

Araştırma Makalesi/Research Article

The Same Discrimination Against Two Different Groups: Burakumin and Koreans in The Meiji Japan

Hümeyra GÜLMEZ *

Abstract: Japan hosted an ostracized group, *burakumin*, in its lands for centuries. During the Meiji Restoration, their class restrictions were abolished. However, discrimination against this group continued until and after the Meiji Period. Additionally, discrimination against Koreans started in the Meiji years. Even though Koreans and Korean culture were held in high esteem during the Tokugawa Period, they were excluded, like *burakumin* in the Meiji Period. These two groups have been subjected to similar humiliations and have been marginalized in Japanese society for years with similar prejudices. The isolation of the Japanese people for years, combined with the ethnocentric approaches that increased with the imperial policies, led the Japanese to exclude the Koreans both within its lands and in the neighboring peninsula. In this study, I compared the status of *burakumin* and Koreans and saw that both groups had been ostracized with similar prejudices in Japan during the Meiji Era. Both groups were labeled with the same insults as “filthy (*kegare*), idle (*namakemono*), vulgar (*gehin*), barbaric (*yaban*), primitive (*mikai*)” and “unchaste (*futei*).” Again, both groups were likened to animals and seen as less than human beings. Likewise, both parties were seen as violent and treacherous when they pursued their liberty during and after the Meiji Period. Lastly, both parties lived in isolated communities in Japan at that time and worked in similar disreputable jobs. One interesting point is that the start of segregation was different for each group. While *burakumin* was discriminated against by Japanese society itself for doing unclean works, Koreans were first alienated by Japanese authorities with imperial goals and by the Japanese public later.

Keywords: *Burakumin, Koreans, discrimination, the Meiji Period, marginal groups in Japan*

*A graduate student at Boğaziçi University, humeyraglmz.51@gmail.com

ORCID: [0009-0004-1082-3980](https://orcid.org/0009-0004-1082-3980)

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İki Farklı Gruba Karşı Aynı Ayrımcılık: Meiji Japonya'sında Burakumin ve Koreliler

Öz: Yüzyıllar boyunca bünyesinde dışlanmış bir grup insanı barındıran Japonya, Meiji Döneminde bunu düzeltmeye çalışmıştır ancak emperyal politikalarla hem kendi içindeki dışlanan grupları hem de yeni ayak bastığı topraklardaki insanları korumayı başaramamıştır. Irkçı ve etnosantrik yaklaşım işleri daha da kötüleştirilmiş, yüzyıllarca ayrımcılığa maruz kalan *burakumin*, sınıf sistemi kaldırılmış olmasına rağmen Meiji döneminde de benzer ayrımcılıklara maruz kalmıştır. Öte yandan Tokugawa ve öncesi dönemlerde saygı duyulan Koreliler ve Kore kültürü Meiji döneminde *buraku* topluluğuyla aynı kefeye konmuş ve dışlanmıştır. Bu iki grup, 19. Yüzyılın sonlarında ve 20. Yüzyılın başlarında benzer aşağılamalara maruz kalmış, benzer önyargılarla Japon toplumunda yıllarca ötekileştirilmiştir. Japonların yıllar boyu süren izolasyonu imparatorluk politikalarıyla daha da yükselen budun temelli yaklaşımlarla birleşerek Japonların hem kendi içindeki hem de en yakın lokasyondaki Korelileri dışlamasına yol açmıştır. Bu çalışmada *burakumin* ve Korelilerin durumları karşılaştırılmış ve Meiji Dönemi Japonya'sında her iki grubun benzer önyargılarla dışlandığı görülmüştür. Her iki grup da “pis, aylak, kaba, ahlaksız, ilkel” ve “iffetsiz” gibi aynı hakaretlerle yaftalanmış, hayvanlara benzetilmiş ve insandan daha aşağı görülmüştür. Aynı şekilde hem Meiji Dönemi'nde hem de sonrasında her iki taraf da özgürlüklerini ararken şiddet yanlısı ve hain olarak görülmüşlerdir. Son olarak, her iki grup da o dönemde Japonya'da izole topluluklarda yaşamış ve benzer itibarsız işlerde çalışmışlardır. İlginç olan nokta şu ki dışlanmanın başlangıç nedeni her iki grup için farklıdır. *Burakumin*, Japon toplumu tarafından “temiz olmayan işler” yaptığı gerekçesiyle ayrımcılığa uğrarken, Koreliler önce emperyal amaçlarla Japon hükümeti tarafından, sonrasında Japon halkı tarafından dışlanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Burakumin, Koreliler, ayrımcılık, Meiji Dönemi, Japonya'daki marjinal gruplar*

Introduction

Since ancient times until today, human beings have shown the tendency to ostracize the different because, psychologically, people like to be with similar people to themselves while separating the “Other.” (Burlinson, 1992) This was the case in Japan as well. Japanese people have excluded different ones up until recently. Sometimes, the ostracized people were the Ainu; sometimes, they were Koreans. However, there was always a group to be discriminated against in Japan.

