

CLASSIFYING THE JAPANESE IN THE 2001 LONDON USING GEODEMOGRAPHICS

Keiji YANO*

Abstract The number of Japanese living abroad has increased as global economy continues to develop. While the majority of these people have hitherto been employees of Japanese enterprises stationed overseas with their families, the number of Japanese exchange students and people living alone outside of Japan has also been on the rise. This paper focuses on Japanese people living in London, a world city, and aims to shed light on their social and economic characteristics and the spatial distribution through censuses and geodemographics based on small areas.

Key words: geodemographics, Japanese residents, census, Mosaic UK, London

1. Introduction

When it comes to international migration, the movement of less-skilled labour migrants has been replaced by the circulation of high-skill executives and specialist personnel involved in transnational corporations and in the financial services and other sectors affected by economic globalisation (White 1998). In 2009, according to The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, about 1.13 million Japanese were living in abroad: 384,000 in the US, 127,000 in China, Australia 71,000 in Australia, 60,000 in Brazil, and 59,000 in the UK. This paper emphasises on Japanese living in the UK, especially in London, because the number of migrants from Japan continues to be at a high level.

The majority of Japanese residents in the United Kingdom are either employees of private Japanese companies or the family members of these employees. During the Japanese economic boom of the late 1980s, there was a rapid increase in the number of Japanese people in the UK. However, the total number dropped as a result of the “bubble economy” burst in 1991. This trend has generally continued and, according to the Japanese Embassy register, was down to just over 50,000 around the mid-2000s.

The purpose of this paper is to clarify the residential geography of Japanese people living in London by classifying them based on their social and economic characteristics and revealing the spatial patterns through making the best use of the 2001 UK census and geodemographics.

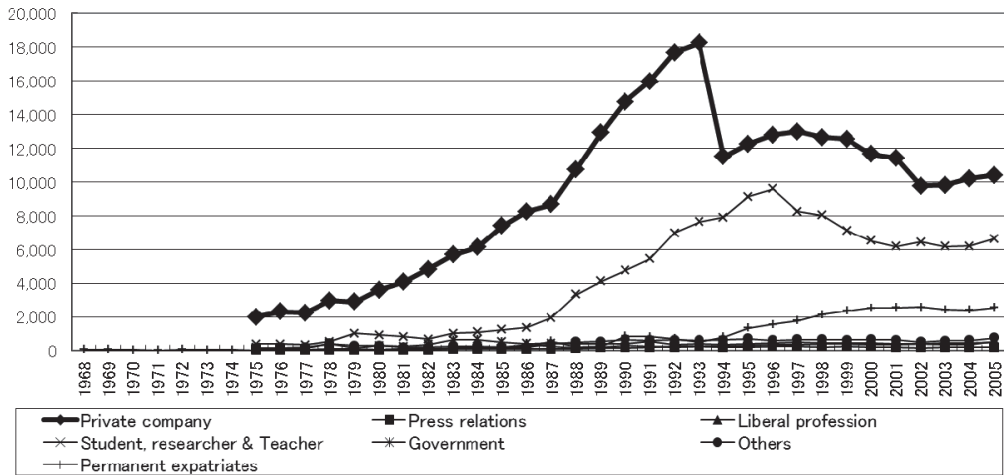
2. Definition of Japanese Residents

It is quite difficult to clearly define Japanese residents in the UK. The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs has published data (from 1972) on the number of registered Japanese living abroad

