

Discussion on the Tribal Problems from the Recent Modern History of Japan

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Abstract—There is a minority group that is "discriminated-against tribal people" (or tribal people) in Japanese society. The tribal people mainly originated from the people who were known as "Eta" in the modern times. The Meiji Restoration advocated the equality of the four peoples, and the untouchability system was subsequently abolished, but the discrimination of Japanese society against its descendants still exists.

Keywords—modern history; tribal people; descendants; tribal problem

I. INTRODUCTION

In the 1935 survey, there were 5,361 discriminated tribal areas in Japan, accounting for 1.44% of the total population. It goes without saying that the tribal people who are discriminated against are no different from others in terms of nationality, physiology, religion and culture. The tribal problem is non-discriminatory discrimination, that is, despite being different from others, it is still subject to discrimination and other unfair treatments, while ethnic discrimination and ethnicity discrimination did not originally belong to the same category. The study of tribal issues before and after World War II was influenced by Marxism. Only the basic part (lower structure) was regarded as a problem, and little attention was paid to the awareness of discrimination. The relationship between the feudal system (residual) and capitalism was discussed through the history of liberation. Tribal problems do not stem from differences in race. However, if it can be understood from the perspective of social constructivism of Ruth Benedict and Albert M éne, the race does not belong to the ethno-discrimination and abolish the "occupation and discrimination" in the treaty, but it still belongs to the category of race doctrine. Discriminated tribes were regarded as "heterogeneous" during the Meiji period. Although they have been confirmed as scientific fallacies, they are still excluded from marriage because of "the family blood will be tarnished" and "different from ordinary people". From the conclusion, although the modern identity system has been abolished, due to some factors that cannot be changed by individual will and efforts, Japanese society still rejects the discriminated tribes who are known as "Eta" in the modern world and regards it as "heterogeneous." Intermarriage will shake the boundaries created by this, so marriage discrimination is the most stubborn in tribal discrimination. This article will introduce the tribal problems of modern Japanese society in chronological order. On this

basis, this article will also explore the changes and existing problems in current times after World War II.

II. FROM "IDENTITY" TO "ETHNICITY"

In 1871, the Meiji government displayed its enlightened policy at home and abroad. Based on the idea of "one king and many people", the abolition of the identity of the untouchables, usually called the "liberation order" or the "abolition order of the people", was removed from the system. People who once had a lower status than themselves have become "civilians". The Japanese people who are deeply rooted in feudal hierarchy have felt the crisis, and they continue to exclude new-becoming "civilians" in their daily life, discriminating against them as "new civilians" to distinguish people outside the tribe. Although the Japanese people have been seeking a firm discrimination mark to replace the feudal identity system, due to the emergence of the "liberation order" and the idea of civilized thoughts, the "cultural civilization" was popularized during this period, and the society began to attach importance to equality, so in addition to the filth consciousness in modern times, there is no longer any sign of rejection of tribal people in addition.

Most of the discriminated tribes have no land, and the economic base is weak. They rely on renting land and tribal industries such as shoes and leather to maintain their livelihood. In 1881, Matsumoto's deflation¹ has made life more difficult and the gap between inside and outside the tribes has expanded. Due to economic poverty, the discriminated tribes are gradually regarded as a hotbed of uncleanness and disease. This is the unfair treatment of the people at the bottom of the society. On this basis, the tribal people are labeled as "heterogeneous". The theory of ethnographic origin began in the middle ages and was mentioned again by human scholars during the Meiji period. The "heterogeneous" consciousness was supported by modern knowledge and gradually penetrated into Japanese society. At that time, the magazine of the Faculty SCI-Dept

¹ Matsu-kata's deflation: In October 1881, Matsu-kata Masayoshi became the Japanese patriarch (management of national revenues and expenditures, currency, gold and silver, prices, etc.), and began to implement a financial policy centered on sorting out banknotes, relying on new taxes, increasing revenues, and reducing bureaucratic administration fees to increase revenue. The austerity of finance has caused serious deflation, and bankrupts have emerged among farmers, SME owners and even the clan.

