The Persistence of the Residential Concentration of Koreans in Osaka from 1950 to 1980: Its Relation to Land Transfers and Home-work Relationships

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Abstract
Although numerous efforts have been made to investigate the various causes for spatial segregation, existing studies have tended to overlook home-work relationships, which may influence the changed features of segregation. This study considers the persistence of Korean residential concentration in Osaka, Japan, with data obtained from land registration and directories of Korean businesses, and clarifies the effects stemming from non-movers and the home-work relationships of Koreans. It confirms that Koreans began to purchase the land on which they lived after the 1960s, and that this process seems to have resulted in a decrease in their residential mobility. At the same time, non-resident Koreans, who tended to live within ethnic concentrations, also obtained land therein. Moreover, information about mortgages indicates that a significant number of Korean landowners, whether residents or non-residents, were entrepreneurs and that the lands they held operated as a source of funds. However, the same information reveals that Koreans also frequently resorted to using Japanese financial institutions. Thus, it is worth noting that the persistence of ethnic concentration is not always linked with the apparent existence of ethnic-related resources.

Key words: ethnic segregation, home-work relationships, land transfers, ethnic resources, Korean residents in Japan

I Introduction

Ethnic/racial segregation or concentration has been the focus of a sizeable number of studies in urban and ethnic geography. The purpose of this study is to clarify how such segregation endures through the case of Koreans in Osaka, one of the largest cities in Japan.

Numerous efforts have been made to specify the factors (especially those related to race/ethnicity) that form, change, or perpetuate certain patterns of residential distribution in various countries. Analytical frameworks for studies of changing features of segregation can be roughly divided into the following three well-known theories or approaches: spatial assimilation theory, which regards spatial phenomena as a reflection of the socio-economic status of a given racial/ethnic group; place stratification theory, which mainly emphasizes discrimination based on
race/ethnicity; and the ethno-cultural approach, which considers racial/ethnic concentration to be the result of the preferences or choices of a given minority population (Freeman 2000, 2002).

However, while segregation at a certain point can be seen as a consequence of various factors, it can also operate as a causal factor that affects subsequent changes in the spatial pattern. Typically, these factors are presumed to appear in the persistence of a well-established concentration; for instance, if there is a strong preference in a certain ethnic group for residing close to co-ethnic members, it can easily be assumed that the level of segregation does not change or that it may even become stronger.

In particular, concerning the socio-spatial dynamics of segregation, the formation and operation of ethnic networks or resources have attracted remarkable attention from research on the persistence of ethnic concentration. As for housing search processes, although ethnic networks can offer useful information to their members, such networks also contribute to an uneven population distribution if affordable information is spatially confined within specific neighborhoods (Palm 1985; Teixeira 1995). For example, Trudeau (2006) showed that, for socio-economically disadvantaged people who resort to established ethnic networks in order to manage their lives, it is necessary to investigate the dwellings adjacent to the existing networks. Moreover, in some cases, the role of ethnic resources as a source of capital contributes to the persistence of segregation because members of an ethnic group are able to become homeowners based on those resources (Logan et al. 2002; Painter et al. 2004). As these examples indicate, localized networks within ethnic concentrations may be considered not only as resources for ethnic groups but also as driving forces for their continuous residence in specific neighborhoods (Özüekren & van Kempen 2002; Trudeau 2006).

However, while a number of studies have paid attention to the processes involved in those socio-spatial dynamics, existing studies seem to have two shortages. First, they tend to overlook the relationship between home and work, and second, they have difficulty analyzing non-movers. This paper tackles these problems through an examination of Korean ethnic concentrations in Osaka from 1950 to 1980 using data obtained from land registration and ethnic business directories. During this period, although Japan experienced notable economic growth and a drastic alteration of spatial structure in metropolitan areas, Koreans suffered from various types of discrimination in the housing and labor markets. This paper analyzes the persistence of their segregation with an emphasis on the practical roles played by ethnic resources that were established to guard against their disadvantaged socio-economic positions.

II Theoretical and empirical backgrounds

Theoretical backgrounds in ethnic segregation studies

First, let us look at the home-work relationship and its contribution to the persistence of segregation. Although Van Kempen and Özüekren (1998) asserted the importance of this topic to future research, as even recent studies do not present enough evidence to uncover the implications of the connection between home and work.