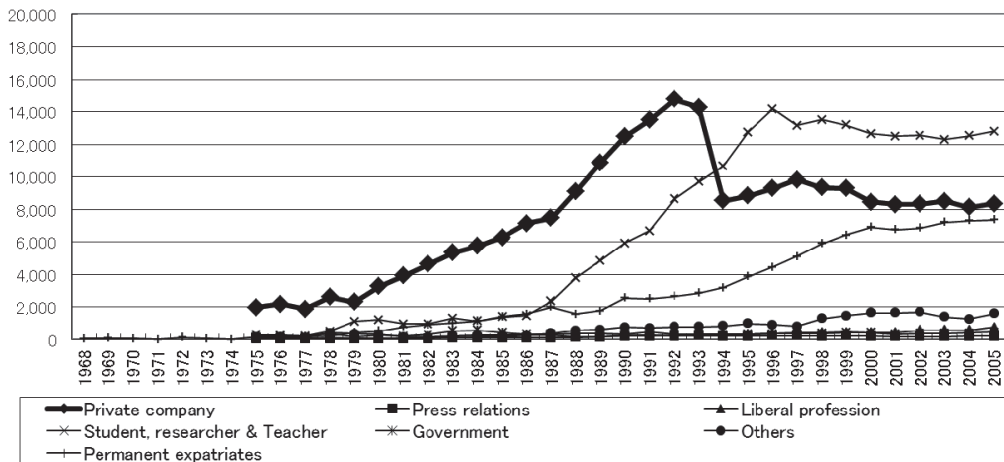
* Department of Geography, Ritsumeikan University.

by occupation and gender. Japanese citizens who plan to live abroad for 3 months or more are required by law to register at the Japanese Consulate General.

Based on official figures it is apparent that since the 1980s there has been a dramatic increase in the number of Japanese people residing in the UK. The number grew from 800 to 2,800 in 1970, 10,900 in 1980, 44,400 in 1990, 53,191 in 2005, and peaking at 56,355 in 1993. After 1972, the Japanese register has also provided data on gender-specific occupations as well as transient and permanent expatriates. The former falls into the classification of private company staff, the self-employed, government, journalists, students, teachers/researchers and others. These seven categories are defined based on the occupation of the head of the household and the numbers included their families.



(a) Male



(a) Female

Fig. 1 Japanese in UK. Source: The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Figure 1 illustrates the changes in the Japanese community living in the UK by occupation and gender. Until the crash of the Japanese economy, the majority of Japanese residents were private company employees. However, after 1974 the number has been almost the same for students, researchers and teachers. Moreover, around the same time the number of permanent expatriates also increased. It is interesting to note that there is a significant difference based on gender. The growth in the number of female students and permanent expatriates has been higher than their male counterparts. For instance, in 2005 the ratio of female students was about twice as high as male students. The ratio of permanent expatriates was about triple. As the result, there were 31,544 female and 21,637 male Japanese residents in the UK in 2005.

As the objective of this paper is to classify the Japanese in London and identify their residence in small area units, another data source by smaller area unit is necessary. The smallest areas of UK census geography in 2001 are given as Output areas (OA). This is a change from the 1991 census, when EDs (Enumeration Districts) were the smallest ones. The average OA (in England and Wales) contained 124 households in 2001. Fortunately, the UK 2001 Population Census provides an adequate variable to distinguish Japanese from others; using category “Japan” in “Country of Birth”. If we define people born in Japan and living in the UK as “Japanese in UK”, we can see the spatial pattern of Japanese residents in the UK based on Output areas, albeit we can use only the total number at this level.

3. Japanese in UK Population Censuses

Data on Japanese residents from the UK censuses are essential to identify the spatial pattern of Japanese residents in small area. First of all, the spatial distributions and changes of Japanese residents in London are mapped based on 1991 and 2001 UK Censuses by ward. White and Hurdley (2003) highlight a few characteristics of the spatial patterns of the Japanese in London, based on a map of the Japan-born population in 1991 by ward. According to their study, almost the whole of the eastern side of the city is devoid of any significant Japanese presence. Second, Japanese-born people are distributed in a series of disconnected clusters and sectors, and that in certain cases these incorporate both inner city and suburban zones. Finally, the levels of residential concentration are relatively high.

There is little difference in the spatial patterns of Japanese presence between 1991 and 2001 (Fig. 2). There was some indication of the concentration of Japanese people in Golders Green in North London and Ealing in West London. These areas are very accessible to the city centre along Northern and Central London tube lines. Other areas of concentration are in the higher-status wards of Richmond, Wimbledon and Kingston. The Japanese tend to be found in areas with privately rented and furnished properties, since many Japanese people who work for Japanese companies are assigned to return to Japan after three or five year in London. White and Hurdley (2003) also suggest that Japanese estate agencies are key actors in helping Japanese people to choose their residence. In order to understand the distribution of Japanese-born people, it is necessary to identify what kinds of Japanese there are in London.

