

【論文】

Compound Discrimination and Mental Disorder in Korean Women in Japan: Based on an Interview with a Korean Welfare Worker

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1. What is Zainichi?

Zainichi Koreans is the term for Koreans living in Japan. “Zainichi” is represented by the characters “在日” in a kanji. The character “在” means “existence,” while “日” means “of Japan” (Nippon=Japan). The combination is “Koreans living in Japan.” There was a time when Koreans occupied the majority of the foreigners who lived in Japan. “Zainichi foreigner” was synonymous with “Zainichi Koreans”. In Japan, “Zainichi” includes a unique nuance, therefore over the years it has acquired a special meaning referring to the descendants of Koreans who were brought over to Japan as a result of Japanese colonial rule of the Korean Peninsula. Among this group, some have been in Japan for close to 70 years. Up until the early 1980s, the population of Zainichi accounted for 85 % of all non-Japanese residents in the country. It can be said their existence was absolute. However, after the mid-1980s, many ‘new comer’ foreigners came to Japan to live and, in recent years, the ratio of Zainichi Koreans has declined to only one-third of all non-Japanese residents. In addition, the second-, third- and fourth-generation Zainichi Koreans that were born in Japan have

become the majority of Zainichi Koreans in present day Japan. First generation Zainichi, who were born in Korea and came to Japan, only comprise 10 % of the total Zainichi population, their social position and identity in Japanese society is quite different from those of born in Japan.

2. Studies on Zainichi Koreans and Mental Disorders

There are few studies on Zainichi Koreans and mental disorders. Here, the works of three psychiatrists are introduced.

At the time of his study, Kazue Ohashi (1980) pointed out that Zainichi Koreans are “Japan’s largest minority group” and “marginal persons” forced to live while internalizing the centrality and marginality of Japanese society and at the same time trying to understand this internally. “When cultural differences, ethnicity, and history result in actual clinical problems, these problems mainly occur in the psychoneurosis field. In addition to minor cases within the psychological area, such cultural differences, ethnicity, and history may also trigger early phase onset of a disorder and affect the timing of social rehabilitation.”

Youji Kurokawa (2006) noted that “seeing Zainichi North/South Koreans in daily psychiat-

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ric care is not uncommon,” but “there are very few papers addressing mental disorder issues specifically among Zainichi North/South Koreans.” The paper by Ohashi is “the only paper where the author focuses on Zainichi Koreans and Korean persons.”

Moreover, regarding reasons for the difficulty in addressing this issue and developing approaches within this background, Kurokawa mentioned 1) deep discrimination that looks down Orientals which was created by the “Out of Asia and Into Europe” Meiji ideology, 2) Zainichi North/South Koreans are not recognized as “foreigners” (Zainichi North/South Koreans are recognized by Japanese only when targeted for discrimination), 3) issues such as “discrimination and prejudice” are overly politicized and considered taboo, and have, in a way, become “holy ground,” and 4) the viewpoint of disease based on the traditional psychiatric medicine is dominant, and social factors involved in mental disorders, etc. are often ignored.

Kurokawa also mentions 1) psychopathology of mental disorders observed in Zainichi North/South Koreans (issues such as identity formation, onset preparation condition, onset condition, psychogenesis, clinical picture formation, and chronicity), 2) issues regarding treatment of Zainichi North/South Koreans (development of cases, issues of compulsory hospitalization, patient/healer relationship, aid organization, discrimination structure underlying psychiatric care), and 3) other psychological and social problems (discrimination, poverty, cultural conflict, etc.) affecting Zainichi North/South Koreans, as issues in psychiatric medicine and care.

In addition, he points out that “many levels are involved in the regulating of the existence of Zainichi North/South Koreans, such as histor-

ical, political, cultural, socio-economically, and psychological levels. These causes and the resulting “discrimination structure” are considered to be important. The “Zainichi North/South Koreans issue” did not exist as a priori, but occurred within the interaction with Japanese people, and likely became an issue of the Japanese people.”

What brings a definitive effect in the formation of the Zainichi North/South Korean identity is the existence of a “discrimination structure” that dominates life and one’s entire existence. Three types of identity are thought to be formed with this background, namely 1) Marginal Identity: existence like a “half-Japanese,” where one does not identify with either Japanese or Korean, 2) Counter Identity: formed to overcome conflict or struggle in opposition to the Japanese identity, and when connected with misconduct or crime is called a Negative Identity. And, 3) As-If Identity: in cases where one lives by superficially adopting a Japanese lifestyle but hides one’s true ethnicity in order to escape discrimination and exclusion, even though not completely assimilated to Japanese. Kurokawa states, “Regardless of which identity is achieved, if there is not a safety valve within the Japanese society, it will lead to crisis.”

Generally, Identity Conflict is considered to be a characteristic pathology in adolescence. However in cases of Zainichi North/South Koreans, it should be noted that this sometimes appears in early old age. Japanese society does not allow a Zainichi North/South Korean to accept him/herself as is or to assimilate to Japanese society. The “general configuration and social structure constantly drives them to insanity.” In addition, from the position of traditional psychiatric medicine, Kurokawa considers social factors such as

discrimination and prejudice, poverty, and cultural friction which regulate the existence of Zainichi North/South Koreans, as *patoplastisch* (pathoplastic) and *provozierend* (incentive) within the “mental disorder structure.”

Next, according to Kim Jang Su (2001), in cases of Zainichi Koreans, in addition to identity crisis coming from the position of a minority in Japanese society, conflict between North/South Korean culture and Japanese culture is thought to greatly influence occurrence, clinical picture, and disease progression. Kim pointed out that there are not only individual genetic components, but also environmental factors, in other words, social, cultural, and family factors, and these have a stronger effect.