Instead, the role of ethnic resources in terms of spatial consequences has been argued much more vigorously and comprehensively in studies of ethnic economies. In particular, various efforts relating to ethnic enclaves have offered theories concerning socio-spatial dynamics as follows; it is well-known that ethnic-owned businesses based on ethnic networks form clear spatial clusters and that such businesses are often located near place-based ethnic communities.
for a variety of reasons. For example, residential concentration represents social capital that enables ethnic entrepreneurship through face-to-face communication among members of a certain ethnic group. Ethnic entrepreneurs may find a source of cheap labor in co-ethnic workers (Waldinger et al. 1990; Portes 1995; Kaplan, 1996; Light & Gold 2000). Of course, such a relationship does not remain unchanged; indeed, it changes by race/ethnicity and across areas (Kaplan, 1996; see also Sugiura, in this issue).

However, the body of research on ethnic enclave theory has a tendency to overlook how clusters of ethnic businesses operate in the persistence of residential concentration. According to Ellis et al. (2004), it can be premised that information on job opportunities based on ethnic networks, in combination with residential segregation, may increase the employment in a segregated tract of work, as well as ethnic niches. They found, in a case study in Los Angeles, that the degree of segregation in the workplaces of immigrant groups tends to be stronger than expected, and that this result suggests the existence of a strong web of networks linking home and work.

How can we explain the formation and endurance of home-work relationships under the circumstance of the spatial overlap of residential and workplace locations? Obviously, the ways in which ethnic resources play a quintessential role in the initial stage of forming such ethnic group overlaps have been continuously documented. However, how such a role contributes to the succession of segregation in terms of home as well as work has not been efficiently examined. Although several studies have pointed out that some kinds of ethnic businesses tend to be located within residential concentrations (for Korean entrepreneurs, see Lee 1995; Park & Kim 1998), factors that operate under the spatial overlap of home and work, and eventually perpetuate segregation or residential concentration, have been underestimated.

Second, there is an analytical problem in the investigation of “non-mover” residents. In other words, while existing studies of residential choice frequently investigate the trajectories of movers toward an established concentration, only indirect conjectures are possible when considering the reasons why some people remain within the concentration. For example, when a number of tenants purchase their homes, such actions will certainly result in the persistence of segregation. If so, another kind of data source must be used in evaluating the effects derived from non-movers.

Here, I refer to some studies that used records of land or dwelling transitions to analyze such aspects. Rosenbaum and Argeros (2005) and Hipp (2012) found that Blacks in particular experienced a considerable proportion of housing turnover and that the racial composition of a neighborhood affected the likelihood of transition by same-race residents. Moreover, Immergluck (1998) clarified through mortgage registration data that the persistence of segregation was ascribed partly to the spatial confinement experienced by Black home buyers. Put differently, such panel data on land or housing can be quite useful when analyzing the consequences of segregation.

Based on the above arguments, I set out to examine the persistence of a specific Korean population concentration through analyses of land purchases by Korean residents and entrepreneurs, and to evaluate the effects stemming from ethnic resources. Land or home ownership can be regarded as a driving force that decreases residential mobility as well as economic attainment (Dietz and Haurin 2003), so it would seem to have a large impact on the persistence of population concentration. Although Light (2006) attempted to consider land obtaining processes by Koreans in Los Angeles using the same standpoint as this paper, the
The context for ethnic minorities in Japan is different in various ways from that in the US or European countries. Moreover, the data used in this paper can also offer insights with respect to the effects of resources from outside ethnic communities, such as Japanese institutions.

**Existing literature on the residential and occupational characteristics of Koreans**

The changes in the number of Koreans in Japan, as shown in Figure 1, represent several notable characteristics, as follows. Before 1945, many Koreans migrated to Japan from Korea under Japanese colonial rule, and their accelerated growth during World War II was caused by the requisition policy of the Japanese Imperial Government. Just after World War II, Japan faced a rapid decrease in the number of Koreans owing to a repatriation movement to their homeland. After 1952, when Koreans were deprived of their Japanese nationality, their population gradually grew. Based on nationality, Koreans subsequently became the largest ethnic group in Japan before the Chinese surpassed them in numbers in 2008. Therefore, not only their residential distribution but also their occupational characteristics have been most widely examined in ethnic studies in Japan.

In this section, I will briefly summarize former findings regarding the prewar and postwar periods. First, concerning the formation of initial ethnic concentrations before and during World War II, the role of ethnic networks has been frequently discussed in the existing literature. Various studies have found a relationship between Koreans’ residential concentration and the appearance of ethnic niches, and some have also referred to the emergence of small ethnic entrepreneurs within specific concentrations (Sugihara 1998; Ha 1997; Takano 2009; Tonomura 2009). With respect to the spatial changes of concentration from during to just after the war, Fukumoto (2004) found, in the case of Osaka, that despite a huge repatriation movement, several Korean concentrations survived because they had a large number of Korean entrepreneurs who had been able to make a relatively stable living.

