The Spatial Arrangement and Residential Space of a Colonial City: *The Spatio-temporality of Hill Villages in Busan**

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Abstract

A colonial city usually experiences spatial division induced by ethnic division. Busan, which held the highest proportion of the Japanese population among colonial Korean cities, was a city that represented the locality of colonized Joseon, i.e. coloniality. Yet, the city's geographical conditions and unique history wove a double-layered sense of locality, which cannot simply be attributed to coloniality. A long stretch of hillside zone surrounding the narrow flatland along the coastline served as a natural boundary between the two ethnic groups, forming a landscape unique to Busan. In addition, by hosting the Japanese diplomatic and trading headquarters, the city had a history of interaction with Japan going back several hundred years, which facilitated the settlement of the Japanese in Busan more rapidly than any other city in Korea. This article approaches the topic of hill villages, regarded still as a symbolic landscape and space of Busan, from a historical perspective, with a focus on spatial production and arrangement, and attempts to account for the socioeconomic relations of the colonial city.

Keywords: colonial city, Busan, hill village, production of space, residential space, coloniality, locality

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Introduction

Ethnic divide usually develops into spatial divide in a colonial city. More specifically, ethnic discrimination in a shared urban space progresses into economic and cultural segregation, leading further to spatial division and separation. In this respect, the social space of a colonial city displays a dual structure, one stratum occupied by the colonizers and the other by the colonized. Contextually different from present-day cities, a colonial city is a dual city in that it constitutes a dual structure caused by economic polarization.

Among the many cities under Japanese colonial rule, Busan[1] contained the highest proportion of Japanese; it was a space representing the locality[2] of colonized Joseon, i.e. coloniality. Yet, the geographical conditions and unique historical background wove a double-layered sense of locality, distinct from the locality of colonized Joseon. The locality of Busan, which cannot be generalized in terms of coloniality, may be found in the urban landscape of the city: residential spaces in the hillside zone, or hill village. The geographical features of Busan, a long stretch of hillside zone surrounding a narrow strip of flatland along the coastline,[3] contributed to the formation of a unique land-

1. Busan is the second largest city in South Korea with a population of 3,630,000 as of 2012. Prior to the opening of its port to foreign countries in 1876, Busan was merely a quiet port town. After the opening of its port, it developed rapidly into a city. By 1914, once the prefectural territory was finalized with the reformation of local administrative systems, Busan had already become the second major city in Korea.
2. Locality is a historico-geographic legacy and hence a mechanism that facilitates the locals to construct their unique (or particular) lifestyle. Locality is formed and transformed by historical practices that agents perform at economic, political, and ideological levels within the boundaries of a particular space at different times. In other words, locality is a combination or an integration of social relations created by the conditions of a particular historical time and space (Oh 2011, 204).
3. The territorial size of Busan city was more or less the same despite small changes made by land reclamation from 1914 to 1936. In 1935, the entire size of Busan city was approximately 10,710,000 *pyeong* (approximately 35,404,959 m^2), of which only 42% was possible residential space. Therefore, the population density of Busan was much higher than the average of the 14 cities (Ueda 1932, 4). In 1936, Busan made the first expansion of its prefectural territory.

scape, where ethnic segregation was manifested in the form of spatial segregation between the flatland and the hillside zone.

In addition, with its geographical proximity to Japan, Busan hosted *waegwan*,[4] through which Korea and Japan established a history of exchange for hundreds of years. This historical background contributed as a major factor to the formation of a *Japanese-style city*, centered on the Exclusive Japanese Residential Zone (hereinafter, Exclusive Zone) after the opening of the ports in the late Joseon period. William Richard Carles, a British diplomat stationed in Beijing, stated his impression of the city in 1884 as follows: "Fusan [Busan], though in Corea, was a purely Japanese town, in which no Coreans resided" (1888, 81-82). Ten years later, in 1895, Isabella Bird Bishop also described the port of Busan to be "a fairly good-looking Japanese town, somewhat packed between the hills and the sea, with wide streets of Japanese shops and various Anglo-Japanese buildings" (Bishop 1898, 33). The geographical condition and the history of interaction with Japan greatly influenced the modern urban development and spatial layout of Busan.

This article investigates the hill villages in Busan, considered to be "the landscape and space still representing Busan to this day" (CBS 2008, 6-7), focusing on the production and arrangement of urban space from a historical perspective. Spatial arrangement shapes and represents social relations by defining and controlling a variety of spatial practices. Conversely, social relations arrange the space itself via architectural structures and distributions of people in such space (as cited in Lee 2007, 76). As Michel P. Foucault suggests, "space takes for us the form of relations among sites" (as cited in Lee 2007, 81). Understanding the colonial city in association with the matter of space directly concerns its spatial alignment and arrangement.

Based on this perspective, the article examines how the arrangement of residential space manifested the socioeconomic relations of the colonial city. Specifically, it examines how the spaces were produced and distributed in the process of the expansion of the Exclusive

4. *Waegwan* refers to the residential and trading quarters for the Japanese in Joseon.

Zone and Busan's development into a colonial city, as well as how the industrial space was moved according to the changes of the industrial structure. This article also looks into how these factors gradually placed and arranged Koreans in the hillside zone. The analysis here is an attempt to approach the locality of Busan in terms of the urban landscape composed of spatial relations of the hill villages and the subsequent social relations implicated by those spatial relations.

Busan's Development into a Modern City and Spatial Planning

After annexing Korea on September 30, 1910, Imperial Japan promulgated the Local Bureaucratic System of the Colonial Government of Joseon (Imperial Ordinance No. 357) and reaffirmed the province (*do* 道) system with city (*si* 府) and county (*gun* 郡) as its administrative subdivisions. On October 1, the Japanese colonial government in Joseon declared "the names and boundaries of cities and counties" (Government-General Decree No. 7) and changed the name of Dongnae prefecture of the Great Korean Empire into Busan city; Dongnae prefecture's administrative affairs were entirely inherited by Busan city (CBHP 1990, 66-62).