Figure 3 is a map showing the distribution of Japanese-born people in 2001 by Output area. These OAs were built from clusters of adjacent unit postcodes but as they reflected the characteristics of the actual census data, they could not be generated until after data processing. In addition, they were designed to have similar population sizes and be as socially homogenous as

possible based on tenure of household and dwelling type (homogeneity was not used as a factor in Scotland) (Office of National Statistics 2014). We know from this that most of the Japanese are on the western side of London and include a sector of significant Japanese concentrations running westward from Kensington out to West Acton, North Wembley, North Ealing and Wimbledon and in Croydon, with secondary concentrations in St John's Wood, Golders Green and Finchley.

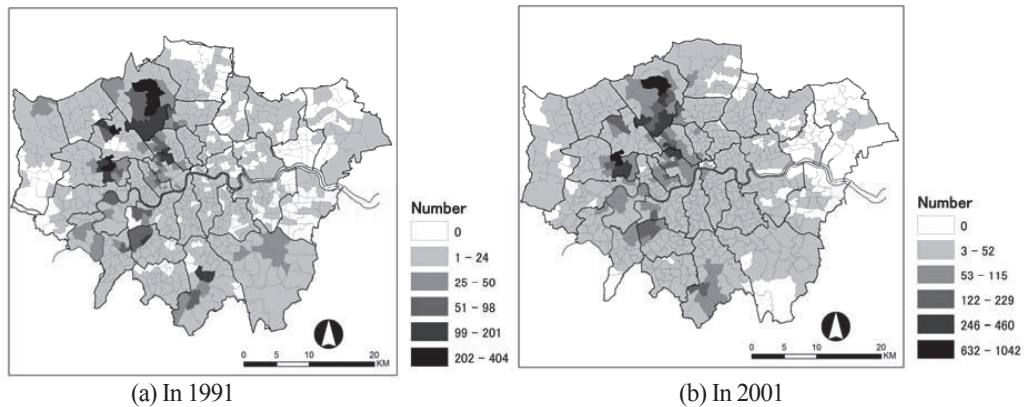


Fig. 2 Spatial distribution of Japanese residents in London (by Ward).

Between 1991 and 2001, the most concentrated areas with Japanese people in London shifted from the north to the west. One of the main reasons was the relocation of the London Japanese School at Camden, between the city and Finchley. The school was founded in 1977 by the Japan Club organised by Japanese companies in London. On-going globalisation gradually led to the increase in the number of pupils who are the children of expatriate families. In 1987 the School was relocated in West Acton. At that time the number of pupils reached about one thousand. Around the school were a concentration of clinics, grocery stores, kindergartens, cram schools, Japanese restaurants and other establishments for the Japanese. In addition, real estate properties oriented for the Japanese were also created, forming a Japanese residential area there.

White and Hurdley (2003) divided Japanese residents in London into the following four types:

- a) Typical Japanese company mover in London: Working for a major Japanese corporation and with regular relocations within the company (Single, Couple and Family);
- b) Non-company group: those who had originally been assigned to London by a company but who have chosen to stay on, or, those who had come to London independently of companies (artist, manager of Japanese restaurant, etc.);
- c) University & college students; and
- d) Permanent expatriates: females who marry non-Japanese people.

However, due to limited geographical data about disaggregated population in small area units, the spatial pattern of the above kind of Japanese residents in London has not been found from the census data. Nevertheless, in terms of commercial geodemographics, Mosaic UK 2001 provides the typology of residents in the small area units, i.e. unit postcode, so it was possible to apply the geodemographics to identify the residential types in London preferred by the Japanese living there.