Moreover, the rate of treatment and consultation for Zainichi Koreans is higher than that for Japanese at Dr. Kim’s clinic because there are many Korean residents in the area and he himself uses his own ethnic name.

Dr. Kim states that Zainichi Koreans, first of all, “vacillate their existence between Japan, North/South Korea.” Every time the political relationship between Japan, North Korea, or South Korea becomes tense, Zainichi Koreans become caught in the middle, and have no choice but to be concerned about the relationship between these countries. Second, although Zainichi Koreans consider “North/South Korea as their birth parent and Japan as their adopted parent,” they are in the painful condition of being fostered against their will and not receiving enough love from their foster parent. Third, Zainichi Koreans have a “difficult-to-see existence, or an invisible existence.” Population-wise, although their numbers are not so low, the existence of Zainichi Koreans is difficult to be seen by Japanese people. There are also Japanese people who try not

to see Zainichi Koreans, and Korean residents who try not to be seen. Fourth, Zainichi Koreans are also viewed as “People who speak Japanese.” This group is not considered Japanese, but they are not North/South Korean because they speak Japanese. This designation is accompanied with a strong nuance, where people underestimate themselves and are without identity. This mainly applies to second and third generation Zainichi Koreans.

Being a minority in Japanese society and the conflict between North/South Korean culture and Japanese culture in society is considered to greatly influence onset, the clinical picture, and progression. In cases of “Zainichi,” not only are there individual genetic components, but also environmental factors. In other words, social, cultural, and family factors have a stronger effect. As general characteristics of mental disorders of Zainichi Koreans, the following points can be raised. 1) In many cases, the patient experiences economic difficulties, 2) the background of disease is complicated, 3) details of the disease are complicated, 4) strong aversion to clinical psychiatry, 5) strong inclination to non-scientific treatment, and 6) strong stigma of mental disorders.

The following points are raised as common characteristics according multiple cases. 1) experience of being bullied due to ethnic discrimination, 2) abrupt change in life due to accident/earthquake disaster, 3) raised in a dysfunctional household, 4) suffers from adult children syndrome (AC).

Kim indicates that, according to various cases, in addition to experiencing bullying in early childhood, many Zainichi Korean patients with mental disorder were raised in such dysfunctional households and as a result have AC-like

personalities. Kim calls Zainichi Koreans who experience identity crisis along with AC-like personality tendencies, as “Zainichi syndrome” patients. Mental disorder occurs as one’s personality is distorted in a distorted environment. On the other hand, while some people with “Zainichi syndrome,” have aspects which can be easily identified as mental disorder, others show a different side. One form is where they try to overcome and recover from Zainichi syndrome, but when they fail, they revert to so-called anti-social activities. Another form is they work hard to apply themselves to the recovery process, and to some degree, are able to display a certain amount of success. To do this, effort by the person is needed. Warmth and cooperation from others and a certain amount of good luck are also important conditions. For these reasons the social status of people with Zainichi syndrome significantly differs depending on the person, and as this difference increases, the social status as a minority appears.

3. Discrimination and stress based on a survey of actual conditions

According to Selye, stress is a condition characterized by a unique syndrome consisting of various changes induced in biological tissue in a non-specific manner (Selye, H. 1956-1988). “Non-specific” is defined as what can “occur in any case.” When a state of tension develops within an individual due to an internal stimulation which can be a physical or mental burden, event, or condition, or due to an external stimulation which can cause stress, such stimulations are referred to as stressors. Stressors can be physio-chemical, physical, psychological, environmental, or social. Selye defined environmen-

tal and social stressors as “social/cultural stressors.” For example, he indicated that “cross-cultural stress” is felt by persons who are easily considered as unfavorable intruders by the receiving residents, such as immigrants and foreigner workers. These new visitors can easily suffer from a lack of friendship or social contact because they are expected to follow not only the customs and food (of the land) but also the general sense of life which is vastly different than their own. However, it is wrong to view “stress=bad influence.” While “bad stress” can adversely affect a person when in excess, “good stress” is said to help a person to grow.

Generally, when an individual is exposed to an external environmental factor (stressor), he changes his vital environment to adapt to it. This is referred to as the stress response. Stress response is called a “two-edged sword.” It is a biological defense function in case of an emergency, while at the same time it can cause various ailments when prolonged.

Stress can be acute stress or chronic stress. “Acute” occurs when an event or in a critical situation suddenly occurs. “Chronic” is sustained and continuous stress. Stress experienced by Zainichi Koreans as discussed here is chronic stress which is felt daily as a Zainichi Korean.

A survey on the actual condition of discrimination of Zainichi Korean youth regarding hate speech and Internet use (hereinafter referred to as “Survey of Actual Condition of Discrimination of Zainichi Korean Youth”) targeting 203 Zainichi Koreans (18 to 39 years old, of South Korean, North Korean, and Japanese nationalities) living in Tokyo, Osaka, Hyogo, and other areas was carried out jointly with the Zainichi Korean youth organization from June 2013 to March 2014. In this survey, Zainichi Korean youth

were asked to describe their daily life experiences. From the written descriptions, the experiences of Zainichi Korean youth in their daily life are introduced here.

“The parents of my Japanese partner opposed because I am Zainichi.”

“I got married to a Japanese concealing that I am a Zainichi.”

“I hid the fact that I am a Zainichi Korean from my Japanese husband, but when he found out, our marital relationship suddenly cooled.”

“Relatives on the Japanese side look on our relationship with disapproval.”

“We eloped because my spouse’s parents strongly opposed our marriage.”

“Because it’s difficult to pronounce my name in South/North Korean, others gave me pretty simplified nickname.”

“I was called “Chon-Koh”

“When I told a friend that I am Zainichi Korean, he said “Go back to your own country.”

“I was forced to use my real name.”