Joseon Government-General Decree No. 111 on March 1, 1914, however, returned a part of Busan territory to Dongnae-gun county and finalized the territory of Busan city. The territorial boundaries of Busan during this period fully reflected the blueprint of the colonial city conceived by the Japanese residents of Joseon's port opening era. This fact is revealed in Table 1, which summarized the population of Japanese residents in Busan from 1903 to 1909 by their residential areas.

As seen in Table 1, it is interesting to note that the population census was conducted not by town and village but by district, such as the Exclusive Japanese Residential Zone, West New Town, North Shore Reclaimed Land, Makishima, Shoal, Choryang, Old Japanese Office, and Busanjin, clearly showing the production of spaces and the boundaries between the districts in Busan. The Japanese spatial idea

Table 1. Japanese Households and Population by Area from 1903 to 1909

Town name		1903	1904	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909
Busanjin	Household	–	3	64	84	112	152	130
	Population (%)	–	8 (0.1)	164 (1.2)	344 (1.3)	389 (2.1)	550 (2.6)	473 (2.2)
Old Japanese Office (*gogwan*)	Household	–	33	60	90	113	169	182
	Population (%)	–	111 (0.9)	163 (1.2)	385 (1.5)	424 (2.3)	655 (3.1)	572 (2.6)
Choryang	Household	26	112	274	34	439	603	605
	Population (%)	355 (9.9)	1.193 (9.9)	1,279 (9.6)	1,639 (6.3)	1,855 (10.0)	2,333 (10.9)	2,603 (11.9)
North Shore Reclaimed Land (*bukbin maechukji*)	Household	–	–	–	–	27	53	91
	Population (%)	–	–	–	–	518 (2.8)	568 (2.7)	490 (2.2)
Exclusive Japanese Residential Zone (*ilbon jeongwan georyuji*)	Household	1,315	1,369	1,408	1,759	1,625	1,762	1,722
	Population (%)	5,633 (70.7)	8,479 (71.6)	9,575 (76.5)	19,892 (76.5)	9,734 (52.7)	10,246 (48.2)	9,942 (45.3)
West New Town (*seobu sinsigaji*)	Household	241	291	397	530	775	1,048	136
	Population (%)	1,723	1,896 (15.8)	1,590 (11.9)	2,732 (10.5)	4,175 (22.6)	5,238 (24.6)	5,846 (26.7)
Makishima	Household	–	42	89	114	186	244	288
	Population (%)	–	148 (1.2)	310 (2.3)	510 (2.0)	703 (3.8)	864 (4.0)	1,060 (4.8)
Shoal (*jugap*)	Household		40	71	100	144	182	227
	Population (%)		161 (1.3)	283 (2.1)	499 (1.9)	684 (4)	822 (3.9)	942 (4)
Total	Household		1,890	2,363	2,711	3,421	4,213	3,381
	Population (%)		11,996	13,364	26,001	18,482	21,276	21,928

Source: "Pusan no shakaikan 釜山の社會觀" (A Look at Busan Society), *Joseon Sibo*, September 25, 1910.

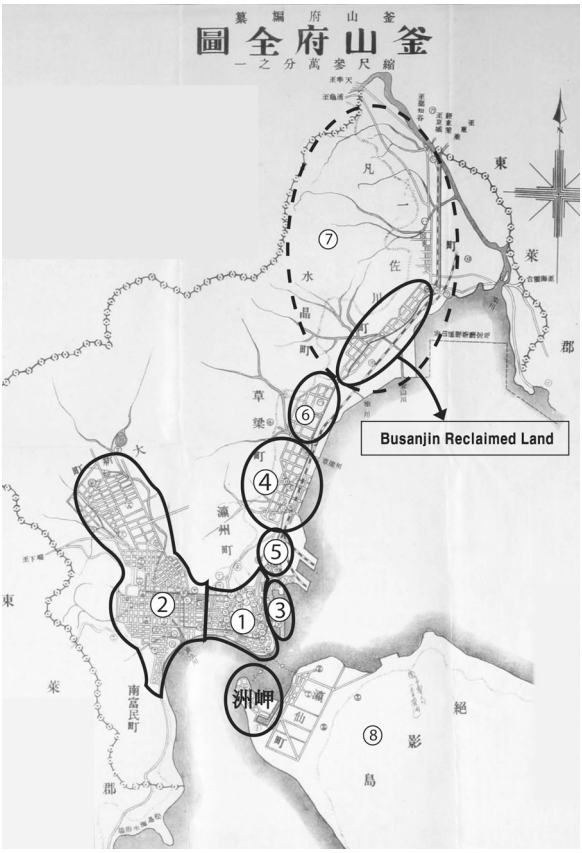
Note: Population statistics have been rounded off to the nearest tenth. Although town names are proper nouns, the Romanized Korean with its English translation counterpart in parentheses is provided for the towns named after their geographical features.

of city limits as a compound of divided spaces is also well reflected in the chapter, "Pusan-cho mei ichiran 釜山町名一覽" (A Glance at Town Names in Busan), of *Pusan yoran* (A Booklet on Busan) (Morita 1912, 44-46). The chapter provides the town names in each district as the Old Exclusive Zone (*gu jeonggwan georyuji*), New Town (*sin siga*), North Shore Reclaimed Land (*bukbin maechukji*), and New Town on the Flattened Land between Double Peaks (*yangsan chakpyeong sin siga*). It also lists the names of Korean residential areas, where the reformation of urban spatial distribution had not been reached, as Makishima (known today as Yeongdo), Choryang (District Nos. 1, 2, 3), Gogwan, and Busanjin.[5] The *Pusan yoran* also appears to divide Busan into eight districts, differing from Table 1 in that it includes the Shoal (known today as Yeongdo-gu and Daepyeong-dong areas) into Makishima and distinguishes the New Town on the Flattened Land between Double Peaks (hereinafter, "Double-Peak New Town"), which was formed around 1910-1913, as a new independent space.