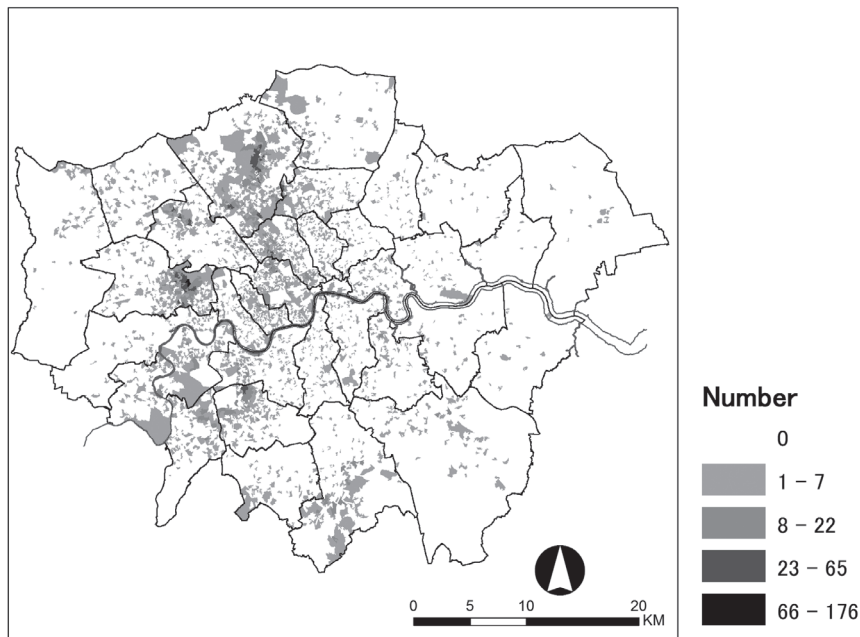


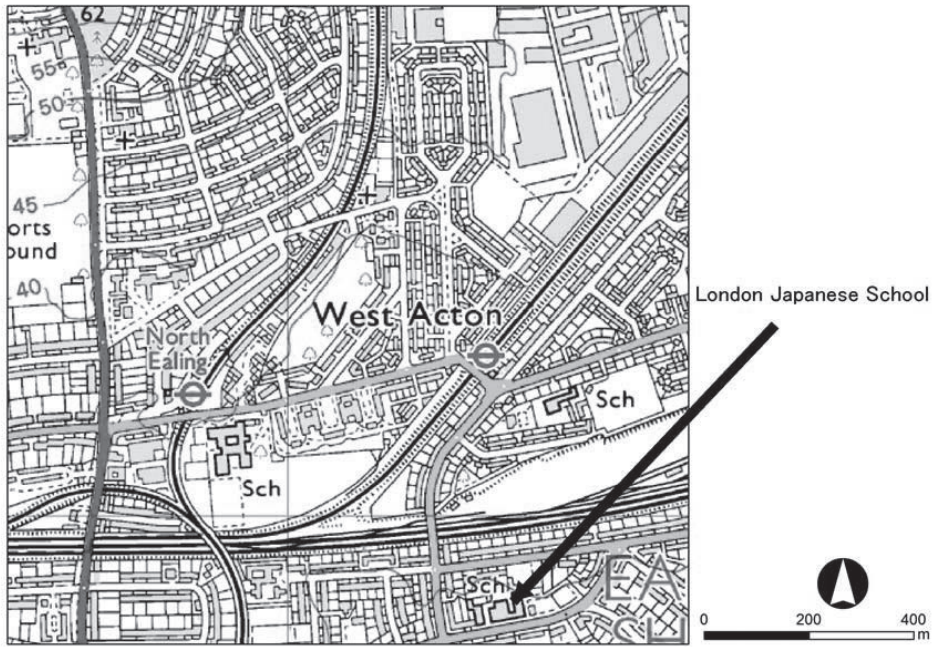
Fig. 3 Spatial distribution of Japanese residents in London in 2001 (by Output area).