Second, some notable studies have discussed the features of the occupation and employment
status of Koreans after the war based on theoretical achievements in the ethnic economy. As will be shown later, the proportion of self-employed Koreans was significantly higher than that of Japanese, and Yamamoto (2002) and Han (2010) analyzed how ethnic networks and resources that contain ethnic banks or other institutions played a role in their entrepreneurship or the formation of ethnic niches. Regarding job searching by Korean employees, Lee (2002) argued for differences in dependency on informal ethnic networks between generations based on the notion of embeddedness. Other studies focused on the occupations of Koreans within their concentration; Shoya and Nakayama (1997) pointed out the emergence of stratification in Koreans’ occupational structure, and Narita (2005) compared their socio-economic status inside and outside of the concentration. However, although these studies have clarified Korean-specific features in employment status and the functions performed by ethnic resources, few efforts have been made to evaluate their relationship to the persistence of residential segregation.

In the meantime, although some geographers have assessed the spatial distribution of Koreans (Chiba 1984; Kirimura 2006; Fukumoto 2010), they have been able to analyze the situation only after 1970 because population data on a smaller scale was not available before then. On the whole, existing studies, whether they pay attention to home or work, cannot clarify why the Korean concentration in Osaka did not change from the end of World War II to the 1970s or 1980s (Fukumoto 2004). Several micro-scale analyses dealing with the largest existing concentration in Osaka (on which this paper focuses) demonstrate that the influx of Koreans into this concentration contributed to its growth after the war (Yoshida 1996) and that the fact that Japanese landlords sold their properties to Koreans was, in part, responsible for this development (Nishimura 2002). However, these studies failed to capture home-work relationships and the actual process of land transfers. This paper will attempt to overcome these shortcomings in existing studies by using the data explained in the next section.

III General trends in the residential segregation of Koreans in Osaka City from 1950 to 1980

Data sources
First, to understand the relationship between home and work in an ethnic population concentration, data had to be collected with respect to various aspects. Whereas population data for Koreans can be obtained from the census, numbers on a smaller scale than wards (census tract, or cho) are not available for years prior to 1970, as noted above. Therefore, for this study, I estimated the approximate trends in the spatial pattern of the Korean population distribution at ward scale before then.

In addition, there is no official information from the Japanese government about businesses owned by Koreans. In this study, following the elaborate work by Han (2010), I employed information acquired from two directories of Korean entrepreneurs published by ethnic institutions; The List of Korean Businesses in Osaka, published in 1948 by Chosenjin Renmei (The League of Koreans in Japan), and Directories of Korean Businesses in Japan, published in 1974 by Touitsu Nipposha (OneKorea Daily News). The former, containing information about the types of businesses, number of employees, and addresses of 628 entrepreneurs in Osaka City, was collected by the largest ethnic institution during the US occupation period. The latter includes 872 cases in Osaka City and offers information similar to that of the former list.

A note about the limitations concerning reliability in these materials is in order here (see Han 2010: 39–40, for details). The former list was published during the disruptions of the postwar
period, so there is not enough evidence to confirm its validity. As for the latter, the publisher notes that no less than 7000 cases were chosen from approximately 20,000 businesses owned by Koreans, so the criteria for this selection were ambiguous. Yet, even with these limitations, the materials are certainly useful, especially because they afford the ability to draw maps of the uneven distribution of entrepreneurs.

Second, in the analyses of land purchases and turnovers, I used the land registration directories offered by the Legal Affairs Bureau. The directories include records about the present holder, history of transfers, reason for transfer (purchase or inheritance), holder’s address, and mortgages. Whether or not there were buildings on the land can be confirmed from residential maps. As browsing fees are high, I collected data within selected districts in the largest concentration in Ikuno ward, located in the southeastern part of Osaka City, and focused only on transfers made by Koreans. The number of units searched overall was 143.

In spite of the usefulness of land registration data, unavoidable difficulties surfaced in discerning whether landowners were Korean or not based on their surnames. This is because Koreans often used Japanese-style legal aliases to avoid discrimination in daily life, and they could register land under such aliases. Therefore, reasonable procedures were needed to detect who the Koreans were as precisely as possible. I worked mostly according to the procedure proposed by Yoshida et al. (1995) to identify Korean landowners. Moreover, my analyses omitted cases in which the owner could not definitively be identified as Korean. Additionally, landowners registered their addresses at the time they purchased a property, but the data does not enable us to trace subsequent moves made by the owners. Nonetheless, such cases did not seem to be encountered frequently.