“People take every opportunity to treat me like an enemy”

If a public official or public agency/company makes a discriminatory speech in public for example, it would be a problem. But speech and actions between individuals are hard to expose or turn into an issue.

What hurt the most was not being understood. “Why you are in Japan?” “Why can’t you speak Korean?” Even if I explain, they aren’t listening. There is no intention to understand. If I criticize Japan’s colonial domination, they would say, “why not go back to

South Korea.” [32 year old man, South Korean nationality]

When I was a third or fourth grade elementary school student, my best friend’s grandmother wouldn’t let me enter their house. The friend said “I don’t really understand, but my grandma says you cannot come in because you are a child of Korea.” I went home but didn’t understand what happened. After many years, I thought “Oh, that was discrimination.” [28 year old woman, Japanese nationality]

When I told a person whom I trusted that I am Zainichi, the person said “You’re you. Our relationship won’t change” but I felt like she didn’t understand. The friend, whom I thought understood me, wrote something discriminatory against China, so I thought I couldn’t trust her. I don’t think I can tell others who I am because I worry if “they hate Zainichi,” or that they only make a face like they understand. [21 year old woman, Japanese nationality]

If I don’t tell those who become my friends that I am Zainichi, I feel like I am hiding something. It’s difficult when an acquaintance doesn’t know I am Zainichi and the topic of the election comes up and asks “who did you vote for in the election?” When I was in college and my roommate told her father that I am “Zainichi” (just told him the facts in passing), he opposed us being roommates. (After that though, no particular problem developed, and we still lived together). Another time, when I stopped near the imperial palace in Hayama to look at the map, I was asked to

show ID, and when the person found out I was “Zainichi”, he asked for my cell phone number. [34 year old woman, South Korean nationality]

When I wanted to rent a house, I was strongly asked to use a common name (I protested and didn’t sign the contract). I used a common name to hide my nationality and transferred to a Japanese junior high school. However, on the day of opening ceremony, a classmate who heard about me from a teacher told me to meet behind the school building, and beat me saying, “you’re Korean, aren’t you?” When I was talking with a friend in Korean, someone all of a sudden spoke abusively saying “You Korean bastard”. [33 year old man, South Korean nationality]

I knew there were conditions for a foreigner to become a full-time teacher (in Japan). When I took the Japanese Teaching Staff Examination, there wasn’t a place to write one’s nationality on the application, so I asked when nationality would be considered. I was told to write “South Korean nationality” on a piece of paper and attach it to the application. I do not know if this is discrimination or not, but I think not having a column to describe one’s nationality is wrong, even though there are conditions regarding nationality. [23 year old woman, South Korean nationality]

After I was hired prior to graduation, I was called to the company and asked to give a Japanese name. They said, “identifying yourself with your real name is your own choice, but if the client finds out (you are Zainichi), you might be discriminated against. This can

cause problems for other employees.” [37 year old man, South Korean nationality]

I applied for home school when I was a freshman in high school, but was denied because the contents taught in Korean school are different. It did not change even when my parents called. [20 year old woman, North Korean nationality]

When I was a senior in high school (I was going to Korean school), I wanted to take a university entrance examination for selected candidates, but I was told that students from the Korean school were not eligible and I couldn’t take the exam after all. When I asked the reason, I was given an ambiguous answer that I wasn’t attending a high school. From the following year, it seems that students after me could take the exam and enter (that university). [29 year old woman, South Korean nationality]

When I was a junior high school student, my family was moving into a house, but the owner refused to let us move in after he found out we were Zainichi Korean. [34 year old man, North Korean nationality]

In high school, we were told in art class to make a clay model of a person’s face. I heard a classmate near me say “it looks like a Korean,” referring to a statue with slanted eyes and a distorted face. I felt uncomfortable, but kept silent and didn’t do anything. [19 year old woman, Japanese nationality]

Since “Japan’s annexation of the Korean Peninsula,” the history of Zainichi Koreans in Japan

has already passed more than 100 years. However, discrimination and disrespect towards “Zainichi” still remains in Japanese society today. Zainichi Koreans live their daily lives with such discrimination and disrespect.

4. Zainichi Koreans and suicide rate

Up to this point, one thing in particular represents the stress issues faced by Zainichi Koreans – the rate of suicide. Suicide is said to be closely related to mental disorders. According to WHO, 90% of people who kill themselves in high-income countries have mental disorders, and persons with more than two mental disorders have a significantly higher risk of suicide (WHO, 2014).

Factors in the onset of mental disorders are generally said to be a complicated mix of genetic, temperament, and socio-environmental factors. In the case of minorities who are likely to experience social discrimination and mental disorders, it is important to consider socio-environmental factors. Minorities receive tangible and intangible stress because they are a minority. How does this affect the mental and psychological condition of minorities, and lead to mental disorder? These points must be considered. While many studies on this subject have been accumulated in Europe and U.S., few have been carried out in Japan.

The suicide rate in Japan by nationality is shown in Figure 1, and prepared based on “Vital Statistics in Japan,” by the Health, Labour and Welfare Ministry, and the Suicide Statistics and Reference Chart issued by the Office for Suicide Prevention Policy, Cabinet Office, Community Safety Planning Division, Community Safety Bureau, and National Police Agency.

According to the chart, the suicide rate of South/North Koreans is higher than for Japanese (entire population) and other foreigners. These figures are considered to indicate the difficult condition Zainichi Koreans face, as seen up to now.

However, setting the suicide rate of “South/North Koreans” as the “suicide rate of Zainichi Koreans” is misleading. Since there is currently no “suicide rate according to individual resident status” in the statistics, the number of Zainichi Koreans and the number of so-called “newcomer Koreans” among these “South/North Koreans,” (roughly the number persons whose resident status is “special permanent resident”) is not known. Among these “South/North Koreans,” both of Zainichi Koreans and newcomer Koreans are included.