4. Classifying Japanese People by Geodemographic Type

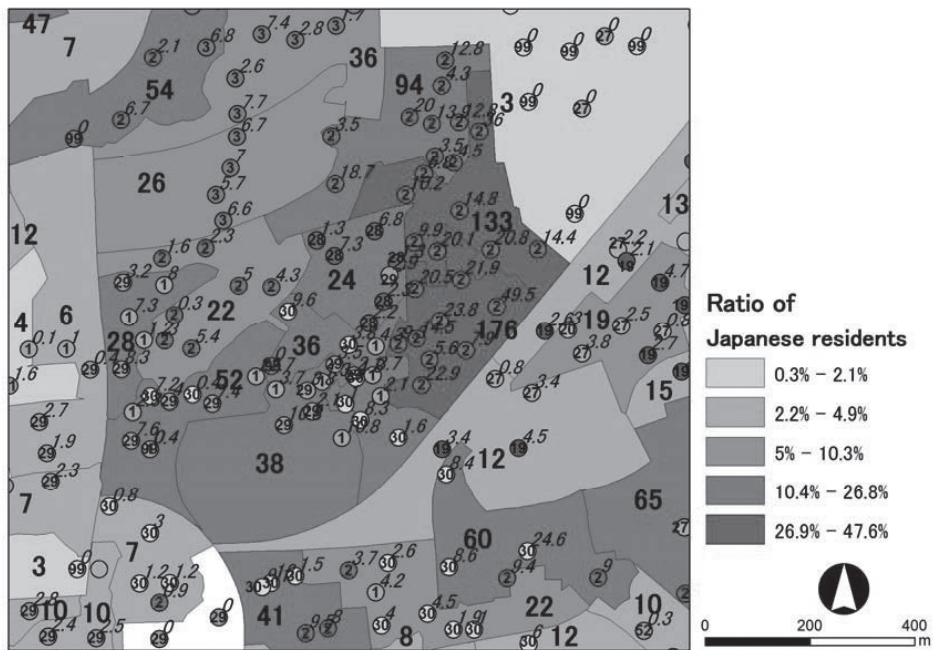
Despite having already the spatial patterns of Japanese residents in 2001 in London, we have unfortunately only the total number of Japanese residents in small area units. In order to clarify the characteristics of these residents, geodemographics data provided by Mosaic UK are effectively used. Geodemographics is a typology of residents in small area unit (Sleight, 2004; Harris *et al.*, 2005). Mosaic UK is Experian's powerful cross-channel consumer classification designed to understand the demographics, lifestyles, preferences and behaviours of the UK adult population in extraordinary detail (Experian, 2003). Mosaic UK classifies all consumers in the UK into 61 types aggregated into 11 groups. The original purpose of this geodemographics is to provide decision-makers with the tools and services they need to successfully implement micromarketing strategies within their business (Experian, 2003). In this paper the typology of residents is applied to identify the characteristics of Japanese people living in London.

The number of Japanese-born people by Mosaic type is estimated by the Output area in London, using the number of population by Mosaic type at unit postcodes. The method is as follows:

- 1) Input data are the number of population and the Japanese residents in the Output area, and the number of population and Mosaic Type at the unit postcode.
- 2) By a proportional division ratio, the number of Japanese are estimated at the unit postcode.
- 3) The number of Japanese by mosaic type are estimated by aggregating the number of Japanese at the unit postcode with Mosaic type.



(a) The sample area



(b) The estimated number of Japanese people

Fig. 4 Calculation of the estimated number of Japanese residents by unit postcode using Mosaic type.

As an example, Fig. 4 shows the Output areas (polygons) and the unit postcodes (points) near West Acton station. This area was one of the areas with the densest Japanese population in 2001. The base map in Fig. 4(b) indicates the density and number (in black) of Japanese residents by Output area, where the circled numbers denote the Mosaic type by unit postcode and the black figures with a decimal point describes the estimated number of Japanese residents by unit postcode. Each unit postcode has a Mosaic type, making it possible to aggregate the number of Japanese people by Mosaic type. As a result, we can identify the Mosaic types showing the preference of the Japanese residents to live in London and their spatial patterns at the Output area level (Table 1).