These two sources show that the city of Busan during 1910-1912 included all of the current space of Dongnae, with the exception of the northern part of Busanjin, a part not recognized by the Japanese as their space. This part of Dongnae was therefore naturally excluded from the territorial definition of Busan city in 1914. As Figure 1 illustrates, eight physical spaces constituting Busan city prior to the first expansion of the prefectural territory in 1936 were historical constructs resulting from the gradual expansion of urban space starting with the formation of modern municipal districts stemming from the Exclusive Zone.

It should be kept in mind that Busan's development into a modern city was accomplished through the gradual appropriation of land from nearby Korean villages for the expansion of the Exclusive Zone. In 1905, the Exclusive Zone was only 110,000 *pyeong* (approximately 363,636 m^2) while Japanese-owned land outside the zone was 5,381,714 *pyeong* (approximately 17,790,790 m^2), nearly 49 times the area of the

5. The colonial government of Busan formerly used the Korean township term *dong* 洞 to refer to Korean residential areas, later changing it to the Japanese-style term *jeong* 町 from October 1925 (*Dong-A Ilbo*, September 13, 1925).



Source: Part of *Busanbu jeondo* 釜山府全圖 (Busan City Map) (1924), as reprinted in G. Kim (2008).

Figure 1. Process of Urban Space Production in the Colonial City of Busan

zone. Of this land, only 31,714 *pyeong* (approximately 104,840 m²) was reclaimed land whereas 4,240,000 *pyeong* (approximately 14,380,165 m²) was private land acquired through purchase (Aizawa 1905a, 5-8).

What follows is the production process of the aforementioned spaces in Busan, specifically, the building process of the colonial city expanding from the Japanese Exclusive Zone. In Table 1, the Japanese population in the Exclusive Zone was overwhelmingly higher than the

other areas. In 1903, the zone was comprised of approximately 5,633 Japanese residents. The number later increased to an estimated 9,000 around the time of the Russo-Japanese War. However, by 1907, the population growth rate of the zone radically decreased from more than 70 to 52 percent in 1907 and to 45 percent in 1909. However, the total number of Japanese in Busan continuously increased, which indicates a new space for the Japanese was acquired beyond the Exclusive Zone. The new space was the West New Town. The Japanese population rate in West New Town radically rose from 10 to 22 percent while that of the Exclusive Zone dropped from 70 to 50 percent in 1907.

The first part of the city the Japanese sought to appropriate and develop was the area west of the Exclusive Zone (Fig. 1-②). This area was a government-owned flat farmland comprised of a scarce population of Koreans, therefore making it easier for the Japanese to occupy and develop the land.[6] Bupyeong-jeong, an area adjacent to the Exclusive Zone, saw the daily development of new housing and buildings and by 1905, the area had already been transformed into a new urban district (Aizawa 1905b, 2).

A map of Busan port (Fig. 2.1), created in 1905, marks in detail each town in the Exclusive Zone. The villages outside the boundaries of Bupeyong-jeong, however, are only presented with names without any specific demarcation, while its western part lacks any village names altogether. A detailed map of new towns in Busan port of Korea (Fig. 2.2), created in 1907, specifies the western part of the Exclusive Zone, i.e. Bupyeong-jeong, Toseong-jeong, Choryang-jeong, and Gok-jeong, and the area to its northwest, i.e. Bosu-jeong, Bumin-jeong, Jungdo-jeong, Daesin-jeong, as "the land reserved for new towns." This demonstrates that the Japanese were gradually and continuously purchasing and appropriating land in Busan. This process was later accelerated following Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War. After gaining control of the land, the development of new towns began in earnest.

According to Table 1, the Japanese population in West New

6. Refer to CBHP (1989, 815); JCB (1905, 13); BCCI (1989, 354).

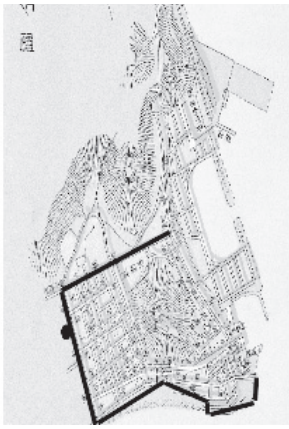


Figure 2.1. Map of Busan Port (1905)

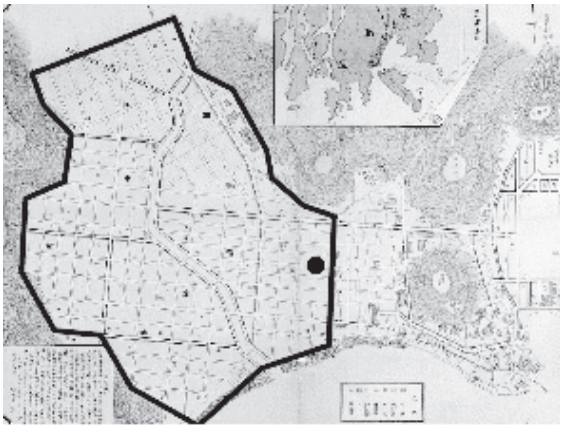


Figure 2.2. Detailed Map of New Towns in Busan Port of Korea

Source: G. Kim (2008).

Note: The thick line on Figure 2.1 represents the Exclusive Zone while the thick line on Figure 2.2 encloses the area designated for new towns. The *new towns* area is already specified with town names and the place marked with the black dot is Bupyeong-jeong.

Town was estimated at 1,723 in 1903 and 1,896 in 1904. However, in 1905, the population decreased to 1,590. This decrease was possibly due to many relocations to Choryang following the opening of the Seoul-Busan Railway. However, the Japanese population radically increased again to an estimated 4,175 in 1907 when the new town plan took clear shape.

The next place the Japanese looked to expand to was Choryang, east of the Exclusive Zone (Fig. 1-④). This place was isolated from the Exclusive Zone, bordering Mt. Yeongseon and Mt. British Consulate (thus named due to the housing of a British consulate office in the area). Most Koreans in Choryang labored in fishery and commerce; however, after the opening of the port, many began to work in transportation and consignment sales for the Exclusive Zone.[7] By 1905,

7. Refer to Yazu (1893, 15, 27). For example, Yazu was guided to Dongnae from the

about the time of the opening of the Seoul-Busan Railway, the Choryang area had attracted a lot of Japanese land buyers.