Residential distribution and homeownership of Koreans
As already noted by Fukumoto (2004), whereas the Korean population concentrations in the southeastern and southwestern parts of Osaka City survived during the US occupation period, the other concentrations disappeared due to repatriation. First, I will show the spatial changes in the residential distribution of Koreans from 1950 to 1980 (Figure 2). It can be said that the spatial pattern of distribution did not change very much during this period. As for areal variations in the demographics of Koreans, their number increased during that period in Ikuno, Higashinari, and Nishinari wards, each of which already had a large Korean population in 1950. Among these three, Ikuno ward gained the most Koreans. Therefore, these facts coincide with
the estimation by Yoshida (1996), who noted the migration of Koreans from areas around Ikuno ward into the ward itself. Additionally, the proportion of the Korean population rose, especially in Ikuno and Higashinari wards, during the period studied, the decrease in Japanese having partly contributed to this change. Based on more spatially detailed data on census tracts, it is confirmed that most of the tracts densely populated by Koreans in 1970 were located within the above three wards, particularly in Ikuno ward (Figure 3).

How did this (un)changed spatial feature result in the degree of segregation that it did? The value of the dissimilarity index (Table 1) based on data by ward, appeared almost stable or slightly increased until 1980. Meanwhile, the index calculated by census tract also indicates that the value remained at a moderate level (Table 1). Therefore, generally speaking, although over 50 years had passed since the establishment of major initial concentrations in the early 1920s (Sugihara 1998; Horiuchi 2000), the dispersion of Koreans from such concentrations was not significant and the spatial pattern formed just after World War II was perpetuated until 1980.

Second, in terms of the tenure of dwellings, distinct characteristics can be found among Koreans, especially in comparison to Japanese residents. As data on the housing tenure of foreigners can be obtained from the population census after 1985, the proportion of homeowners among Koreans was confirmed to be relatively high at that time: in Osaka
Prefecture, the proportion of foreigners without Japanese family members was 63.7%, while that of Japanese was 58.4%. As Nishimura (2002) noted, in general, within the districts densely populated by Koreans in Ikuno ward during the prewar period, some Japanese landowners who owned a great deal of land were involved in apartment rentals, and a considerable percentage of Koreans resided in those apartments. Hence, after the war, the number of Korean homeowners rapidly increased until the 1980s.

Though several factors supposedly affected the high proportion of Korean homeownership, discrimination in housing markets should be regarded as one of the most influential among these factors. In contrast to the cases in Western countries wherein ethnic minorities tend to be heavily concentrated in public housing, Koreans were nearly excluded from rental houses owned by local governments or public corporations until 1980, with few exceptions (Tanaka 1995). In fact, only 4.1% of people residing in houses rented by public institutions were foreigners—less than the 12.6% who were Japanese. Additionally, such discrimination also occurred in privately rented housing. Therefore, Koreans' options were so limited that homeownership was simply one of the few remaining choices.

**Characteristics in occupational structure and the spatial distribution of ethnic businesses**

As already noted in Section II, the occupational structure of Koreans in the population concentrations in Osaka City during the prewar period can be summarized as having a high proportion of workers at small firms in manufacturing industries (Sugihara 1998; Fukumoto 2004). In this section, I provide an overview as to the salient features concerning the employment of Koreans in Japan after World War II.

The statistics regarding foreigners' occupations from the Immigration Bureau in 1969 probably represented the oldest complete survey by a public organization in Japan. Though their classification system was different from that of the census and the number was aggregated on a prefectural scale, the data enable us to find the dominant trends in Koreans' occupations in Osaka City. Table 2 shows that “skilled or industrial labor,” which presumably refers to workers in the manufacturing sectors, comprised approximately two-thirds of all Korean workers, and the proportion of “unskilled labor” in this type exceeded all other categories but “sales and service labor.” The table also indicates that occupational concentration became obscured over time because of growth in the proportion of white-collar workers (Fukumoto and Chiba 2008). In existing studies, diversification in occupational structures or the job-search process has been ascribed to this change, as explained in the previous section.

How do Korean employment characteristics compare to those of Japanese people? Based on the census from 1985, several differences become apparent, not only in occupational composition but also in employment status. As expected, and demonstrated in Figure 4, the difference in occupational composition between the two groups is most prominent in the “craftsmen and production process,” followed by “sales,” “clerical,” and “service.” It is worth noting that the proportion of self-employed and family workers was quite a lot higher than that
of the Japanese in several industries; in particular, the proportion of Koreans in the “craftsmen and production process” was about 2.5 times, and in “service” about twice as large, as that of the Japanese. In sum, these statistics indicate that characteristics of occupational structures could be found both in the types of industries and in the prominence of self-employed persons, even during the 1970s.