However, even in such circumstances, the high suicide rate among South/North Koreans is considered to be influenced by the condition of Zainichi Koreans. One reason is that if only “newcomer Koreans” are abstracted and separated from the suicide rate, the number is almost the same as the suicide rate for other foreigners. Another reason is that, as indicated by WHO for example, the rate of death by suicide is still higher in minorities and in persons who experience discrimination, and discrimination to persons of lower status occurs within the population group even today. In addition, this is regionally specific and systematic. This is caused by continued experience of life events with high stress, such as loss of freedom, rejection, stigma and violence, which lead to suicide-related actions (WHO, 2014).

As previously shown, Zainichi Koreans live with various stress in Japanese society. The suicide rate of Zainichi Koreans (or person with

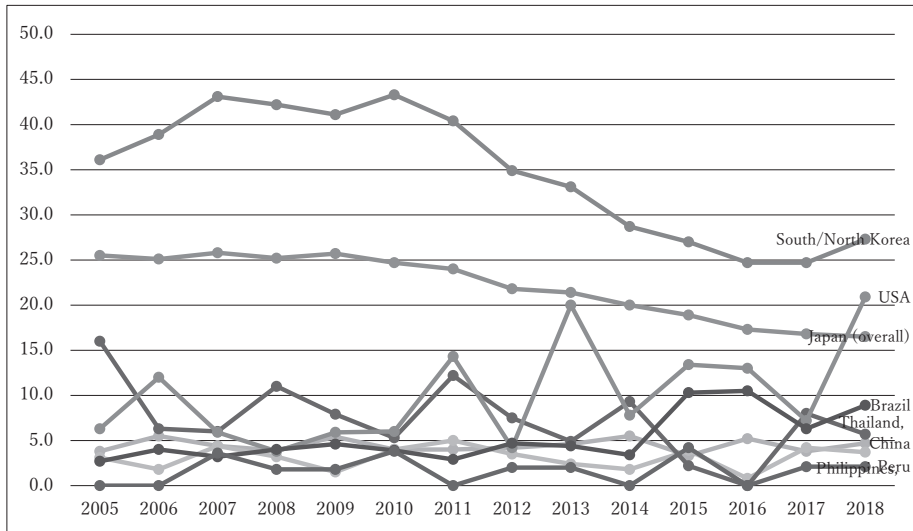


Fig. 1. Suicide rate in Japan by nationality (number per 100,000 persons)

Prepared based on “Vital Statistics in Japan,” Health, Labour and Welfare Ministry, suicide victims based on the Suicide Statistics and Reference Chart, Office for Suicide Prevention Policy, Cabinet Office, Community Safety Planning Division, Community Safety Bureau, National Police Agency and “Change in Number of Foreign Residents,” Ministry of Justice.

North/South Korean nationality) can be considered to be a direct demonstration of this fact.

When shown this statistical data, Japanese so-called “online right-wingers” become critical saying “emphasizing victim awareness again?” “South Korea also has a high suicide rate! Isn’t it ethnicity?” In response to such opinions, the suicide rate between South Koreans and Zainichi Koreans is compared. Suicide rates between Zainichi Koreans, South Korean, and Japan overall are compared in Figure 2.

According to the chart, the gap between rates has decreased in recent years, but the rate for Zainichi Koreans is still higher than that for South Koreans. In other words, this high suicide rate for Zainichi Koreans is influenced by socio-environmental factors, not “ethnicity.”

5. Compound discrimination and mental disorder/suicide in Zainichi Korean women

Zainichi Korean women live with discrimination in Japanese society because they are Zainichi Korean, but also receive various forms of discrimination because they are women. With the problem of “compound discrimination” in the background, Zainichi Korean women have a difficult time living. The term “compound discrimination” was coined by Chizuko Ueno, and can be described as follows.

An individual lives as a social being in many contexts simultaneously. A weak person facing discrimination in one context can be a strong person in another context. There are many cases where a person fac-

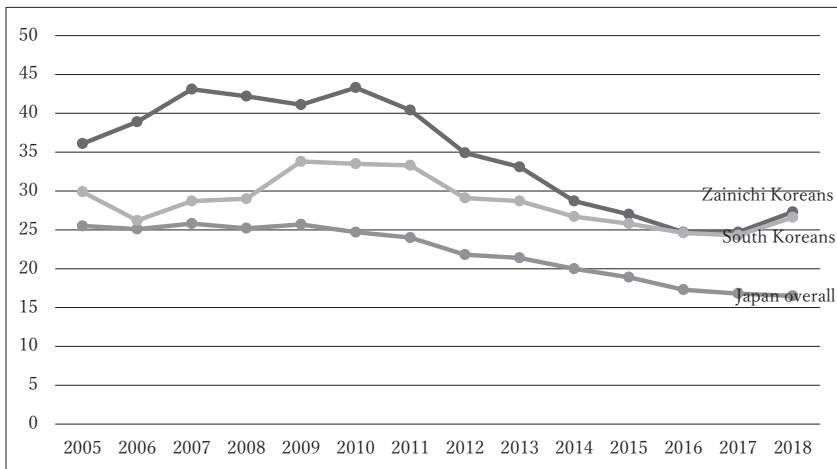


Figure 2. Suicide rate of Zainichi Koreans, South Koreans, and Japan overall

Prepared based on “Vital Statistics in Japan,” Health, Labour and Welfare Ministry, and suicide victims based on the Suicide Statistics and Reference Chart, Office for Suicide Prevention Policy, Cabinet Office, Community Safety Planning Division, Community Safety Bureau, National Police Agency, “Change in Number of Foreign Residents,” Ministry of Justice, and OECD Data: Suicide rates (<https://data.oecd.org/healthstat/suicide-rates.htm>)

ing discrimination, also experiences multiple discrimination at the same time as a socially weak person. However, the relationship between these various forms of discrimination are sometimes complex within the identity of the person himself/herself, and results in conflict. (Ueno, 1996, 203-204)

Yuriko Moto states the following.