In this article, I investigated two discriminated groups in Japan: *burakumin* and Koreans. The period that I reviewed starts from the 1000s A.D. until the end of the Meiji Period (1912) since including the whole 20th century's data would have crossed the limits of my work. I compared the status of Koreans and *burakumin* in Japan to see whether the Japanese treated them similarly or differently.

There are many works on *burakumin* and Koreans being discriminated against by the Japanese people in the 20th century. (Chapman, 2007; Neary, 2008) With the help of those works, we can see that Korean and *buraku* people were discriminated against and not seen as equal to Japanese citizens in the last century of Japan. Likewise, there are studies showing the discrimination against these people in the 19th century and before. (Akbar, 2010; Bayliss, 2013; Hane, 2003) However, none of these studies compare two marginalized groups, Koreans and *burakumin*, regarding the nature of the discrimination that both parties faced.

Therefore, in this article, I first investigated the literature on the discrimination history of Japan until the end of the Meiji Period. I asked if Koreans were seen differently from *burakumin* in any case and the reasons behind it. Then, I combed the sources narrating the form of their discrimination to find similar ostracization methods and words. Lastly, I compared and discussed my results.

Who are Burakumin?

Burakumin (部落民) means “*people of the hamlet*”¹. This term came to use for the outcasted people in Japan at the beginning of the Meiji Period. (Hane, 2003: 139) Before the Meiji Period, *senmin* (unclean people) was the general term used for the pariah groups. They had various names in various provinces. For example, there were local names such as *chasen* (茶筥), which was used for bamboo producers. However, commonly used labels for ostracized people were *eta* and *hinin*. *Eta* means (穢多) “*utterly dirty*,” and *hinin* (非人) means “*nonhuman*.” Since they were very pejorative, the Meiji government coined a new term for this group of people, *shinheimin* (新平民), which means “*new commoners*.” (Bayliss, 2013: 24-32)

In terms of their origin, there is no commonly accepted theory. The first scholars who investigated this group argued that they were the enslaved people who had immigrated from Korea or Korean prisoners who had arrived in Japan after the fourth century A.D. Some believed that they

¹ Throughout the article, I will use the term *buraku* or *buraku* people to refer to ostracized *eta* and *hinin* groups in Japan.

were the offspring of the Ainu people, which are another group segregated and marginalized for centuries in Japan. However, a new generation of scholars disputed this theory and argued that they were not Koreans. Contrarily, some Koreans who lived in Japan in ancient times were nobles and had higher status than many Japanese. They asserted that *burakumin* were discriminated against not because of their different ethnicity but because of their lifestyle. (Hane, 2003: 139-140)

Boyle's paper supports this theory. He says that in ancient Japan, people who could not pay their taxes were ostracized and driven out of society to Kyoto environs. Accordingly, these people started developing their groups in Kyoto suburbs. At the beginning of the 10th century, an epidemic broke out in Kyoto, and these ostracized (*kegare*) people were forced to clean streets full of dead bodies and became purifiers (*kiyome*).² This magnified their affiliation with impurity and intensified their discrimination. Consequently, they constituted the ancestors of *burakumin* in Japan. (Boyle, 2013)

In fact, from the very early days, Japanese people felt repugnance towards death and death-related things. Therefore, people who are associated with death are also hated and avoided. They were seen as dirty people. Buddhism also supported and intensified this feeling with its doctrines, such as not eating animals. That is why, ultimately, butchers and consumers of animals were perceived as vulgar and filthy by the Japanese people. The abhorrence expanded, and even people working as tanners were regarded as utterly contaminated and inhuman. Nevertheless, if these people wanted to drop their jobs or stop eating animal flesh,³ they might be recognized as clean as ordinary people. (Hane, 2003: 140)

On the other hand, there was a distinction between *eta* and *hinin*. *Eta* people were seen as more despicable. They dealt with dead animals, produced leather goods for the samurai, and captured criminals. In contrast, *hinin* was dealing with human corpses and animal carcasses. This group was also used as executioners during the Tokugawa Period. (Hane-Perez, 2009: 29) They were responsible for rituals and burials as well. The prominent difference between the two groups was that *eta* was a class one belonged to by birth. However, *hinin* people were not discriminated because of their breed. When a proper citizen committed a crime, he used to be punished by being degraded to the *hinin* class. If he were lucky, he would regain his reputation, but these were rare cases. (Bayliss, 2013: 25)

² These terms were usually written with katakana to avoid their "discriminatory implications."