These facts suggest two possibilities, as discussed in existing ethnic and migration studies. On the one hand, the differences may have stemmed from discrimination in the labor market: Koreans in Japan were unable to work as public service employees due to their nationality, and they were usually excluded from white-collar jobs in major companies. On the other hand, ethnic-related resources or self-reliant efforts played key roles in the ethnic economy of the densely populated Korean areas; such resources included the acquisition of techniques, help from family or ethnic networks, rotating savings and credit associations (ROSCAs), fund provision by ethnic banks, and so on. In other words, under circumstances such as discrimination, the existence of ethnic resources seemed to result in the formation of ethnic niches and the emergence of self-employed Koreans.

What kinds of spatial features could then be found in relation to occupational characteristics,
especially Koreans’ ethnic businesses? Concerning the distribution of Korean businesses in 1948, Figure 5 vividly portrays the coincidence or spatial overlap between them and the residential concentrations in the Ikuno, Higashinari, and Nishinari wards. Focusing on the types and sizes of such businesses, we can observe that factories comprised a considerable proportion of them, especially in the Ikuno and Nishinari wards, and that 313 of 564 cases had only 10 or fewer employees. Here, notably, as much as 95% of the addresses were the same as their owners’ residences (Han 2010), implying that the spatial connection between place of work and residence was quite strong among Korean businesses.

Figure 6 represents the distribution of Korean businesses in 1974, enabling us to understand the changes in their spatial pattern compared to that shown in Figure 5 from the immediate aftermath of World War II. Basically, although the unevenness of their distribution had become slightly unclear, their concentration in Ikuno ward and their large proportion in factories remained prominent. As the directories of 1974 had no information about owners’ addresses, I redrew the map on a smaller scale in Ikuno ward in order to estimate their spatial relationship with that of the Korean population (Figure 7). As the figure shows, the businesses owned by Koreans were unevenly located in the tracts where the proportion of their population was quite
The characteristics that have emerged from the analyses in this section can be summarized as follows. First, from the 1950s to the 1980s, while the occupational concentration of Koreans in niches gradually became unclear, the proportion of workers in several types of industries, including manufacturing, remained large, even in the mid-1980s. Moreover, the existence of self-employed Koreans remained clear. Second, the spatial overlapping of places of business and residence was apparent to a considerable degree, and this spatial relationship did not change until the mid-1970s.

Here, it can be noted that the occupational features of Koreans have much in common with those discussed in ethnic enclave theory, particularly in terms of the role of ethnic resources and the spatial clusters of ethnic businesses. How then did the spatial overlapping between home and work contribute to the persistence of residential concentration? In the next section, I will examine this point through Korean land purchase patterns.

IV Land purchases by Koreans

Patterns in landowner transfers
The data for transfers obtained from land registration directories is involved in the selected districts of tracts densely populated by Koreans (Figure 7). I collected 63 units in X district, composed mainly of Momodani 4 and 5 Chome, and 80 units in Y district, composed mainly of Tajima 1 and 2 Chome, Nakagawa 6 Chome, and Nakagawa-Nishi 3 Chome. The total number of transfers made by Koreans was 227 among the selected 143 units.

Surprisingly, land purchases by Koreans did not occur before 1949 as far as can be discerned from the obtained data set. That is to say, most of them resided on rented land. Of course, not all of the land in the selected tracts was monopolized by a handful of Japanese landlords operating on a large scale; therefore, the land registration data quoted here does not necessarily imply that there were not any Korean landowners before 1949. However, undoubtedly, the process of land purchases by Koreans became much more significant after World War II within their concentration in Ikuno ward.

Table 3 demonstrates several trends in land purchases by Koreans with respect to the time points when those transfers occurred. Transfers from non-Korean landowners to Koreans were concentrated from 1961 to 1965. Here, “non-Korean” includes not only Japanese individuals, but also the Ministry of Finance, because some Japanese landlords paid their inheritance tax in kind, and thereafter, the ministry sold the properties to Koreans. When the landowners were
replaced by Koreans for the first time, 64.3% (92 units) of the previous owners were Japanese landowners, and 35.7% (51 units) were land grants by the Ministry of Finance. Meanwhile, transfers between Koreans can be found after 1956, but over 70% of those took place after 1966.

To examine the land purchases in spatial terms, I will introduce the following examples from specific blocks. First, Figure 8 represents two blocks within the X tract of Figure 7. In 1960, almost all of the land units were held by Japanese landlords or the Ministry of Finance. However, between 1960 and 1970, the figure shows that considerable portions of the units were purchased by Koreans who resided on the land as tenants. While some units remained the property of non-Korean landlords, after 1970, they were bought from the initial holders. Additionally, it is worth noting that some units owned by Koreans had been sold to other co-ethnics. Here, this type of transfer means that resident turnover occurred if the address of the subsequent owners coincided with that of the land they purchased. There is no information about the relationship between sellers and buyers, as such Koreans were presumably able to purchase land through certain channels based on their ethnic networks.