Choryang was a fishing village, which was "difficult to walk about in the fishing season because of its stench" (Tabuchi 1905, 235). The opening of the Seoul-Busan Railway introduced public and local offices into the area, as well as private residences for the Seoul-Busan Railway Company, such as Choryang Steam Locomotive (1903), Choryang Factory (1904), Railway Hospital (1904), Choryang Police Station (1906), Choryang Transportation Office (1906), and Choryang Construction Office (1906), and local branches of Japan Mail Steamship and Osaka Shipping Company (Fuzan 1916, 96, 104-109). Followed by a post office, a telephone station as well as Japanese companies and stores opened in Choryang (Shiozaki 1906, 9-10). In 1903, the Japanese population in Choryang was only 355. However, after the completion of the Seoul-Busan Railway in 1904, the population tripled to 1,193, increasing continually to an estimated 1,279 in 1905, 1,639 in 1906, 1,855 in 1907, and 2,333 in 1908 (refer to Table 1). Housing a railway station, Choryang and Busanjin became thriving modern towns and new spaces of the Japanese domain.

Next, as a result of the 1909-1913 construction of the Double-Peak Flatland connecting the Exclusive Zone and Choryang, a new town was formed in the area (Fig. 1-⑤). The Double-Peak Flatland Construction is very significant, as it built a main road connecting the Exclusive Zone with the Korean village Choryang, making Busan a sizeable modern city.

As discussed thus far, the modern city of Busan was established when the Exclusive Zone expanded to nearby areas and absorbed Korean villages. Therefore, the physical spaces produced through this process were historical constructs formed through the shaping process of the colonial city, envisioned and pursued by the Japanese since the time of the Japanese Residents Association.

Exclusive Zone by a Korean man, Kim, who worked as a foreman of laborers for a Japanese employer. Kim lived in Choryang, which Yazu described as a "den of Koreans."

Transformation of Industrial Space and Segregation of Residential Spaces

Transformation of Industrial Structure and Shift of the Industrial Center

According to a census conducted in December of 1880, Busan was home to a total of 305 Japanese settlers, most of them involved in commerce and trade: 50 percent were business brokers (152 persons), 12 percent were traders (34 persons), and another 12 percent were retailers (34 persons). Service workers, such as those employed in bars (15 persons) or restaurants (13 persons), constituted the next largest group.

The census in June 1905 indicates that of the estimated 1,435 Japanese residing in Busan, 52 percent were working in commerce and trade, the most common area of business that the Japanese in Busan were involved in, followed by 28 percent working in restaurants and bars, and seven percent in civil and construction-related work.[8] Few Japanese were involved in the manufacturing business, mostly cotton weavers or food manufacturers like oil and liquor makers and millers. By individual occupation, the largest number, 239, were entertainers. Other occupations included 115 food venders, 94 general merchandisers, 92 confectioners, 57 grain dealers, 57 carpenters, 53 restaurateurs, 47 rickshaw pullers, and 43 traders.

The primary business sectors sustaining the Exclusive Zone remained trade and commerce. However, their proportion in relation to the economy as a whole decreased. The next major businesses included inns and restaurants that provided lodging, food, and entertainment services not only for Japanese brokers and Korean merchants, but also for Japanese officials, travelers, and immigrants. This suggests that the

8. Refer to Aizawa (1905a, 82-83). The above classifications of commerce, civil, and construction-related work, manufacturing work, service work, and others are mine; the data in Aizawa (1905a) discuss specific business types such as grain dealers, tobacco dealers, printers, and barbers.

Busan port was not the final destination for many Japanese settlers but a transitory settlement to learn and adapt to the economic and cultural conditions of Korea before leaving for their final destination in the newly acquired land.

According to the March 1917 census on Busan's industries, the service industry of inns, restaurants, and entertainment had drastically decreased to one-third of its former size while the proportion of the manufacturing industry increased. This indicates that Busan villages evolved into urban towns after annexation, and systems of reproduction was secured in order for the small manufacturing businesses of Japanese settlers—such as food processing, foundries, and manufacturing of *tatami*, bricks, tiles, tobacco, and soap—to grow drastically.

From the early years of immigration, the Japanese recognized the industrial potential of Busan. Convenient and efficient transportation of material, fuel, and products is a crucial factor for operating factories. Given this, Busan, being a seaport city, could provide the cheapest sea transportation and easy shipping to various locations in Korea and Japan. In fact, Joseon Textile Factory and Japanese Hard Porcelain Corporation, founded in Busan in 1917 and 1920 respectively, with large Japanese capital during the boom of World War I, prospered without much difficulty, proving the geographical advantages of Busan (Ueda 1932, 19-20).

Lack of imports and increased domestic trade due to World War I stimulated domestic manufacturing activities, and the restrictions on investment and business operations in Korea were eased with the Second Reformation of Business Regulations, thereby attracting big Japanese capital to Busan beginning in the late 1910s (Oh 2002, 170-188). The establishment of large factories, therefore, gradually altered the perception of spatial boundaries and layout of industrial space in Busan.

Table 2 shows how this trend of industrial development affected the spatial arrangement of Busan, by summarizing the number of factories by town from 1905 to 1938. The numbers for the years from 1905 to 1909 are only of major factories since no record for all factories during these years exist. However, the data from the years after 1909