Anthropol, Anthropological Science, published an article of Fujii Kansuke, which mentioned that although the "Eta" was our compatriots, they have always been rejected because their ancestors were different from ours. And many of them have been eating meat that the Japanese hate since ancient times, and the eyeballs will be reddish when they eat meat. (Omission) Therefore, it can be considered that the ethnic groups from the three Koreans² were the ancestor of Eta in current times. (Gujii *Eta Should Be Foreigners*, Anthropological Science No.10, Feb. 1986) had got a conclusion that the discriminated-against tribal people are "heterogeneous". The famous anthropological researcher, Tori Ryuzo, conducted an anthropological research of eight so-called Eta ethnic tribes in the Hyogo Prefecture. Through careful physical examination, the following conclusions were drawn: from the cheekbones, eyes, and head. In terms of shape, the tribes are very similar to the indigenous Polynesians of the Malay and Polynesian islands, not the Mongolian. (Tori *Anthropological Research on Eta*, Asahi Shinbun, Feb. 1998) This kind of claims constantly showed up, which makes the "heterization" theory of the discriminated-against tribal people have the academic support. Impurity, disease, and heterogeneous, all these tables make it even more difficult to cross the gap between the discriminated-against tribal people and the Japanese public. People outside the discriminated tribe have thus obtained the protection of their own safety that can replace the feudal identity system. In 1898, the Meiji Civil Law was promulgated, and the "home" consciousness was gradually fixed in the general public. Discriminated tribes as heterogeneous and a symbol of filth, were more excluded from the door in marriage. In 1906, Shimazaki Fujimura had a novel called "Breaking the Rules" with the theme of tribes. The protagonist Segawa Owamatsu was born in a discriminated tribe in Shinshu³. His friend Tsuchiya Gin'nosuke did not know that Owamatsu was from a tribe. He said this: "I have seen a few new civilians; their skin color is different from that of ordinary people, so they can be distinguished whether they are new civilians." This work truly reflects the social reality that the tribes of the late Meiji era were still discriminated against.

III. ANOTHER RACE

In 1908, in order to rebuild the foundation of national integration, the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Japan⁴ implemented a national integration policy called the Local Improvement Movement⁵. Discriminated tribal areas are known as "difficult villages" as obstacles to improving sports. In order to eliminate the obstacles of national integration, the

² Three-Korea: there are three small tribes in the southern part of the ancient Korean peninsula. They are Ma Han, Chen Han, and Bian Han, collectively known as Three-Koreas.

³ Shinshu: Nagano Prefecture in today's Japan.

⁴ Ministry of Internal Affairs: Japan's central government office before World War II, such as the police, local administration and other civil affairs. It is repealed in December 1947.

⁵ Local improvement movement: In the late Meiji era, with the Ministry of Internal Affairs as the core, the Japanese government promoted the whole finance and the promotion of the industry are centered on the movement to reorganize local society.

Ministry of Internal Affairs has also carried out a tribal improvement policy, and the "heterogeneous" consciousness has penetrated into the general public. Mie Prefecture was the first to carry out this policy. It is worth noting that most of the tribal investigation reports submitted by Mie Prefecture and the subsequent Ministry of Internal Affairs and other counties have adopted the Korean origin theory, and the names of "heterogeneous" and "special tribes" have also been settled. The "special" content contains the differences of the races and the resulting differences, that is, the hotbed of temperament, such as the hotbed of crime, laziness, brutality, lack of health concepts, and physiological differences such as reproductive organs. During this period, news reports related to tribal issues use words such as race, ethnicity, special ethnicity, and even reproduction, which are considered a genetic trait. The same is true of the tribal improvement policy based on spiritualism relied on the local improvement movement. Although there is a temporary effect, there is no fundamental improvement. The gap between the discriminated tribes and outside the tribes is of course still there. The reason is that the different consciousness of the tribes who are discriminated against has been settled during this period. As it suggests, the tribal improvement policy is targeted at discriminated tribes. However, it is difficult to complete the improvement because the tribes are regarded as a special race. Therefore, some people think that the expectations for improvement cannot be too great, and the discriminated tribes are on the verge of integration and exclusion.

By 1910, the discriminated tribes began to protest the name of the special tribe, and the tribes were also aware of social discrimination. Tribes and tribes began to focus on mutual integration, and biological differences and other explicit statements gradually disappeared. Although it was still at the stage of sympathy integration focusing on sympathy, it was a big change from the problem of only the discrimination of the tribes that were discriminated against to the issue of social awareness outside the tribe. However, after the rice riots in 1918⁶, the mobs and brutality of special tribes and discriminated tribes were once again advertised by the media. In the event of a crisis, power used ethnism to incite discrimination and blamed the tribal people for the riots of rice to prevent the spread of rice riots outside the discriminated tribes to maintain order.

