市
特別都市

通信する都市
居住する都市
特別ある都市
空虚の都市

Tidan Camara, Berlin

I Shrinking Cities | シュリンキング・シティ

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Between 1950 and 2000, more than 350 cities worldwide lost a significant number of their inhabitants at least temporarily.
The number of shrinking cities has been climbing constantly since the twentieth century. Since 1950, numerous cities have entered a phase of long-term population loss.