Table 2. The Number of Factories by Town in Busan

District	Town	1905[a]	1907[a]	1909[a]	1917	1927	1932	1938
West New Town	Bupyeong-jeong	4	10	11	34	59	48	46
	Seo-jeong	1	11	14	12	19	17	15
	Toseong-jeong				4	11	14	11
	Bumin-jeong					2		
	Nambumin-jeong						1	1
	Chojang-jeong		1	1	1	2	5	7
	Jungdo-jeong				1	2	3	9
	Gok-jeong					1	3	2
	Daesin-jeong			1	2	7	10	13
	Bosu-jeong		3	5	13	18	21	17
	Daecheong-jeong			2	4	9	6	6
Japanese Exclusive Zone	Hang-jeong	1	3	2	10	14	7	5
	Bon-jeong	1	1	1	7	17	13	11
	Byeoncheon-jeong			1	6	4	5	5
	Nambin-jeong		1	2	2	11	6	7
North Shore Reclaimed Land	Maeripsin-jeong			2	1			
	Ikeno-jeong				1			
	Anbonj-jeong				2			
	Daechang-jeong					19	21	13
	Jangjeon-jeong				1			
	Yeong-jeong				2	18	22	20
Makishima	East Jeoryeong Island (Yeongseon-jeong)[b]		7	8	23	54	60	88
	Jeoryeong Island Shoal				8			
	Cheonghak							2
	Daegyo							4
Traditional Korean villages	Yeongju-dong				1		4	8
	Choryang-dong		1	1	8	18	20	18
	Sujeong-dong				1	8	16	20
	Busanjin		1	2	9			
	Jawcheon-dong					11	15	13
	Beomil-don				1	12	12	21
Prefectual domain after 1936	Bujeon							11
	Buam							1
	Danggam							1
	Gaya							1
	Jeonpo							1
	Munhyeon							2
	Gamman							1
	Yongdang							1
	Yongho							1
Total		7	39	53	154	316	329	382

Source: Aizawa (1905a, 187); BCC (1907, 1909, 1917, 1927); Ueda (1932); Busan-bu (1938).

[a] The figures under the years of 1905, 1907, and 1909 indicate only major factories.

[b] The East Jeoryeong Island was called Yeongseon-jeong in 1923 and 1932.

include all factories in Busan during that time. The table shows that most manufacturing factories were located in Bupyeong-jeong, outside of the Exclusive Zone. In Bupyeong-jeong, a canned food factory with 100 workers and a tobacco factory with 105 workers were built in 1904 and in 1905, respectively (Aizawa 1905a, 187). This indicates that the town was functioning as a factory quarter at the time.

In the late 1900s, the areas in Busan with the most factories were Seo-jeong and Bupyeong-jeong. A total of 53 factories were built from the port opening to 1910, of which 32 were built after 1904, the year when the Russo-Japanese War occurred (K. Kim 1999, 235). Most factories in Seo-jeong, the western outskirt of the Exclusive Zone, were built during the period of the late 1880s to the early 1900s. Factories in Bupyeong-jeong (also referred to as West New Town) were mostly built following the Russo-Japanese War, specifically after 1907.

After 1927, however, although the total number of factories in Busan was increasing, the number of factories in Bupyeong-jeong and Seo-jeong decreased, suggesting that the areas lost their appeal as factory quarters. Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that more factories were built in the eastern outskirts of downtown, such as Sujeong-jeong, Jwacheon-jeong, and Beomil-jeong. Approximately 300,000 *pyeong* (approximately 991,735.5 m^2) of land became available in Busanjin, reclaimed from the sea between 1913-1918 and 1927-1932, and the area arose as a new promising site for factories (Ueda 1928).

In 1917, the Mitsubishi Group founded the Joseon Textile Factory in Beomil-jeong. Once the factory began its operations in 1921, additional textile factories were built in nearby areas. Meanwhile, in Jwacheon-dong, beginning with the Ilyeong Rubber Factory, founded in 1923 by a Korean capitalist Kim Jin-su, additional rubber factories including Huiseong Sanghoe in 1929, Busan Rubbers and Daiwa Rubbers in 1930 were built. The Marudai Rubber Corporation and Neungam Rubber Manufacturing Corporation were also built in Beomil-jeong and Sujeong-jeong, respectively, making Jwacheon-dong and its nearby area a rubber factory zone (Ueda 1928, 103). Therefore, in the initial stage of urban development, the major indus-

trial spaces in Busan were Bupyeong-jeong with food and metalwork fac-tories and Makishima with shipbuilding sites. However, after the 1920s, the Beomil-jeong area emerged as a new major industrial space (*Gyeongseong Ilbo*, November 25, 1932). While Bupyeong-jeong hosted mostly smaller factories, Jwacheon-jeong and Beomil-jeong attracted textile and rubber factories with an investment of larger Japanese capital, indicating the transfer of Busan's industrial center from west to east.

Population Movement and Ethnic Segregation of Residential Spaces

As aforementioned, the manufacturing sector grew significantly in Busan's industrial landscape and this change both expanded and relocated the city's industrial space. The change in industrial structure also brought spatial rearrangement and movement, which in turn were accompanied by population movement within the city and population inflow from outside. The appendix to this article shows the population in each village and town in Busan during the period from 1920 to 1933. Based on the spatial divisions mentioned in Section 1, when comparing the population growth of each district, the Exclusive Zone showed a lower growth rate than Busan's average[9] whereas the West New Town and the east section of Choryang showed a higher population growth. In the Exclusive Zone, most residents were Japanese, and only a small number of Koreans resided there. This area may be considered a sacred domain for Japanese where Korean intrusion was restricted.[10]

Bupyeong-jeong, the industrial quarter of West New Town, had

9. The average household growth of Busan was 2.13 in December 1933, compared to the base value of 1 in October 1920.

10. For instance, when conducting a census, Busan city divided the target areas into enumeration districts for inland people and enumeration districts for Koreans, and the Exclusive Zone had no Korean enumeration district since most of the residents were Japanese. Therefore, Koreans, Chinese, or other foreigners who lived in the areas with no Korean enumeration district should answer to a Japanese enumerator. On the other hand, there was no district without a Japanese enumeration district (*Busan*, August 1927, 2-4).

a high growth rate of Japanese population but a low population of Koreans. Toseong-jeong and Jungdo-jeong, both flatland areas, showed a higher growth of Japanese population while the hillside zone Gok-jeong had a high growth of Korean population and a markedly high number of Korean residents. This indicates that the flatland in West New Town was occupied by Japanese factories and stores while the west and northwest hill villages such as Gok-jeong, Chojang-jeong, and Daesin-jeong were inhabited by Koreans working as dock laborers or store clerks in the Exclusive Zone or factory workers in Bupyeong-jeong. This reveals a significant spatial segregation between the colonizers and the colonized.

