

Designated land planning use	% land area (total: 377,863 km ²)	Densities (persons per hectare)
Densely Inhabited Districts (DIDs)	3.2	66.3
Urbanization Promotion Area (UPA)	3.7	58.4
City Planning Area (CPA)	25.7	11.9
Out of City Planning Area (OCPA)	67.4	3.3

Table 16.1
Composition of Japanese National Land by designated planning use (based on 1995 figures).

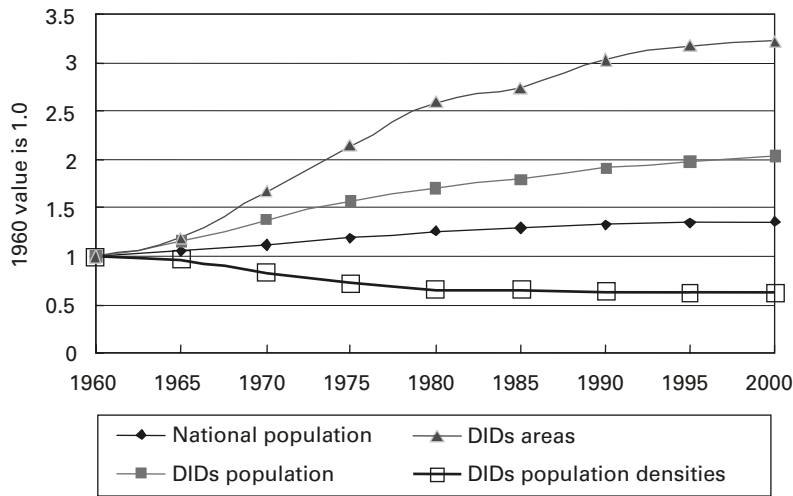


Figure 16.2
Changes in DIDs in Japan, 1960-2000 (over 40 persons per hectare).

stands at 3.2% with the highest residential density of 66.3 persons per hectare. The conclusion to be drawn from this table is that while the DIDs and UPAs constitute a small proportion of Japan's total land area, they can house high densities of people. If the CPAs were to be transformed into UPAs or DIDs, the population capacity would increase at least fivefold.

Although Japanese cities have a wide range of different levels of urban density (illustrated in Table 16.1), the overall average densities in urban areas are generally higher than in Western country cities. As discussed earlier, the Japanese population has been declining since modern urbanization took hold after the 1960s. Figure 16.2 shows the change of population and densities in DIDs; the figure for each measure in 1960 is set at 1. This clearly illustrates that densely inhabited areas have expanded threefold and that urban population densities have fallen by half. This indicates that overall, the popularity of the DIDs (at least in

the eyes of the planning authorities) is increasing. The fact that overall densities in DIDs have halved might indicate that the acceptability of high density has been decreasing or that planning practices themselves have been in favour of lower densities. However, Figure 16.4 does show that since the 1980s, the density level has stabilized, which may be a sign of hope for supporters of the compact city in Japan.

Case study: 49 Japanese cities

The cities selected for this case study are the principal cities in Japan (Figure 16.3). *Principal cities* are defined as the large, local capital cities in each prefecture. They are distributed throughout Japan and on the whole, typify the regional characteristics in which they are located. The populations of these cities range from 0.14 million in Yamaguchi city to 7.97 million in Tokyo (special wards). The residential population densities range from 41 to 128 persons per hectare in each city's DIDs. The cities were divided into five groups: *Group A* incorporating the mega cities of Tokyo and Osaka; *Group B*, made up of semi-mega cities including Nagoya and Yokohama; *Group C*, made up of local cities, of populations of around 1 million, including Matuyama and Urawa; and *Groups D and E*, made up of smaller regional-centre cities, which include Aomori and Nagano, and Nara and Wakayama.

Division of case study cities into groups

Case study: densities

Figure 16.4 shows that in 1960, the average residential population density in the selected cities' DIDs was 105.6 people per hectare. Between then and the 1980s, it fell rapidly, down to 68.9 in 1980. Density has continued to decrease overall, but at a much slower rate than the 20-year period between 1960 and 1980. There have been differences in the densities amongst the cities themselves. The reduction in larger high-density cities was greater than in other, smaller cities. Figure 16.5 shows the population density for Tokyo, which after peaking in 1965, dropped off considerably until the 1980s. After the 1980s, densities in DIDs in most of the cities began to increase, particularly after 1990. In Tokyo, DID densities continued to fall and in the past 5–10 years, have only increased slightly.