In sum, the process of land purchase by Koreans developed rapidly after the 1960s. Although few accounts can explain any obvious reasons behind this rapid change, several factors can be regarded as indirect causes for the process. For one thing, generally speaking, when migration from Korea became substantially difficult after 1945, Koreans had few options but to continue their residence in Japan. In addition, and more concretely, the previous act on land and building leases made it hard for landlords to raise rent, and it was rather profitable for them to dispose of their properties. Therefore, some fortuitous conditions seemed to promote an increase in land purchases by Korean residents.

Second, we may turn to another example of a block in district Y (see Figure 7). I chose the block in Figure 9 because it contained units employed for commercial as well as residential purposes. In fact, the south half of block C faced a street with shops. The overall pattern of land transfers resembles that found in Figure 8; the start of the purchases became apparent a little bit earlier than in the previous example, and transfers between Koreans were also found. A noteworthy feature in Figure 9 is the existence of non-resident landowners. This result indicates the following two possibilities: either tenants resided on land owned by Koreans, or these non-resident landowners’ property was used for ethnic businesses. It is difficult to distinguish between the two possibilities; however, it can be assumed that a certain proportion of these cases belongs to the latter, as discussed in a later section regarding mortgage information.

The question then arises: given the spatial overlap of businesses and residences shown in the previous section, did the non-resident owners generally live near their places of business? Out

Table 3. Characteristics in transfers of lands by Koreans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of transfer</th>
<th>Time in years</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From non-Korean to Korean</td>
<td>5 (3.5)</td>
<td>19 (13.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between Koreans</td>
<td>0 (0.0)</td>
<td>6 (7.3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Land registration directories
Note: The bottom number of each cell represents the percentage of the total.
The total number in the column “from non-Korean to Korean” does not coincide with the number of units investigated.
This is because non-Korean owners sold their property to Koreans after they bought it from a previous Korean owner.
of all of the cases obtained, 65 transfers were carried out by non-resident Koreans. Regarding the information about the addresses of the owners, 64.6% (42 cases) of owners resided within Ikuno ward, and 21.5% (14 cases) lived in municipalities adjacent to the ward; only 13.8% (9 cases) of the non-resident owners dwelt outside these areas (16 cases were unidentifiable). Therefore, if the lands were purchased by non-residents, those non-residents tended to live near the land they purchased. In other words, the spatial relationship between home and work also appeared in records of land ownership.

**Trends found in mortgage records**

Land registration directories also contained information about the date on which each mortgage was taken out, the mortgage holder’s name (institution or individual), types of mortgages (ordinary or fixed)\(^1\), and so on. In this section, I will point out several characteristics through a summary of the number of mortgages within selected land units.

Among the overall transfers, 58.7% (132 cases) were not accompanied by any mortgage
records. I assume that a considerable proportion of the owners paid in cash or rotating savings, familiar methods of payment among Koreans in Osaka. Moreover, Koreans did not frequently encumber their property with mortgages at the time they purchased the land; this happened in only 21 of 93 transfers. Ordinarily, when people take out a loan to buy land, the institutions or individuals that lend money to them will mortgage the land. However, as these results imply, it did not seem difficult for the Korean tenants to obtain land, partly because they were able to accumulate the presumably inexpensive payment almost by themselves.

It is rather important, however, that the rest of the mortgages were taken out shortly, or at some interval, after the Koreans had purchased the land. This naturally means that the landowners had need of funds for some reason. In Table 4, a certain trend appears in the types of mortgage holders. Among the five types, although it is confirmed that landowners often resorted to ethnic resources, Japanese financial institutions, including banks, credit unions, and credit associations, shared approximately 60% of the recorded mortgages. Additionally, at least by the early 1960s, Japanese banks or credit unions gradually appeared as mortgage holders in the analyzed land units. Therefore, Koreans frequently depended not only on ethnic resources but also on Japanese institutions as a source of funds.

Meanwhile, another notable feature is that, in terms of types of mortgages, about half are recorded as fixed mortgages. This type is seldom used by ordinary people, except for entrepreneurs, because fixed mortgages are required so that entrepreneurs can ensure running funds or write checks for business expenses. With regard to this business practice, a considerable proportion of mortgages was used to ensure ongoing funding or means of transactions. At the same time, even in cases of ordinary mortgages, if Koreans borrowed money from Japanese credit associations, such Koreans can be regarded as entrepreneurs because those institutions were established exclusively to fund businesses, especially small- or mid-sized.