The appendix indicates that the town with the largest Korean population in 1933 was Daesin-dong, followed by Choryang-dong, Yeongju-dong, and then Beomil-dong. Traditional Korean villages, where Koreans have resided since the Joseon era, continued to be inhabited by Koreans. However, it must be noted that Choryang had an unusually high proportion of Japanese residents, estimated between 40 to 47 percent, while the other Korean villages barely had any Japanese residents. The construction of the Seoul-Busan Railway Station in 1905, as previously mentioned, attracted related offices and transportation and shipping businesses, along with their Japanese managers and engineers, to settle in nearby Choryang, which was transformed into a booming new town.[11]

Yeongseon-jeong in Makishima was a similar area to Choryang, with Japanese comprising nearly 40 percent of its population, an unusually high number in a town whose residents were primarily Korean. Moreover, due to Japanese appropriation of land in this area as early as in the 1880s, this area attracted more Japanese than Choryang.

Areas with an overwhelmingly Japanese population were commercial areas such as the Exclusive Zone and the North Shore Reclaimed

11. Yonekura Katsunori (1993, 23-24), for example, wrote that between the years of 1937 and 1942, he was a student at the Third Busan Public Elementary School and his father worked at Samhwa Rubbers located in Jwacheon-jeong and that his family lived in a two-story house in Sujeong-jeong provided by his father's company.

Land[12] as well as the flatland factory site in the middle of West New Town, Bupyeong-jeong. In the outskirts of these areas, such as Gok-jeong, Daesin-jeong, Yeongju-jeong, Jwacheon-jeong, and Beomil-jeong, Koreans were overwhelmingly the largest ethnic group.

By the early 1930s, the city authorities and local capitalists in Busan were in search of new industrial space, as the Busanjin Reclaimed Land was already filled with factories. Therefore, they began the first territorial expansion of the city in 1936, incorporating Seomyeon of Dongnae-gun county into Busan city.[13] This indicates that the earlier Japanese settlers' territorial perception of Busan city formed during the colonial city development, drastically started to be altered beginning in the 1930s, according to the political and economic situations.

Formation and Development of Hill Villages and Korean Residential Space

The Formation of Hill Villages and Their Spatial Expansion

The previous sections have shown that the spaces produced by spatial arrangement during the development process of the colonial city were distributed in terms of ethnicity. While the Japanese occupied the flatland, Koreans inhabited the hillside zones, and these two ethnic groups were segregated even within the same area. The hill villages in Busan were formed as residential spaces for Koreans, who settled in the hill villages roughly through three routes.

First, after the port opening, merchants from all over the country gathered in Busan for commercial activities.[14] However, not meeting expectations, their businesses failed and the merchants went on to

12. North Shore Reclaimed Land had an overwhelmingly higher proportion of Japanese than Koreans since the reclamation project was led by Japanese capital.
13. Refer to *Maeil Sinbo*, February 15, 1936, and *Busan Ilbo*, April 5, 1936.
14. For more details on the forms and routes of the countrywide merchant migration to Busan after the opening of the ports, refer to Oh (2008, 47-52).

settle in the hillside areas.

Second, farmers and peasants, who had fallen into hardship, came to Busan in search of employment. Becoming laborers and factory workers, they also settled in the inexpensive hillside zone. Due to food scarcity during the spring season, peasants and farmers flocked to Busan in attempts to sail to Japan. However, the Japanese government often disrupted these attempts and some of those caught in Japan during a secret voyage settled in Busan permanently (*Maeil Sinbo*, April 26, 1931, July 13, 1936; *Dong-A Ilbo*, April 15, 1939). Without the opportunity to return to their hometown, most lived in the hillside zone of the city near the harbor or the railroad station, or construction sites (*Dong-A Ilbo*, November 19, 1923). The influx of outsiders was the main contributor to the population growth of Busan city. The Korean population growth in Busan was much higher than that of the Japanese growth because Koreans were gravitating to cities and abandoning rural villages.[15] Busan, a mountainous city with a small strip of flatland, provided only the hillside zone as a residential space for these Koreans.

Third, as the construction of the colonial city progressed, Koreans who were deprived of their dwellings and livelihood were relegated/pushed out to the hillside zone. Prior to the opening of the ports, native Busanites mostly worked in the fishery industry. However, the opening of the ports, harbor construction and land reclamation forced Busanites to give up their livelihood. Financially ruined, they ended up living in huts on the hills (*Dong-A Ilbo*, November 9, 1923). In addition, Koreans who lost land to the Japanese, via purchase or expropriation for the construction of the Seoul-Busan Railway or roads, or the rearrangement of city districts, were forced to resettle in

15. Immediately after the opening of the ports and until the mid-1900s, Japanese population growth was very high, but after Japan's annexation of Korea, the growth trend slowed down. On the other hand, the population of Koreans continuously grew. In 1927, for example, the growth rate of the Japanese population was 0.8 while that of the Korean population was 9.8. During an economic slump, quite a few Japanese would return to their homeland while more Koreans were coming to cities (*Busan*, February 1928, 20).

the hillside zone (Hong et al. 2008, 2009; Yang 2006). Therefore, the hill villages became residential space formed by outsiders drifting into Busan seeking jobs and opportunities, and by natives displaced by the development of the colonial city.

Then, when did the residential space begin to form in the hillside zone and how did the formation of the hill villages proceed? The major factors of the development of the hill villages were closely associated with the large-scale construction work necessary for the building of a city and with the redistribution of industrial space. Public construction work of various sorts for the establishment of the city forced significant numbers of displaced farmers and peasants to Busan Port, which contained only a few hundred households at the time of the port opening. For instance, a total of more than 394,000 Japanese, Korean, and Chinese laborers were hired for the construction of the second pier during the second phase of Busan harbor construction, which was conducted for ten years from 1919 to 1928 (JGGJ 1937, 70). This shows that a large construction project was an important factor in attracting laborers.