IV. THE INTER-RESTRICTION OF HUMAN EQUALITY THEORY AND ETHNISM

After the end of World War I, people advocated the democratic world trend theory, demanding human equality and eliminating ethnic discrimination. The historian Kita Sada Kichi was inspired by this, expounding the mistakes of the tribal origin theory from the perspective of history, and denying the theory of the origin of humanity from the public level. In this situation, in 1922, the discriminated tribes

⁶ Rice riots: In 1918, Japanese farmers could not bear the skyrocketing price of rice and rioted, and the country appeared one after another, totally accounting for 623 riots, and the history was called "Rice Riots".

became a national horizontal society⁷, proclaiming their pride as a lot, and promoting the return of humanity. They refused the help with sympathy and temperament, and promoted self-liberation. Soon the horizontal society was influenced by Marxist thoughts, and the cooperative movements with the working people, peasants and other proletariat became the mainstream. The members of the horizontal society actively participated in the labor movement, the peasant movement, and the proletarian party movement. They hoped to be recognized as laborers, and they even expected the arrival of a non-discriminatory socialist society. But this was only a unilateral idea, and the proletarian movement did not want to solve the problems inherent in the discriminated tribe. With the rise of the horizontal society movement, in 1925 the Ministry of Internal Affairs established a peripheral group central harmony business association⁸ to carry out enlightenment activities to improve the living environment of the discriminated tribes and promote harmony, but did not effectively overcome ethnism. In the face of the vigorous struggle of the horizontal society to condemn discrimination, the Japanese people were also afraid of discrimination. The image of the mob brought by the rice riots was also overlapping. In the Ministry of Internal Affairs investigation in 1917, marriages between inside and outside tribes only accounted for 3% of the total, and were in a state of almost no marriage.

V. THE INTER-RESTRICTION OF THE THEORY OF NATIONAL UNITY AND ETHNISM

With Mukden Incident in 1931 breaking out, the Asia-Pacific War began. Under this modality, the Japanese government imposed a policy of emperor's people on the colonies, Okinawa, and the Ainu. The harmonized groups also focused on national integration for the sake of war, and eliminated discrimination on the surface. To this end, it is necessary to reconstruct the theory of the origin of the discriminated tribe. One of them was to emphasize that the discriminated tribes were different from the new attached people⁹, the colonial people, and had the same bloodline as the Yamato people. The other was to emphasize the inclusiveness and multi-ethnicity of the Japanese. The latter was a mainstream view, but both emphasized the unity of the Japanese nation, trying to absorb the discriminated tribes into the interior and turn the theory of origin into the theory of nationalism. In the context of the Asia-Pacific War, the construction of "big family countries" had become one of the

pillars of the integration movement¹⁰. To achieve its purpose, tribal discrimination was seen as an anti-state behavior. But even in times of war, discrimination was still frequent, and even under the banner of the national unity, ethnism still existed. During this period, the Japanese government introduced the immigration policy of the Puppet Manchukoku, and the discriminated tribes became the target of resource adjustment because of the overpopulation. Under the propaganda of the Puppet Manchukoku without discrimination and vast land, the pseudo-Manchurian immigration award became the main line of the integration policy.

VI. A NEW STATE

Post-war reforms have eliminated the "family" system from the law, but the "family" consciousness is difficult to disappear easily. As mentioned at the beginning of this article, family and blood consciousness are still often barriers to marriage. Although the situation of blatantly promoting ethnism is decreasing, in the survey of residents' awareness of the local government at the time, it is believed that the theory of the origin of human race still accounts for about 10%. In addition, as the tribe continues to marry close relatives, there has been a new prejudice in a scientific cloak, that is, from the eugenics and genetics, the genes of the tribes are problematic. In 1965, the report of the Dowa Countermeasures Committee¹¹ raised the tribal issue to the national level, and the cause of the countermeasures¹² began. It began to advance rapidly in the second half of 1970. The Dowa countermeasures business is based on territorialism, provided that the right to accept the designation of the region is accepted, and accepting the same and countermeasures means that the region is declared a discriminated tribe. The implementation of the countermeasures was originally aimed at eliminating discrimination, and as a result, a new area of the Dowa region was created¹³. However, most of the discriminated tribes at that time were difficult to survive if they did not accept the Dowa Countermeasures.

Through the Dowa Countermeasures, the discriminated tribes still have a gap with outside the tribe, but their living environment has changed a lot. The rapid economic growth has also affected the discriminated tribes, breaking the barriers between inside and outside tribes. The long-term image of the hotbed of diseases such as uncleanness and trachoma caused by economic poverty has been eliminated.

⁷ National horizontal society: a society organization established by Japanese tribal people to abolish the difference in feudal status and strive for equality of human rights, which was established in 1922. It has set up branches in various places and actively carried out the struggle against racial discrimination, political oppression and economic slavery. It stopped its activities in 1940.