Minority women, whether in the “women” category or marginalized while belonging to a group, are in a position where they cannot be seen and their voice cannot be heard. Consideration of compound discrimination can be a useful tool in illuminating and analyzing the situation, can encourage society to take appropriate action and em-

power women as a minority. (Moto, 2018, 14)

Jung Yeonghae indicated contradictions in the national liberation movement among first generation Zainichi Korean.

Traditionally, the national liberation movement developed by first generation “Zainichi Koreans” included a major contradiction. Because with few exceptions, most of the supporters were men and while outwardly advocating ethnic liberation, suppressed women and children in the background. The distressing life of first generation “harumoni” (mothers) was created by their own husbands, and at the same time, by Japan’s imperialism. (Jung, 1996, 10)

Jung applied the words of Yang Yong Ja and described discrimination issues faced by this Zainichi Korean “ethnic” group.

They were firmly bound by the Confucian system. In addition to housework and raising children, there was pressure to respect ancestors through festivals, and show devotion to one’s parents-in-law. Women who do not get married were viewed as “disabled persons who are not human.” Persons advocating release by ethnic liberation excluded them from “humans” with the same tongue. After women get married, they must keep getting pregnant until they give birth to a boy, then work as laborers in the household industry. Furthermore, women were strictly forbidden to have the same social standing and intellectual level as men - “women should not become in-

involved in politics and men’s talk.” In reality, wives were slaves to their husbands. (Jung, 1996, 11=Yang, 1985)

Under such conditions, it is not uncommon for Zainichi Korean women to be driven to mental disorder and suicide. Suicide rate for Japan overall, Koreans in Japan, by men and women, is shown in Figure 3.

Suicide rate in the order of high to low was “Korean/Men,” “Japan Overall/Men,” “Korean/Women,” and “Japan Overall/Women,” and the tendency was consistent. In 2007, when the suicide rate for “Korean/Men” was the highest, the gap between “Japan Overall/Men” was 1.9 times. In 2010, when the suicide rate of “Korean/Women” was the highest, the gap between “Japan Overall/Women” was 2.4 times.

Moreover, the average suicide rate from 2006 to 2018 in “Korean/Men” was 48.5 persons and

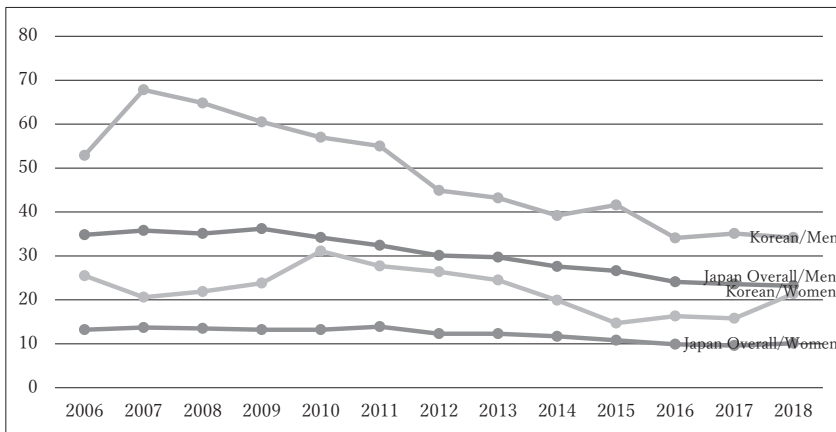


Figure 3. Suicide rate of “Japan overall”, Koreans in Japan, and ratio of men and women

Prepared based on “Vital Statistics in Japan,” Health, Labour and Welfare Ministry, suicide victims based on the Suicide Statistics and Reference Chart, Office for Suicide Prevention Policy, Cabinet Office, Community Safety Planning Division, Community Safety Bureau, National Police Agency and “Change in Number of Foreign Residents,” Ministry of Justice.

“Japan Overall/Men” was 30.3 persons. The gap between these groups was 1.6 times. “Korean/Women” was 22.3 persons, “Japan Overall/Women” was 12.1 persons, and the gap was 1.8 times.

Accordingly, it was clear that suicide rate of Koreans in Japan was consistently higher than that for Japan Overall. In addition, Zainichi Korean women, who are the theme of this article, also had a consistently higher suicide rate.

Up to now, the overall picture of the severe condition of Zainichi Koreans and Zainichi Korean women has been viewed through statistical resources. From here, the actual image of Zainichi Korean women and their difficulties in life are specifically described in detail according to an interview survey carried out in May 2019.

For the survey in this section, Ms. S, a second generation Zainichi Korean woman (70 year old) who was employed at a welfare center in the Kansai region, was interviewed. Survey contents included the details and conditions of Zainichi Korean women cared for by Ms. S and who suffered mental disorders.

The purpose of this study was verbally explained to Ms. S in advance, and that she could discontinue the study if she felt she was unable to cooperate, did not have to answer a question if she did not want to, if consent is obtained, her responses would be recorded, the data would only be used for purposes of the study.

1) Case 1, Ms. A

Did you know many people have taken wives from Korea? Approx. 40 years ago, Korea was poor. The poorest country in the world, it was shortly after the Korean War had ended. The Treaty on Basic Relations

between Japan and Republic of Korea was established in 1965. At the time, I was very poor, and was not making much money in Japan. So I started to go back to my hometown, and go back and forth, bringing many brides from South Korea. One of the brides was my neighbor, from Gyeongsangnam-do. Probably people who can't find a Japanese wife and can't get married would find a wife from South Korea. Have you heard about it?