³ Except fish. Japanese people always loved eating fish. On the other hand, they would not eat big animals such as cattle or sheep.

Yet, *eta* people were above *hinin*. They would even get wealthy by manufacturing leather, but the public would never accept them. (Boyle, 2013) Ultimately, during the Tokugawa era, all social orders ⁴ were frozen, meaning if one were an outcast, s/he would be forever. (Hane, 2003: 141)

Buraku people were seen as less than human beings. Thus, they were banned from wearing the same outfits as ordinary Japanese. Their outings and marriages with other classes were restricted. So much so that they would not demand justice and seek their rights when they were subjected to injustice. They were called “dirty [*fuketsu*], vulgar [*gehin*], smelly [*kusai*], untrustworthy, dangerous, treacherous [不逞 *futei*], [and] subhuman creatures [*hinin*],” which should be “oppressed” by ordinary Japanese people. (Hane, 2003: 142-143)

As for Koreans, up until the Meiji Period, they were naturalized into Japanese society and became Japanese citizens. (Kang, 1997) There are records of Koreans living in Japan peacefully and being naturalized without discrimination. ⁵ Genetic studies also support these data. (Matsumoto, 2009; Saha-Tay, 1992; Wang et al., 2018) So much so that even the Japanese imperial family was believed to have Korean origins. (Tamura, 2003: 79) So, Korean people were perceived totally different from *buraku* in terms of order in the past.

Recently, there have been different viewpoints on the Japanese racism. They say the Japanese discrimination against other races was not just because those people were filthy or had low characteristics but also because they were from another ethnicity. In other words, Japanese people were so “ethnocentric” that they could not accept other nations as humans. “If he/she is not Japanese, that person is near to subhuman status” was the Japanese notion. (Hane, 2003: 139) That is why ordinary Japanese people saw two groups, Koreans and *burakumin*, as less than human beings.

Akbar investigates this notion in his thesis and argues that the feeling of superiority of the Japanese to other nations, namely, “Japanese whiteness,” started during the Tokugawa period. Then, Koreans would send envoys regularly to Japan, even though Japan would not. Akbar says that one-

⁴ There were four official orders: samurai, peasants, artisans, and merchants. The government did not recognize the existence of the outcasts.

⁵ There is an example on the Encyclopedia of Korean Culture webpage, though I could not see any scholarly article. They say a Korean refugee from Silla naturalized as a citizen of Japan in the 7th century (A.D.). According to Nihonkouki (일본후기 - 日本後紀), his name was recorded as “*Karapogoi*” and he was given an official duty. (가라포고이 - 加羅布古伊), accessed January 4, 2024. <https://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Article/E0000084>

sidedness was the beginning of “a shift” in Japanese perception of “self and the Other.” (Akbar, 2010)

Likewise, the victories during the Meiji period reinforced the superiority sentiment of the Japanese. Japan won wars against China and Russia. With the aid of these victories, the Japanese government deliberately boosted the feelings of superiority of the Japanese with imperial goals. Thereupon, “a state-controlled dissemination of Japanese whiteness” started. Akbar also differentiates the Japanese superiority before and after encountering the West. According to him, Japan learned to be a “white superior colonial” from the West. With its lesson, Japan started degrading other nations. In sum, Japan already had its lower cast and marginalized people within the country based on their customs. However, colonization taught them to perceive other nations as lower than themselves. (Akbar, 2010)

Burakumin In the Meiji Period

According to the population census done in 1870 in Japan, there were 30,089,401 people, and 520,451 of them were *eta-hinin*. That is, almost 2 percent of the population were marginalized people. In August of 1871, a liberation decree (*kaihō-rei*) was issued for these people and annulled the ostracized *buraku* class in Japan. Even though the class was abolished, the public and officials continued segregating *burakumin*. (Bayliss, 2013: 30-34) Anti-*burakumin* groups attacked *buraku* houses and *buraku* people. There were eleven riots during the Meiji Period, including *buraku* complaints. In two of these violent riots, thousands of *buraku* houses were destroyed, and hundreds of *buraku* members were killed or injured. According to some issues published by official parties, though the *buraku* people were regular citizens, they should not behave like one. Also, they should behave humble like they did in former times. (Hane, 2003: 144)