Table 1 Typical Mosaic types of Japanese residents in London

MOSAIC_UK (Type)	MOSAIC_UK2 (Group)	HOUSE- HOLD	POPULA- TION	Est_Japan ese	%P	%J	Index (%J/%P)
A04 Golden Empty Nesters	A Symbols of Success	389	1,001	33	0.1%	0.4%	347.5
A02 Cultural Leadership	A Symbols of Success	38,578	98,741	2,272	10.3%	24.7%	239.5
A03 Corporate Chieftains	A Symbols of Success	8,497	25,351	494	2.7%	5.4%	202.7
E34 University Challenge	E Urban Intelligence	510	3,938	66	0.4%	0.7%	175.2
A01 Global Connections	A Symbols of Success	70,688	133,046	2,122	13.9%	23.1%	166.0
A05 Provincial Privilege	A Symbols of Success	2,047	5,441	79	0.6%	0.9%	151.4

For any particular attribute or characteristic (e.g. use of mobile phones or attendance at private hospitals) it may be necessary to understand and compare the pattern of the representation of the attribute or characteristic with a target population group (e.g. adults who use mobile phones or people who attend private hospitals) with the pattern in another larger group known as the base population group (e.g. all adults or total population). The Index value compares the rate for an individual unit of observation with the mean or average value for the study area as a whole. Indices tell us how far above or below the national average value an area is for an observed attribute. The national average value of the indices is 100; hence an area with an index of 200 is twice the national average, while an area with an index of 50 is half of the national average.

Table 1 shows that 6 Mosaic types have over 150 indices with the total population and total households of the estimated number of Japanese, almost all of them belong to “A Symbol of Success”. Large portion of Japanese residents with high indexes are classified into the types “A01 Global Connections”, “A02 Cultural Leadership”, “A03 Corporate Chiefs” and “E34 University Challenge”. The spatial distributions of these typical types are shown in Fig. 5.

According to Experian (2003), Group A of “A Symbol of Success” is characterized as follows: “Symbols of Success people are well set in their careers and their incomes have risen far into upper income tax ranges. Some work for large corporations in senior management positions; some hold respected roles in professional practices; others have built successful enterprises with their own commercial acumen. These are people with busy and complex family lives. Their children are now less time consuming, with more independent lifestyles, but with leisure interests that are likely to be more expensive. This group is mostly white British but is likely to contain significant Jewish, European, Chinese and Indian minorities. ...”

From this we can suppose that these four types of Japanese residents basically correspond to the typical Japanese company mover, as mentioned by White and Hurdley (2003), while some characteristic differences among them also exist:

- “A01 Global Connections” : Young single, 25-34, purpose-built flat;
- “A02 Cultural Leadership” : Married, 45-54 with children, semi-detached;
- “A03 Corporate Chiefs” : Married, 45-54 with children, detached;
- “E34 University Challenge” : Student, 15-24.

White and Hurdley (2003) also suggest the following recent types of Japanese residents in London: the typical Japanese company mover in London, Non-company group, University & college students, and Permanent expatriates.