In addition, as previously discussed, the distribution and transfer of industrial space was closely related with the formation and expansion of hill villages. The hill villages were originally formed by displaced Koreans who moved to hillside areas such as Gok-jeong and Daesin-jeong when the Japanese began constructing new towns in 1907, appropriating Korean residential space west of the Exclusive Zone. The residential space in the hillside zone was further expanded as outsiders moved to the area, seeking work at factories or at the harbor and the station. Moreover, hill villages in Yeongju-jeong began to take shape in the late 1900s through large construction projects, such as harbor facilities and Double-Peak Flatland, and subsequently as displaced peasants and farmers flocked to the area. The hillside zone behind Choryang and Busanjin was occupied by fishermen who were forced to give up their work or natives who lost their land to the construction of the Seoul-Busan Railway. The hill village was further expanded in the 1920s, accommodating displaced people due to the Urban Improvement Project (1921-1927) and migrant laborers work-

ing at the Busanjin Land Reclamation Project (1927-1932) site. Later, the flatland created by the Busanjin Land Reclamation Project was used as factory sites, and since the mid-1920s, the area has been occupied by factory workers working in Beomil-jeong.[16]

Landscape of the Hill Villages: Locality of the Colonial City Busan

The residents of the hill villages were predominantly Korean, most of them destitute or hut-dwelling people. In December 1928, the Busan Police Department surveyed the distribution and situation of the poor in its precincts. The survey found that there were hardly any Japanese among the poor; only 17 Japanese households, a total of 37 people, were reported as being impoverished, due to the illness or loss of the family breadwinners. On the other hand, 287 Korean households, a total of 884 people, were reported as being impoverished, meaning that 95 percent of the poor households and 96 percent of the poor Busanites were Koreans (refer to Table 3).

According to Table 3, the place with the largest number of poor

16. The formation phases of the hillside villages coincide with the order to install a district committee in each district. According to this system, called b*angmyeon wiwonje* 方面委員制 (District Committee System), the committee was supposed to serve as a "survey and implementation organization that helps and educates those below the middle class, i.e. poor people, who need improvement in their lives, in order to prevent social dangers accompanied by ideological shifts." District committee members were responsible for conducting surveys on the living conditions of their district and seeking ways to improve them. The mayor chose district committee members from among policemen, school authorities, and influential locals. The first district committee in Busan was installed in Daesin-dong (West District No. 1) and Yeongju-jeong (Central District No. 1) in February 1933; then in Makishima (South District No. 1) in May 1934; in Jungdo-jeong, Gok-jeong (West District No. 2) and in Chojang-jeong (West District No. 3) in October 1935; and in Choryang-jeong (North District No. 1), Jwacheon-jeong, Sujeong-jeong (North District No. 2), and Beomil-jeong (North District No. 3) in March 1936. The order of committee installation was, interestingly, very similar to the order of the hill village formation. Refer to *Busan Ilbo*, February 21, 1933; *Dong-A Ilbo*, February 25, 1933; *Maeil Sinbo*, October 9, 1935, January 11, 1936; March 10, 1936; *Busan*, September 1927, 38-41.

was Daesin-jeong (25%), followed by Yeongju-jeong (including San-ri, 22%), Makishima (13%), Sujeong-jeong, and Gok-jeong.

Table 3. December 1928 Survey Findings on the Distribution of Busan's Poor Citizens

District	Towns	Household	Population	Japanese	Korean
Makishima	Makishima	38	114	4 households/ 13 Persons	33 households/ 101 persons
Exclusive Zone	Bon-jeong	1	1	1/1	
West New Town	Bupyeong-jeong	2	8	2/8	
	Toseong-jeong	3	16		
	Bumin-jeong	4	22		
	Gok-jeong (Valley Town)	15	61		
	Chojang-jeong	18	60		
	Nambumin-jeong	19	53		
	Nok-jeong (Green Town)	1	1		
	Jungdo-jeong	2	2		
	Bosu-jeong	2	6	1/3	1/3
	Daesin-jeong	71	225		
Double-peak Flatland New Town	Daechang-jeong	1	1	1/1	
Traditional Korean villages	Yeongju-jeong	13	29	2/3	11/26
	Yeongju-jeong San-ri (hillside area)	41	168		
	Choryang-jeong	17	57	1/4	16/53
	Sujeong-jeong	19	62		
	Jwacheon-jeong	5	12	1/1	4/11
	Beomil-jeong	14	23		
Total		286	923	16 (5%)/ 37 (4%)	270 (95%)/ 886 (96%)

Source: *Busan*, January 1929, 35.

During the Great Depression, the number of poor in Busan exponentially increased. Displaced inhabitants flocked to the hill villages "from nearby agrarian villages after they had been ruined by the collapse of grain prices and subsequent debt while subsisting on the land that they had tenanted" (*Chosun Ilbo*, February 12, 1931). According to a survey conducted by the administration of Busan city, the number of destitute poor or extremely poor requiring aid totaled 405 households, comprised of 1,574 people; the largest numbers of them were found in West New Town where the hill villages were first formed. The most common occupations these poor or destitute people held were porters and laborers, followed by peddlers and street venders, then factory workers (*Dong-A Ilbo*, November 9, 1923, December 5, 1937, June 16, 1939).

> Meanwhile, the hill villages consisting of impoverished Korean residents were located facing the train station and harbor, the first sight for visitors arriving to Busan. The first-time visitor will be first struck by the sight of countless houses built row after row on the mountain slopes as soon as they leave the port. This village of natives makes the whole mountain look like an apartment building; it is difficult to distinguish village lights from stars at night (Yu 1936, 271).

> The night of Busan viewed from the port of Busan looks as if it had rows of lofty and stately buildings, but they are in fact the houses of the poor built on the slopes of the mountains surrounding Busan (*Chosun Ilbo*, December 15, 1939).

As is clear from the quoted passages, Japanese or other foreigners, upon arriving in Busan harbor or station, often notice the hill villages due to the landscape of Busan. However, the beautiful night view of high rises with the glittering lights of civilization vaporize like a mirage in the morning, revealing the ugly sight of the embarrassing city. In October 1928, the Superintendent General of State Affairs of the Government-General of Joseon, while touring Busan, even declared the hill villages as defacing the city's landscape (*Busan Ilbo*,

October 25, 1928). The government authorities and local Japanese influentials of Busan considered the hill villages a public enemy that embarrassed Joseon's second city of commerce and industry, threatening public sanitation and being a hotbed for crime and frequent fires. Therefore, they thought that in order to remodel the hill villages into skyscrapers of urban civilization, it was necessary to tear down huts and substandard dwellings or, at least, block them from view if demolition was not feasible.