One of these men, my brother's classmate thought he wouldn't be able to get married, so his father went to South Korea and asked his acquaintances. Then, she came. About the person who came, as expected, if she were rich, she wouldn't have come to Japan, during that time. So I think she was pretty poor over there, too. When she came over, she even thought that she wouldn't get along with her husband, but wouldn't admit it because they do not understand the same language and mutually misunderstood each other. Family life didn't go well because they couldn't communicate due to the language, but they thought they would be able to understand each other one day, they lived as best they could. They had a child, my brother is a friend of the husband, so he asked me “to name the baby,” so I named the girl. After that, a boy was born, so they had a girl and a boy.

There was a problem with the husband's father. Ultimately, I think “Zainichi” came to Japan after the war. They came in the late 1930s or early 1940s. So, their customs are those of South Korea around that time. From about 1965, South Korea began to change, they started to have various ways

of thinking. But many fathers still had the way of thinking of 30 years ago, even after 1965, they would have the mindset of the 30s. Those fathers thought that when the wife was expecting a girl, normally in Japan, she would go back to own mother's house to give birth. But she had nowhere to go. Her mother had already passed away. So she gave birth at a maternity home with the father and son, and my brother was there. When they came home, the father said to a person in neighborhood, "I don't have rice to feed a wife who gives birth to a girl."

You have to feed something to the wife when she comes back from the maternity home, hospital, don't you? He didn't. If her husband tried to feed her, his father would get angry. The father was strange man, and the wife had a real hard time with him. Her husband tried to feed her something to eat secretly, but she became a little crazy. About the wife. The wife suffered a mental disorder after that.

The son (husband) told her to go home once, because she was lonely in Japan, without friends, and her parents are not here. He told her to go back and rest a little, so she went back, but over there, she was forced back to Japan. Even when she went back, the family said she was sent to Japan to reduce the number of mouths to feed. It wouldn't happen today, but it was nearly 50 years ago. She had so many problems, so she came back to Japan, but her illness became worse. She continued to get worse, and then she became paranoid, but her husband did not take her to the hospital. Then she was paranoid and eventually jumped in

front of a train.

She jumped in front of the train, and then a few years later, when the daughter became a high school student, the daughter also jumped in front of the train because she couldn't live with the father. A few years later, the son hung himself. Three people committed suicide. Since they died, about 10 years have passed. The people around them started to have more money and a better life style, maybe for the children. They may have wondered why only their family doesn't get better. As children, they were ok, but when they grew up, both the girl and boy also suffered depression.

That woman, the mother died 20 years ago. After that, the father, daughter and son lived together, but the son died about 10 years ago, or maybe more. So no one became happy, people in the neighborhood said "the mother took all of them." But the original cause was the husband's father.

The father pressured them. I was surprised when I heard that, and the neighbors are saying the same thing. I heard from a person in the neighborhood that the father was saying "I have no rice to feed a wife who gives to birth a girl." He told that to Japanese in the neighborhood. Surely for a Japanese person, everyone was surprised.

It's strange to say that now, people in Korea won't say that anymore. But that was the thinking when they came to Japan. That's why it is stopped there. Korea has been changing though. "Zainichi" is something that one continues to think about. Korea has been changing, but people who came to Japan have not changed. Even Buddhist memorial services as well. People

in Korea do not have such memorial services. The Zainichi keep the memorial services which they have paid for, retaining their identity as Koreans. They seek identity there. They are not aware of it, but it is in there, like something Koreans are supposed to do.

They are arguing with each other. Families where the first generation is still alive, practice Buddhist memorial services. Families where the first generation has died, no longer practice it. It is a common trend. Are they arguing about Buddhist memorial services? Everyone was arguing and it became very serious. When I said I can't go because I have to work as a welfare manager, the mother pressured me very much. So work is more important, then? But for people in the first generation, it is different. This is like telling the daughter-in-law "You should take off from work for the Buddhist memorial service." If she says "I can't," she would be severely criticized. Poor thing.

Anyway, the way of thinking by the first generation parents is totally different from the second generation. There was pressure from the parents. Parents in Korea do not have that much power, but Zainichi do. It's okay to do that to their own sons, but they also pressure their daughter-in-laws too. The daughter-in-laws must have had a hard time. So, it's easy for the presumptuous people to live, and while it's better in Japan, it's a difficult time for the poor. I think it is the same, regardless of the generation, but in today's world, very presumptuous people continue living. So, all the people who suffer mental disorders are quiet

people. I don't think it is genetic, the way of thinking is passed down to the next generation, producing the same thinking across generations.

2) Case 2, Ms. B

A young girl developed schizophrenia. She was second generation, living in my neighborhood and she failed in love. She was smart, witty, but failed in love. Schizophrenia is often said to appear during puberty, right? She had sisters, and now that I think about it, I think the mother was also a little strange. She was the third daughter of three girls, and the youngest was a boy, the three girls had a younger brother, the last child. The brother hanged himself in the house. And the third girl is now about 60 years old. In her late 60s.

She was an outpatient at a mental hospital, diagnosed with schizophrenia. I heard she fell in love when she was about 20 years old. Of course the other person said he didn't want to marry a Korean, and her family also opposed at the time.

The other person was Japanese. The other side opposed, but opposition from first generation Zainichi is unusual, isn't it? Opposition from both sides, eventually led to her being diagnosed with schizophrenia, and that was a problem. Once she started to talk, she wouldn't stop. When we are caught, sometimes she catches her "old sister," she says her ancestors are Russian. I don't think her face looks Russian, but she talks like she is a descendant of a rich, noble Russian family. Well, at least I think so.

Even now she regularly goes to the psychiatric department, and receives welfare service there. A woman there has been taking care of her, though.