Prejudices towards *burakumin* continued throughout the Meiji era. It was commonly believed that the bodies of *buraku* people stink from birth, not because they are unsanitary. In other words, they had this endemic body odor. *Buraku* men were believed to be alcoholics, spending all their money on prostitutes or gambling and fighting with their wives all the time. (Bayliss, 2013: 54) Some believed that they had abnormal bodies; thus, they were giving birth to twins in multiplexed numbers despite the lack of evidence showing those days’ birth rates. (Bayliss, 2013: 65)

The intellectuals of the time were also casting out the *buraku* people. They had manifold eccentric beliefs about the *buraku* people. For example, Takahashi Yoshio, one of the students of Fukuzawa Yukichi, believed that *buraku* people carried the disease of leprosy and that it would not be

cleared from the breed for five generations. They ignored the scientific explanations of diseases and viewed *buraku* people as inherited infections even though they were airborne or waterborne diseases. They assumed second-hand information as facts. For instance, they believed that *buraku* members practiced consanguineous marriages. (Bayliss, 2013: 43-44)

Even though schools and organizations were established to educate the *buraku* people, many authorities did not believe that the *buraku* would improve themselves. The press also supported this bigotry. According to Yokoyama, a journalist, educating *eta* was just a waste of time, money, and energy. He also argued that *buraku* people were vulgar in their appearance, language, and behavior even though they were cowards. Especially after the cholera pandemic 1886, the press chastised *burakumin* for their lack of hygiene and poor sanitation conditions. They alleged that filth and foolishness were segments of their nature. By the 20th century, instead of using their official titles, *shinheimin* (new commoners), the press started to use the label of *tokushu buraku* (特種部落 or 特殊部落 means "special *buraku*") to refer *burakumin*, which has a malicious implication. (Bayliss, 2013: 53-64)

All in all, the Japanese newspapers argued that the *buraku* had many "undesirable character traits such as laziness, impropriety, licentiousness, dishonesty, and cowardice." Also, despite refuting statistics, they argued that murder rates were higher among the *buraku* people than the nation. They accused *buraku* of disloyalty and treachery towards the nation. They exaggerated the abominable characteristics of *burakumin* and added fuel to the discrimination flames. Overall, the Japanese people "despised the *eta* and *hinin* as if they were animals." (Bayliss, 2013: 32, 66-67)

Even though the outcast class was abolished with a Decree in 1871, many official issues continued discrimination. For example, in a report by the Ministry of Justice published in 1880, *burakumin* was described as "the lowliest of all people, almost like animals." In another report by Mie prefecture dated 1907, *burakumin* was accused of theft, cruelty, immorality, corruption, and idleness. Moreover, whenever a *buraku* seeks a job in an official position, they would never get it. They could not even hide their classes because of family registrations. Even if they could succeed in concealing their background and land a job, they would be terrified of being caught throughout their lives. Religious institutions were not different from officials. For example, in 1902, a temple representative referred to *eta* people as "[they] are like insects (*mushi no yōna*)." So, it was obvious that *burakumin* was still discriminated against even after twenty years of the class abolishment. (Hane, 2003: 146-150)

Koreans In the Meiji Period

During the Tokugawa Period (Bakufu), despite the lower status of *burakumin*, Koreans were held in high esteem. Koreans had lived by Confucianist ideals, making them highly respected in Japan. However, with the rise of the “*proto-nationalistic*” trend, Korean people and culture lost prestige among Japanese scholars. Even though there was no condemnation, the first association of Koreans and *burakumin* was done during the Tokugawa Era. In 1750, Yamaguchi Kōjuu maintained that the *eta* people were, in fact, the descendants of Korean immigrants. His argument gradually accumulated and spread in due time. (Bayliss, 2013: 28)

When it came to the Meiji Period, the first disparaging comment on Koreans came from Fukuzawa Yukichi in 1875 as a “*small [and] barbaric country.*” He blamed Korea for being uncivilized (*mikai*) and rejected it as another outdated custom of previous times. Before him, intellectuals were not interested in nor investigated Koreans as they did for *burakumin*. Later, with the rise of imperial interest in the Korean peninsula, scholars started commenting on Koreans and Korean culture. While they were supporting “*universal equality and human rights*” at the beginning of the Meiji, Japanese intellectuals switched to supporting “*social Darwinism*” and made very “*ethnocentric observations*” on Korean culture. Many highlighted the “*backwardness*” of Korea and commented that “*life is Arcadian*” in Korea, as in the example of Nitobe Inazo. (Bayliss, 2013: 40-48)