Moreover, it is notable that even lands held by resident owners were pledged as fixed mortgages (30 cases). These cases supposedly mean that the resident owners were also entrepreneurs. It can also be estimated that a certain proportion of them worked at their residences.

The following findings can be drawn from the above analyses: first, the Koreans seemed able to obtain lands where they lived without serious difficulty with respect to funding; second, the proportion of self-employed Koreans was fairly large, and the obtained lands were available for ensuring funds for their businesses; and third, their dependence on Japanese financial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of mortgages</th>
<th>Ethnic resources</th>
<th>Non-ethnic resources</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ethnic banks</td>
<td>Co-ethnic person</td>
<td>Japanese banks or credit unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordinary mortgage</td>
<td>7.5 (15.3)</td>
<td>14.0 (28.4)</td>
<td>17.4 (35.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fixed mortgage</td>
<td>9.5 (21.5)</td>
<td>0.0 (0.0)</td>
<td>27.0 (61.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17.0 (18.2)</td>
<td>14.0 (15.0)</td>
<td>44.4 (47.8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: land registration directories
Note: The bottom number of each cell represents the percentage of the sum of the columns.
institutions was prominent and the role of ethnic resources not as significant. The question then arises: why did Koreans resort more frequently to Japanese institutions? On the one hand, this trend can be partly attributed to the relatively high interest rates of ethnic banks. As Han (2010) explained, because ethnic banks were in an antagonistic relationship owing to their political stance, which stemmed from the division of the Korean Peninsula, they had to become competitive in order to make their presence influential within the Korean community in Japan. As a result, because they tried to offer better deposit interest rates, they were forced to raise the rates for lending. On the other hand, Japanese banks or credit unions were presumably not reluctant to lend funds to Koreans. In other words, the discrimination, whether institutional or not, found in the housing and labor markets did not extend to finances. While there were few legal restrictions to exclude Koreans, Japanese banks were also not unwilling to lend money to them because they could ensure the loans with the land.

In the next section, I will discuss the persistence of the Korean ethnic concentration and consider the implication of the results presented here with special attention to the home-work relationships of Koreans.

V Home-work relationships in the Korean population concentration and the role of ethnic resources

The analyses of land purchases by Koreans in Osaka between the 1950s and the 1970s give rise to the following discussion. First, Koreans as residents did not face greater than normal obstacles in terms of funds and discrimination when they purchased residential property, and some of these lands were traded among Koreans. Therefore, the relatively high share of homeowners among Koreans in the 1980s was, to some degree, owing to this kind of process. As for residential mobility, Koreans’ ability to purchase land definitely decreased the likelihood of their relocating beyond their existing population concentration. Moreover, at least according to the data obtained, Korean landowners did not often sell their land to the Japanese; consequently, the pattern found in these transfers was also attributed to the persistence of their ethnic concentration and the almost unchanged features of the transition in the Korean population after World War II in the study area.

Second, the clustering of ethnic businesses also endured, although the degree of their concentration was slightly weaker than that of the population. This fact indicates that the clustering and spatial overlapping of home and work also seemed to remain, with few changes. Additionally, this spatial relationship was partially reinforced by the fact that some ethnic business owners also purchased land where they conducted their business. Meanwhile, once-obtained property (not only for business but also for residence) played a consequential role in establishing or sustaining Korean ethnic businesses, as shown in the pattern of mortgages. However, at the same time, lands with mortgages presumably were not as fluid — one factor that may have reduced the residential mobility of Koreans.

Third, while a certain proportion of Korean landowners pledged their property to ensure funds for business, they resorted to Japanese financial institutions as well as ethnic resources. In other words, even in a concentrated Korean population, Koreans did not depend entirely on ethnic resources. In addition to the constraints inherent in ethnic institutions, as already noted, this finding roughly corresponds with findings from other studies (Tani 2002; Fukumoto 2006; see also
Korean entrepreneurs relied not only on resources derived from co-ethnic relations, but also on those formed through relations with Japanese neighbors or business colleagues. While the uneven distribution of Koreans was apparent at least on a tract scale, as noted in Section III, it was not common for Koreans to be the dominant population even in the tracts they populated the most densely. Therefore, even if there were fewer chances for them to relate to the Japanese as compared to Korean co-ethnics, the moderate level of segregation probably did not exclude these possibilities.

In conclusion, land purchases by Koreans perpetuated their concentration in terms of ethnic businesses as well as residences, but the effect derived from ethnic resources was not very prominent. These results provide certain suggestions for existing ethnic studies. First, as for the home-work relationship, the persistence of the segregation of Koreans in this study cannot be explained only by the residence aspect. Even if the conditions that enabled them to obtain land were coincidental, their persistence was owing to the endurance of spatial overlapping between homes and workplaces. Second, the findings also imply another dimension of the socio-spatial dynamics of ethnic concentration that has been not fully discussed. According to Sugiura in this issue, the spatial diffusion of ethnic groups does not necessarily indicate weakening trends in ethnic relations or identity. Adversely, the persistence of a clear ethnic concentration does not always correspond to the unchanged influence or operation of ethnic resources.