I also heard that the brother was living in a housing-development complex, and committed suicide. It was quite a while ago, maybe when he was in 30's. Maybe I can find it out if I ask her, but I don't think I can. No, I haven't asked. Her health is not good, and sometimes I help her too. Her husband collects cans, so I told him he could have ours too and I collect them for him. One time, she was admitted to the hospital due to brain stroke, I wonder if her condition is poor. You've heard that this may occur due to failed love, haven't you? So, I've heard Ms. B situation is just like that.

3) Case 3, Ms. C

Ms. C is an older lady, she has something... It's not Alzheimer's... She uses this facility now. She's in her 70s. But from her early 70s, she had problems with a neighbor, and I heard she was screaming. But she has calmed down since she came here. I don't know anything. I heard she screams loudly at her neighbor. So it's not normal dementia. It must be a mental disorder. I wonder if she visits the hospital.

She came to Japan to work, and her children are in Jeju, Korea. She came here to work, but ran into trouble for overstaying her visa. Her cousin, who is 10 years older than she, introduced her to his friend, an older Japanese man. The deal was, if she took

care of the older Japanese man, he would marry her. It's a strange story, but not uncommon. Then, I don't know from when, she was taking care of the old man. The man was old, older than 90 years. So, it's difficult because he's old. Ms. C was about 63, at that time.

Now, the husband is in the hospital. She was taking care of him for all this time. But now, the Japanese man is in the hospital and cannot be released. Ms. C lives in his house now. Someone has to take care of her now, and that is her cousin. The cousin is 85 years old. The cousin is 10 years older than she, and only watches the house, and doesn't take care of her at night. Her diapers are not changed. She is brought to this facility with soiled diapers. So, what can I say? To survive.

The community general support center contacts us. For she is in a pretty bad condition, causing problems due to screaming at her neighbors. Now, she can only speak in Korean. She can't speak any Japanese. Maybe even in Korean, her speech is gibberish. I have no idea. Maybe she has schizophrenia. Maybe she is delusional and has auditory hallucinations or flashbacks. But she has seen a psychiatric physician.

Ms. C got married 22 or 23 years ago, today she is about 77 years old. So, she overstayed her visa when she was in her 50s, and her acquaintance arranged her marriage. Then she married an older man. Her husband is now 90, born in 1923 (Showa 3). Someone who was born in 1922 (Showa 2) is 91 years old. Or 92? He owned a vegetable store and was very successful. Ms. C married him after his wife died.

Ms. C had no problems, but was very quiet. Too quiet. Every time I brought the neighborhood new bulletin (kairanban) to her house, she was so shy, maybe she couldn't speak Japanese well. And, she was very pretty. She started to act strangely these past 5 or 6 years.

Her husband suffered a stroke. He suffered a stroke one time over 10 years ago and was paralyzed on one side. As a complication, now he is in the hospital due to a fractured right hip. He is paralyzed on the right side. He used his wife like his servant. So she was his maid. I'm sure that was the cause. Ms. C's anger was suppressed for these past 20 years. I really think so.

It seemed like she didn't have any friends, and every morning at 6 o'clock she would talk with the Korean grandma on the corner of the street in Korean for many hours, looking miserable. I kept thinking they should have gone to the cafe and have a cup of tea, but they just talked quietly at such a lonely place. Just to survive, she got married when she overstayed her visa.

So, it was because of suppression. Discrimination and suppression are the same, though. The person I previously talked about, she also experienced suppression from her father-in-law, right? She was also a quiet person, the daughter-in-law. Yes, she was also a quiet person, but could not bear the suppression by herself. Discrimination and suppression, that's it. So this is not normal social life, but in one aspect, she also was helped. But many people who overstay their visas in Japan are in the same situation. And many of them have fake marriages in order to stay in Japan. All humans

have hard time just to survive. I think Zainichi Koreans face discriminations in Japanese society, they have hard time living well.

6. Discussion

1) Confucian philosophy and discrimination against women - Supporting ethnic enclaves and long-distance nationalism

Korea on the Korean Peninsula is a society with a stronger Confucian sense of thinking than Japan. In the world of first and second generation Zainichi, Confucian thinking and standards are strongly reflected in life. However, such thinking has changed in their "mother country," Korea.

Recently, the concept of the traditional family in Korea has significantly changed along with societal changes. Many Koreans wish to live independently as they grow old, rather than depending on their children. If a couple cannot resolve differences, they can divorce, and the idea of not having children and living satisfying lives by themselves has spread. An only child can be a son or a daughter, and marriage is not necessary if the person does not want to. Such changes in values have occurred along with economic development since the 1960s, and such changes have accelerated in recent years. (Kim, Lee, 2007, 119)

The Confucian viewpoint has already changed in the "mother country." But for many Zainichi Koreans who immigrated to Japan (regardless of whether forced or voluntary), the traditional

Confucian values and customs still remain intact. In the discussion of ethnicity and nationalism that exist in “enclaves” or “long-distance areas” which are separated from the “mother country,” there exists an ethnic enclave theory and a long-distance nationalism theory.

Portes defined an “ethnic enclave” as “a group of immigrants concentrated in a specific spatial location and who organize an original ethnic market and various corporations to provide services to the general residents” (Portes, 1981, 290–291).