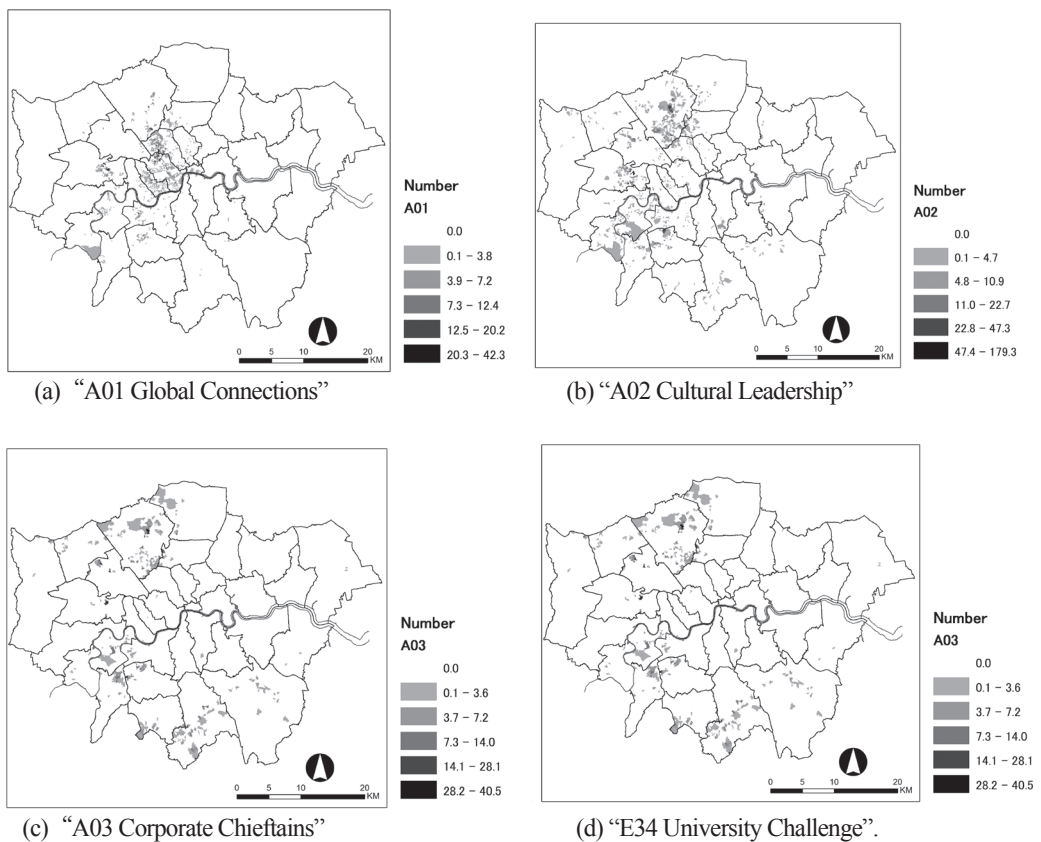


Fig. 5 Spatial distribution of Japanese residents of Typical Mosaic types (by Output area).

These four geodemographic types correspond to the typical characteristics of the Japanese. In other words, “A02 Cultural Leadership” and “A03 Corporate Chiefs” correspond to the typical Japanese company mover in London, expatriate families; while “A01 Global Connections” would correspond mainly to young singles, expatriates and Non-company related people. In addition, “E34 University Challenge” would correspond to Japanese students living in student dormitories

located around universities in London.

While these Japanese resident types were shown by White and Hurdley (2003), the spatial distribution had remained unclear until now. However, this became possible using the distribution of Japanese residents in Output areas and geodemographic types by unit postcode. In particular, the characteristics of “A02 Cultural Leadership” and “A03 Corporate Chiefs” indicate that the people are typical expatriate families with children who reside in semi-detached or detached housing in Golders Green in the North London, Ealing in the West London, Richmond, Wimbledon and other suburbs. As mentioned before, these areas are found around West Acton where the London Japanese School is located and school busses operate in and out of these areas (Yano, 2012).

Moreover, young, single Japanese people are found to enjoying city life living in flats equipped with a bathroom, toilet and kitchen around St. John’s Wood or Swiss Cottage near the city centre.

5. Conclusions

This paper illustrates the spatial patterns of Japanese residents by Mosaic type in small area units in London, showing several types of Japanese residents in London, which include the typical Japanese company mover in London, non-company group, university & college students, and permanent expatriates. The current study has also found that, while a segregation of Japanese residents in London has been identified, there are different spatial patterns according to the type of Japanese residents. The differences in these spatial patterns can be explained by the location of where these Japanese work, the modes of commuting, the location of Japanese food shops, Japanese estate agencies and the Japanese school, the marketing of rental housing, residential environments, and so forth (Goodman *et al.*, 2003).

With the 2011 UK Population Census in OAs now available, we can use this new data to illustrate the shifting of residence by Japanese people in London after the 2001 UK Population Census as the next challenge.

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