Consequently, the Japanese gained the same perception of *burakumin* as Koreans just before the annexation of Korea. For example, a historian and a journalist, Yamaji Aizan, labeled Koreans as “*dirty (fuketsu)*” and remarked, “*...Koreans should be whipped like a worn-out horse*”. (Han, 1998) Though Koreans were not part of the *buraku* group, the Japanese overtly likened Koreans to the *eta* of Japan. Shiozaki, a Japanese reporter who lived for a few years in Korea, said, “*I cannot help but think that Koreans are the same as the Eta of Japan’s past.*” (Shiozaki, 1906 in Lee, 2007:16)

Moreover, this hatred felt towards Koreans might have caused scholars to argue that *burakumin* were the descendants of enslaved Koreans or prisoners, as stated in Hane’s book. (Hane, 2003: 139) According to the Japanese society, Koreans were living filthy lives, and they were eating animal flesh, which were the characteristics of *burakumin*. Additionally, Koreans lived primitive lives like *burakumin*. These reasons might be why Japanese scholars matched them and thought they had a common origin.

The books were full of hearsay on Korea and Korean culture during the Meiji Era. One example of those books was published by Adachi Keijirō in 1894. Adachi describes Koreans as “*uncivilized (mikai), unhygienic (fueisei), and immoral*” people. According to him, Koreans are underhanded, superstitious, and unsanitary. He claims that Korea is the nest of prostitution. Korean women are unchaste (不貞 *futei*), while their husbands are procurers. The press was also giving similar reports on Koreans. They depicted Koreans as incompetent, cunning, and rebellious. (Bayliss, 2013: 57-59)

Weiner dates the discrimination of Koreans by Japanese people back to the beginning of the Meiji Period. According to him, Japan started defining its nationalism with racial mythologies after encountering the West. To create a well-defined nation, they had to promote the superiority of *Japaneseness* and discriminate against *the Other*. Korea’s backwardness and political weakness encouraged the Japanese superiority notion towards Koreans. (Weiner, 2013: 2-3)

Weiner discusses Japan-Korea relations in the first chapters of his book and says the Japanese perception of Koreans were shaped by the government officials. Even though the government was reluctant to step into Korea at first, many intellectuals and state officials favored intervening in Korean internal affairs. Starting in 1868, most Japanese gradually lost hope for Koreans making modern themselves. So, except for a few voices rising from minority groups such as socialists, all Japanese approved a Japanese intervention in Korea. The negative perception of Koreans as “*barbarian, idle, primitive, dim and dull, unintelligent*” developed increasingly. (Weiner, 2013: 19)

In fact, there were not many Koreans in Japan for the general public to get an accurate observation. According to the statistics,⁶ only four Koreans resided in Japan in 1882. Until 1909, this number increased only to 790. Historians believed they mainly were “*diplomats, students, and political refugees*.” However, the latest studies showed that there were also laborers coming to Japan due to recent industrialization, but they were not recorded officially. With annexation, the number of Koreans in Japan increased drastically, and when the Second World War ended, there were more than two million Koreans in Japan. (Tamura, 2003: 80)

Then, how did the Japanese people get those ideas about Koreans? The first reason was the government propaganda. Imperial Japan wanted to invade Korea, and for that, they needed an excuse. Therefore, they

⁶ Tamura takes these figures from the Statistical Yearbook of the Empire (Teikoku Tokei Nenkan)

propagated how Koreans were barbaric and inadequate for self-governing. (Jansen, 2002: 442-445) This government strategy was supported by scholars of the time. On top of those, the journals of the Japanese who traveled to Korea reinforced negative perceptions. In those travel accounts, Koreans were portrayed as idle (*namakemono*), filthy (*kegare*), and barbaric (*yaban*). There were comments like “[Koreans are] monkeys who stand and walk upright.” (Duus, 1995: 397) These kinds of disparaging narratives created a Korean abhorrence in Japanese people.