⁸ Central Integration Business Association: a social enterprise group in Japan before World War II. For the purpose of "community, love, and dissatisfaction, national affinity", it is responsible for the development, unification and integration of the sports group.

⁹ New attached people: "新附の民" mean the new becoming dependent persons.

¹⁰ Integration movement: During the period from the Meiji era to the end of World War II, Japan improved its discrimination against tribal status and living environment.

¹¹ Report of the Dowa Countermeasure Review Committee: "Peer-to-peer proposal report". In 1961, the Japanese government established a special agency "Dowa Countermeasures Committee" to deal with long-standing tribal discrimination. In 1965, the agency submitted a report to Sato Eisaku, the current Prime Minister of Japan, acknowledging tribal discrimination and clarifying the responsibility of the state and administration, which is of epoch-making significance. "Dowa" is the abbreviation of "community to be in peace".

¹² Dowa Countermeasures Career: National and social group policies aimed at solving social and economic problems in areas that are discriminated against.

¹³ Dowa area: the official name of the discriminated tribes.

But this does not mean that discrimination will disappear immediately, and marriage discrimination still exists. Marriage discrimination is stubborn because marriage is almost the only way to break ethics and shake inside and outside the tribes. Tribal discrimination mainly refers to people rejecting discriminated tribes from the aspects that individuals, habits, morals, etc. cannot easily change, treating them as special groups, and trying to draw a permanent dividing line to ensure that they will not be divided. Ethnism refers not only to differences in race. Because they are "not the same as ordinary people", their "blood is dirty". It is one of the contents of ethnism to avoid marriage with tribal people.

VII. RE-EVALUATION OF CAMPAIGNS

Through the Dowa countermeasures, the living environment of the tribes has been further improved, and some unfair behaviors have also appeared. Not only the tribal liberation movement, but any movement that receives government policy support will basically be sheltered by the system. The fundamental problem of the tribal liberation movement is that the economic status of the tribal people is low, and the national policy has become the main pillar of the movement since 1950, making this problem even more an obstacle.

Under this situation, new trends have emerged that will be reviewed and reevaluated again in the second half of 1980 to post-war movements. Chinese history research scholar Keiichi Fujita had written a book "Dowa Is a Scary Thinking - Criticizing the Cooperative Cooperation"¹⁴ (1987, Aso). He used the words that symbolize the modern discriminatory consciousness directly to the title of the book to ask questions to the society. The direct cause of this situation was that the General Affairs Office of Japan¹⁵ (the Prime Minister's Office was established in 1982) had submitted the "Opinion Report"¹⁶ on December 11, 1986. On the other hand, at that time, the report of the 1965 Countermeasures Review Report had been over for more than two decades, and the situation of the discriminated tribes also changed. As a result, Japan began the discussion of "what are the tribal people." In this context, the increase in intermarriage and the movement of the population, on the one hand, the boundary between the tribe and the tribe began to shake, on the other hand, the backbone of the liberation movement is difficult to cultivate, the commonality of the tribes and the discrimination of the tribal community will disintegrate, along with other problems like the emergence of the tribal identity crisis. The tribes actively cooperated with other minorities, including North Korean in Japan, South Korean,

Ainu, Okinawa, disabled, leprosy, sexually disabled¹⁷, homosexual, etc., and began to vigorously promote its own advantages. Prior to this, the discriminated tribes combined with the political origin theory, blindly emphasize their own tragic. The promotion of its own merits can make the children of the discriminated tribes proud of themselves and the places they live in, and also eliminate the prejudice of children outside the tribe, which has had a great impact in the Dowa education¹⁸ and liberation movements. But can this really solve the problem of the suffering of the protagonist Owamatsu of the "Breaking the Rules"?