VI Conclusion

The foregoing discussion presents an argument concerning the persistence of the Korean population concentration in Osaka City with special attention to home-work relationships. Based on analyses of Koreans’ land purchases, I have shown that the endurance of such a relationship, as well as Koreans’ transformation from tenants to landowners, contributed to the persistence of the concentration. Moreover, with respect to the socio-spatial dynamics of ethnic segregation, the case of the Koreans studied here indicates that the perpetuation of such spatial phenomena cannot always be regarded as clear evidence for the operation of ethnic resources. The detailed data obtained from land registration directories can untangle the complexities of related factors and are useful for investigating the unchanged spatial characteristics found in Korean residents.

Yet, it remained difficult to evaluate the relative importance of each of the factors referred to in this paper. In particular, it is hard to decide whether Koreans purchased land properties because they preferred to do so or because they had no other choice owing to discrimination in the housing market. It is also possible that they were forced to obtain lands in order to ensure funds. Although this paper has pointed out the spatial overlapping of home and work, it cannot clarify an organic connection between these two aspects.

As for the changes that occurred after the 1980s, the Korean population gradually began to disperse and the degree of segregation decreased (Fukumoto 2010). Has the spatial overlapping of home and work changed during this process? How does the alteration in the occupational structure of Koreans coincide with their spatial features? Additionally, the succession of land properties needs to be considered in terms of changes across generations. Further extensive and intensive researches are needed, and comprehensive studies dealing with cases in Japanese cities must be performed with attention to various theories that have been elaborated in studies carried out in Western countries.
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Notes

1. However, migration from Korea was not common before the liberalization of overseas travel in 1989.
2. For comprehensive lists of studies dealing with the case of Osaka City in the prewar period, see Sugihara (1998) and Fukumoto (2004).
3. Moreover, during the US occupation period, it was difficult for Koreans who owned property to return to their home country because they were permitted to carry with them only a limited amount of money and goods.
4. The segregation of Koreans has consistently weakened since 1995 (Fukumoto 2010).
5. There were 836 cases overall in Osaka Prefecture.
6. Applicants must pay for each land unit that they browse.
7. This procedure is as follows: first, it is easily identifiable if the owner registered with a Korean surname; second, in residential maps, some cases can be found in which residents’ real surnames were put down along with their legal aliases; third, it is possible to regard the name as Korean if it contains Chinese characters used exclusively among Koreans; fourth, several Japanese-style names were commonly used by Koreans. Additionally, if the land was mortgaged through an ethnic bank, its owner can be identified as a Korean.
8. Of course, the Korean population growth in these areas could be explained partly by natural increase.
9. In 1985, 93.1% of all foreigners in Osaka Prefecture were Koreans. Among them, 59.8% resided in Osaka City.
10. The data is available only on the prefectural scale.
11. In Japan, even now, it is generally hard for foreigners to rent a privately owned apartment without a Japanese guarantor.
12. There is little information that would make it possible to know the identity of the owners of residential buildings in which Koreans resided. Of course, it is also possible that some Koreans built residences on land that they rented. However, as referred to in Section III, some Japanese landlords were also involved in the apartment rental business on a large scale in the selected districts; therefore, most of them presumably resided in such rented apartments.
13. In the interview survey carried out by the author, one of the interviewees who resided in district Y indicated this fact when he obtained his land.
14. There are a few types of mortgages in Japan. Generally, mortgages taken out on land can be divided into ordinary and fixed mortgages. The former type is usually used when someone borrows a specified sum of money. In other words, an ordinary mortgage guarantees only the amount of the debt. Meanwhile, a fixed mortgage may secure two types of debt. First, it guarantees the upper limit of money that a debtor can borrow. That is, a landowner would be able to borrow money until the total amount of debt reaches the limit. Second, if a person wants to draw a check to make a payment in a business transaction, he or she has to take out some collateral. Therefore, fixed mortgages are used mostly by businesses and not by ordinary people.
15. However, it is not uncommon for lands to be mortgaged by more than one institution or individual. In such a case, to discover whether Koreans depended heavily on ethnic resources, I counted the number of lending institutions or persons together and divided them by the total number of mortgages pledged by each landowner.
16. Two cases are omitted owing to lack of information.
17. In Japan, writing checks is not at all prevalent among ordinary people.

References