So, even though Koreans were not seen as a part of *buraku* people, they were hated by Japanese people at the beginning of the 20th century. Itagaki defines hatred towards Koreans as “*Korea-phobia*” and dates it back to the seizure of Korea as a colony. He says that after the annexation, Korea-phobia intensified in Japan and Koreans were called diverse derogatory terms such as *futei senjin* and *sangokujin*.⁷

Before and During the Annexation of Korea

When Japan established a protectorate in Korea in 1905, many Koreans opposed it and fought against Japanese forces. With their rebellions, new tags for Koreans, such as *ganmei-ha bōmin* and *bōto* (obstinate rioter), appeared in the press. The assassination of the Japanese resident-general of Korea added spice to the Korean hatred. On top of it, the press intensified the hostility by spreading more stereotypes about Koreans. They depicted Koreans as violent and ungrateful people. Therefore, the “*animosity between Koreans and Japanese residents in Korea*” increased. Japanese people assaulted Koreans residing in Japan and stopped interacting with them. In brief, Koreans were intensely alienated by the Japanese public. (Bayliss, 2013: 60-70)

However, when Japan occupied Korea, the government changed its strategy. The government and its supporters started praising Koreans to improve the two nations’ relations. While depicting the daily life of Koreans as primitive before, they switched to a more romanticizing discourse. According to the new claim, Koreans were not uncivilized but humble in their livelihoods. They were “*civilizable*” people. (Lee, 2007: 23) Duus says that behind this U-turn were Japan's immigration policies. The government wanted to send more agricultural settlers to Korea, so they had to compliment Korea and Koreans for this goal. (Duus, 1995: 295-308)

⁷ “*Futei* is an adverb which means insubordinate, lawless, or rebellious; and *senjin* is a discriminatory abbreviation for Korean people.” *Sangokujin* “literally means ‘a third country national’.” (Itagaki, 2015: 56-57)

Even though they changed their tactics, it was not easy for the two nations to unite anymore. Weiner affirms the hostile attitude of the Japanese towards Koreans and says that because of the reporting in the Meiji period, Japanese people detested Koreans. When the annexation happened, the Japanese already perceived Korea as a country full of corrupt officials and stagnant folks. Even so, the government officials were aware of the latest issues and accepted this by stating “[M]any Japanese have had had attitudes toward Koreans” and “[they] must watch [them]selves and get rid of these bad attitudes.” They reported that it was because of the arrogance of the Japanese people. Japanese people had to stop being arrogant and get along with their new siblings. (Weiner, 2013: 19-22)

Conclusion

Upon review of the above works, I can say that both groups, Koreans and *burakumin* were hated during the Meiji Era in Japan. Even though Koreans were respected before and during the Tokugawa Era, they were loathed at the beginning of the 20th century owing to government policies, the press, and traveler accounts that negatively shaped Japanese society’s Korean image. Despite the relatively new detestation of Koreans, *burakumin* was always loathed in Japan. From the very beginning, Japanese society associated *buraku* people with death and filth, which caused centuries-long discrimination.

Nevertheless, during the Meiji Period, the Japanese started likening Koreans to *burakumin*. They labeled both parties with similar derogatory modifiers such as “filthy, idle, vulgar, immoral, and primitive.” A significant metaphor was animals. Both group members were equated to animals or less than human beings. “Monkey (*saru*)” or “insect (*mushi*)” were some of the adjectives those people received. Again, unchastity was a common slander for both groups. Lastly, both group members were seen as violent and treacherous when they pursued their liberty.

Further, I believe both groups reflected the “ethnocentric” perception of the Japanese society. The Japanese wanted to ostracize the different ones and glorify themselves. Since they lived in solitary for centuries, they were not accustomed to “the Other” than themselves. After living separately for a long time, they must have had a cultural shock before Korean society, which steered them to discrimination. Their reaction is an emotional rebound that human beings feel towards the unfamiliar.

According to Bayliss, both parties lived in isolated communities in Japan at that time. So, I believe that the isolation of these communities made the

conditions worse. The Japanese people and these groups did not have a chance to know and understand each other. Again, during the Meiji era, Koreans and *buraku* people worked in menial occupations. Their disreputable jobs might have cemented their status. (Bayliss, 2013: 7)

Lastly, I want to highlight the fact that the start of segregation was different for each group. *Eta* and *hinin* carried out “unclean works” according to Japanese ideals and it was the Japanese society creating and labeling this unwanted group. In other words, the expulsion of the *buraku* people was mainly related to their jobs and society itself. On the contrary, the alienation of Koreans was mainly done by the authorities. With ulterior motives, imperial Japan bombarded its citizens with negative propaganda about Koreans and glorified itself by undervaluing the Other. As a result, being away from other cultures for centuries, the Japanese citizens naturally experienced culture shock and externalized Koreans.

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