VIII. "CURRENT SITUATION" OF TRIBAL PROBLEMS

Not only is the history of the tribe, but the "now" of the discriminated tribes also needs to be publicized, which has a strong resonance among some of the tribes in the late 1990s. Born in 1963 in Kakugawa City, Hyogo Prefecture, Kadoka Nobuhiko was from a discriminated tribe, and he became a journalist. Later he became a realist writer and wrote the book "The Youth of Discriminated Tribes" (1999, Kodansha). The book is called "Youth" and the cover is also on the bright blue earth. It depicts the image of a tribe in humor with comics. This is an unprecedented form in books related to tribal issues. In the book, Kadoka was not limited to "discrimination" and "community", but was looking forward to the birth of a new tribe who can effectively use his position. However, in real life, Japanese society still has many aspects of discrimination such as marriage. In terms of marriage, in the 2002 Human Rights Awareness Report of Daitan District, Tokyo, "agreeing to marry" accounted for 41.5% of the issue of "recognizing that the marriage of the child is a person of the same origin", "disagree, but Marriage is decided by two people, so it is impossible to oppose" accounting for 28.5%, and "opposing marriage" accounts for 4.2%. In the survey conducted in Mie Prefecture in 2004, "I don't mind" 20.0% of the question "I know that the marriage target of the child is the same as the origin of the region", "hesitate, but should not mind" 42.8%, "hesitant, may let the child reconsider" accounted for 21.5%, "will definitely let the child reconsider" accounted for 9.2%.¹⁹ In the Ohtaku area of Tokyo, where population movements are frequent, and Mie Prefecture, which has more than 200 discriminated tribes in the prefecture, the residents' consciousness will naturally differ greatly, but this also shows that although marriage discrimination has been decreasing with the development of the times, it still remains a stubborn existence. In March 2002, the abolition of the Special Measures Act since 1965 meant that the public demarcation line no longer existed. The location of the tribal

¹⁴ Region Countermeasures Association: abbreviation of "Regional Improvement Countermeasures".

¹⁵ General Affairs Office: An administrative agency in Japan at that time. The main management scope includes administrative organization, local finance, election system, intelligence communication, statistics and so on.

¹⁶ Opinion Report: About Regional Improvement Measures in the Future (Suggestion of Opinion)

¹⁷ Sexually Disordered Persons: It is a normal man or woman from a biological point of view. They are also clear about which gender the body belongs to, but their sexual consciousness is convinced that gender belongs to the opposite sex with the flesh, so they urgently hope to live with the opposite gender role.

¹⁸ Dowa Education: Japan's education for the purpose of tribal liberation. "Dowa" is the abbreviation of "community to be in peace".

¹⁹ (Goods) Anti-Discrimination / Human Rights Research Institute Mie Hen / Okuda Hitoshi, Miyagi Yoichiro, Morimi "Things the Consciousness Survey Calls - How Do You See the Reality Here Now?" - 2007

problem has changed. The Dowa countermeasures and the Dowa education are replaced by human rights countermeasures and human rights education, which means that people should think about tribal issues from their relationship with other human rights issues with an open mind. At the same time, however, the tribal problem has turned into a general human rights issue, providing a justification for those who have long wanted to avoid tribal problems. The author believes that "human rights" sounds pleasing, but as long as tribal discrimination should still use the saying of tribal question as long as it exists. Although discriminatory messages appear on the Internet, many Japanese do not mind tribal issues. But what they know is mostly a stereotypical image of a tribal people. For example, someone heard about tribal discrimination from his parents. (Omission) The tribes are discriminated against by the ordinary citizens and can only marry inside the tribe, causing the blood to become thick. Once the blood is thick, it is easy to produce deformed children. The tribes are now mainly concentrated in the Kansai region, and some tribes are assisted by the Horde Liberation League²⁰ without working. Half of the funds in the Kansai region are paid to the tribe. The tribal people have certain strength in Kansai. If the city government stops aid, it will be attacked, so it is very difficult to solve the tribal problem. In Kansai, people will be investigated his identity when he is enrolled in a job or married. Japanese schools about tribes are rarely mentioned, and some Japanese do not know much if they haven't been told the story from their parents. The impressions of these people's tribes are based on the "fear of consciousness" and the jealousy and contempt for the violation of the citizen's norms. The condemnation of the party that is discriminated against is one of the factors that form the "fear of consciousness", and this practice is also the focus of the debate on the harmonious route in the tribal liberation movement.

IX. CONCLUSION

About the tribe problem since modern times, although Japan entered the civil society from the identity society, the boundary of the self-identity society still exists after the civil society loses its institutional basis. The demand for labor that supports economic development is basically met after the implementation of the Dowa countermeasures. After the abolition of the special measures to divide the tribes into the category of "citizens", the problems that have arisen have been complicated. It is difficult for the Japanese people to understand the "others" who are different from each other, and their ideology is deeply rooted. Looking back at the Japanese society since the introduction of the report of the Dowa Countermeasures Committee in 1965, the form of discrimination has changed and the causes of discrimination have also changed. Japanese society should constantly change to eliminate the root causes of discrimination. The

guarantee of "Citizens' Rights and Freedoms" put forward in the report of the Dowa Countermeasures Committee can be said to be a permanent revolution. Whether it can fully realize it, it will be worth waiting and seeing.

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²⁰ Tribal Liberation League: A political group in Japan. The aim is to seek to abolish discrimination against tribal people in Japanese society and to seek equality between the tribal people and other Japanese. The predecessor of the Tribal Liberation League was the National Horizontal Society.