And, for this ethnic enclave to exist, two obvious requirements must be satisfied. First, ethnic entrepreneurs employ persons of the same ethnic group. Second, the ethnic enclave must be spatially limited from the main economy of the host society, so that it can function as an internal labor market. For example, connection by ethnic language, cultural knowledge, a social network with the mother country, as well as specific human capital skills are important. Marketability is high only in the internal labor market as defined by the ethnic enclave. (Xie & Gough, 2011)

Moreover, Benedict Anderson advocates the thinking of long-distance nationalism. This is a series of claims and practices of identity which connect people who live in various geographical points to a specific region which they view as the “home” of their ancestors. Similar to other forms of nationalism, nationalists who are separated far away believe that there is a country which is comprised of people who share a common history, identity, and region. On the other hand, it differs from other forms of nationalism in terms of the relationship between members of the country and those of the territory. (Schiller, 2005)

However, both ethnic enclaves and long-distance nationalism mainly focus on the economic and political aspects, and there is hardly any description of culture and ethnicity of people who live in the “enclave” or “long-distance area.” In other words, if Zainichi Koreans lived in their mother country, they could be released from some of the restrictions because the traditional culture has changed over time. However, since they live in an “enclave” or “long-distance area” where the collective resident district or community of “Zainichi”, especially Zainichi Koreans, still retain the traditional culture and values, and its viewpoint and life customs, their lives remain suppressed, without release from the restrictions.

2) Composition of a patriarch system and social construct of a dysfunctional family

Lee & DeVos, et al. carried out an interview survey on Zainichi Koreans in the late 1970s, and described the “disdain by wives toward their husbands” as a characteristic of the Zainichi Korean household. Zainichi Koreans in Japanese society face discriminatory treatment in daily life and in important aspects of their life, such as employment and marriage. As a result of such discriminatory treatment, men are especially excluded from the opportunities to gain stable work appropriate to their ability and qualifications. While Japanese men of the same age can obtain stable work, Zainichi Korean men are employed in insecure and unstable work conditions.

In the “Zainichi” families where Confucian values remain strong, a patriarchal system where the father retains the authority as the head of the family is ensured. On the other hand, this also means that the father is expected to fulfill

the role and responsibilities of the head of the family. In addition to providing emotional and normative support of the family, this role also includes guaranteeing economic stability for the family. Through such responsibilities, fathers gain respect as the head of the family. However, many Zainichi Korean men cannot accomplish this. As a result, the wives and children think, “fathers of all the other families provide a steady income and a stable life for their families, why can’t our father do so?” which leads to the evaluation that “he is helpless.” These fathers are aware of such evaluation by their family, and their dignity is hurt. With a double meaning they are disdained as Zainichi Koreans in society and as a “failed authority as the head of the family” at home. The fathers try to vent such stress through alcohol and violence to the family, leading to dysfunction in the family. In addition to or in spite of this, women “have to continue to ‘forgive’ these men who suppress them saying ‘Father isn’t being domineering, he couldn’t help but to get drunk and act violently because he is lonely.” (Jung, 1996, 10).

3) Trauma between generations

The collective experience of shared historical trauma experienced by social minorities, such as native tribes, when combined with the collective memory, sustained social and cultural disadvantage, and actions that increase the vulnerability for transmission and expression of the trauma effect between generations, is called “Intergenerational trauma” or “transgenerational trauma.” Trauma can lead an individual to further stressors, and increases the reaction to these stressors.

The link between generations is observed in some behavioral disorders related to stress or

trauma experience (depression, anxiety disorder, post-traumatic stress disorder, substance abuse disorders, etc.). Experience, evaluation, coping strategy, and chronic state of stressors, controllability, and predictability, which depend on variables such as age, gender, and childhood, can affect a person’s vulnerability to pathologies. (Bombay, 2014)

In the case of Ms. A, as a mother under Confucian values, she suffered onset of mental disorder and was driven to the point of suicide, and so were her two children. In the case of Ms. B, her background is not clear, but her brother also committed suicide. These facts indicate that the condition of Zainichi Koreans, their families, women, and children was traumatic and transmitted.

Up to this point, compound discrimination issues in Zainichi Korean women, which lead to mental disorders and suicide issues, have been identified through statistical resources and interview survey results. Zainichi Korean women bear much stress in Japanese society due to discriminatory treatment as Zainichi Koreans and discriminatory treatment as women, and this becomes a cause leading to mental disorders and suicide.

It became clear that persons of Korean nationality in Japan have a significantly higher suicide rate than “Japan Overall” and persons of other nationalities. The rate is also higher than that in South Korea, the “original country.” In addition, when comparing men and woman, the suicide rate was found to be higher in the order of “Korean/Men,” “Japan Overall/Men,” “Korean/Women,” and “Japan Overall/Women.” Suicide rate of both men and women of Korean nationality is higher than that for Japanese as a whole. From these facts, the amount and depth

of stress experienced by Zainichi Korean women can be understood.

Next, the life history of three Zainichi Korean women was recounted by a second generation Zainichi Korean woman who worked as a caregiver at a welfare center frequented by many Zainichi Korean women. Those three people lived with Confucian values in the Zainichi Korean world, and received discriminatory treatment as Zainichi Koreans. This led to mental disorder and suicide, not only for themselves but also their children who were driven to commit suicide as a result of the trauma link between generations. Such difficult facts could also be identified.

Racial factors often include appearance, but in the case of Zainichi Koreans, they do not look very different from Japanese. As for culture, they have already been assimilated into Japanese society. Another fact is that the onset factors of mental disorders of this minority group are difficult to visualize. Zainichi Korean women do not receive discriminatory treatment due to cultural difference, but receive discriminatory treatment because they are Korean. Furthermore, Zainichi Korean women are “a minority within a minority,” relegated to a greater peripheral position even among Zainichi Koreans due to compound discrimination. Of course, the history and experience of Zainichi Korean women are original, differing from those by Zainichi Korean men. Onset of mental disorders and the background driving some to commit suicide are the result of their original background and circumstances. Ignoring “Zainichi Korean’s...” is to hide one’s originality and produces violence. This study and its implementation were carried out with constant awareness that we personally should not hide the problems of minority wom-

en including Zainichi Korean women, nor become perpetrators of violence.

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