Against this backdrop, the Busan Research Institute of Social Work[17] conducted an on-site survey from 1927 and proposed taking specific measures for the establishment of the district of the poor in "A Proposal for the Busan District of the Poor," which was submitted to the mayor of Busan city in September 1928.[18] Instead of "district of the poor," the proposal euphemistically calls this special district "Busan District of Vocational Help" and states the purpose of the district to be manufacturing bamboo ware and round fans. What is noteworthy here is that the area chosen was behind Gok-jeong (known today as Ami-dong), the slope that faces the Daepo bay. This area is now the famous Gamcheon Culture Village or Taegeuk Village. The most important reason for selecting this area was so it could be as close to downtown as possible without damaging the look of the city. In other words, the area behind Gok-jeong is neither visible from Busan harbor or station nor from the commercial district of the old Exclusive Zone, but close enough to the harbor and commercial district to provide necessary labor. However, driving out the poor from the hill villages in the center of the city was not easy due to the lack of funds and Korean residents' strong resistance.

17. This institute specified in its tenets such objectives as the pursuit of not only passive social work but also aggressive social purification from the root. Therefore, they researched monetary and financial problems of small and medium-sized businesses, rationalization of commerce and industry, promotion and proliferation of industries, and urban planning (*Busan*, December 1938, 34).
18. Refer to *Busan Ilbo*, October 25, 1928; *Busan*, October 1928, 36-37, December 1938, 34.

Colonial authorities or local, influential Japanese approached the problem of hill villages not as residential space but as a matter of urban remodeling and planning. Korean organizations such as the Busan Young Men's Association, on the other hand, regarded the predicament of the hill village residency as a housing problem caused by Japanese occupation of most of the land. Hence, they pressured the prefectural government, organizing the Association of Busan Housing Problem Coordination and held mass rallies (*Chosun Ilbo*, August 23, 1921). As a result of such direct actions, in 1925, the Busan Prefectural Government began to construct public rental homes in Korean residential areas such as Daesin-jeong, Gok-jeong, Yeongju-jeong, Sujeong-jeong, and Choryang-jeong (*Chosun Ilbo*, January 28, 1925, February 1, 1925).

Thus, the landscape of Busan as a modern city, which experienced the expansion of the Exclusive Japanese Residential Zone that drove Korean residents to the hillside, represents the locality of colonial Korea. Busan comprised the highest percentage of Japanese, and their hold on the city's economy was also the strongest in Korea. Therefore, to Koreans from other areas, Busan was "a place with so little Korean culture, whether it be houses, food, clothing or language, it feels like a city initially created by Japanese in which a lot of Koreans live" (Yu 1936).

> By the end of last year, Busan had 13,001 Korean households, 8,110 Japanese households, and 64 households from other countries. Roughly speaking, half of the residents of Busan are Korean and the other half are Japanese. But a Japanese man like Hazama Husataro 迫間房太郎 has more wealth than all 13,001 Korean households combined. Behold the symbol of the economic ruin of Koreans: Koreans in Busan. Or behold the symbol of the success of the Japanese living in Korea: Japanese in Busan.
>
> Busan! The place is a scary slum and a den of tramps. Not only does the poor district of Daesin-dong look like underground caves but it is also a den of powerful Japanese families who are exploiting the wealth of Korea (G. Kim 1923, 66).

As Kim (through character Sochun) laments in the above passage, Koreans in Busan represented "the symbol of the economic ruin of Koreans," and Japanese in Busan "the symbol of the success of the Japanese." The economic collapse of Koreans and the prosperity of Japanese were symbolically manifested by the residential segregation between the flatland and the hillside zone. The ramshackle houses in the hillside zone were owned by Japanese landlords and rented by Koreans who worked as laborers and factory workers in order to pay the rent (Cha 1929, 122-124). This presents the very picture of the locality of colonial Korea. Busan was the symbol of the collapse of Koreans in Korea as the hill villages in Busan was a microcosm that symbolically represented the collapse of Koreans.

Conclusion

During the colonial era, Japanese used Kobe and Nagasaki, which have similar geographical features, as a benchmark when planning Busan's spatial production and distribution. Accordingly, they plotted sites for factories and houses, built mountainside roads to utilize the hillside land alongside the coastline, and proposed a tunnel excavation project to connect the north and south ends of the city. However, Busan's development into a modern city, which occurred along with the expansion of the Exclusive Zone, was not simply an external expansion of physical space.

In 1936, until the first expansion of the city limits, the domain of Busan city was simply a complex of several physical spaces, such as the Exclusive Japanese Residential Zone, West New Town, North Shore Reclaimed Land, Double-Peak New Town, Choryang, Busanjin, and Beomil-dong. However, each individual space was redistributed and divided ethnically, segregating Japanese on the flatland and Koreans on the hillside zone.

The residential spaces were formed and developed in close connection with large construction projects of reclamation and infrastructure as well as the arrangement of industrial sites. The locality of early

modern Busan represents a model colonial city, one that developed the most rapidly among Korean cities. As the Exclusive Zone expanded and claimed Korean residential space, the hill villages, where poor Koreans lived, were created through the arrangement of industrial spaces and a hierarchical distribution of residential spaces. The landscapes of the hill villages, therefore, are spatiotemporally compressed historical places, which embody the locality of Busan.

Appendix: Busan Population by Town

	Town names	Ethnicity	October 1920	Late 1923	December 1926	December 1928	December 1931	December 1933	Growth rate
Exclusive Japanese Residential Zone	Hang-jeong	Japanese	1,173	1,234	1,192	1,161	1,078	1,055	0.9
		Koreans			91	98	126	109	
		Others	49	49	5	3	3	–	
	Byeoncheon-jeong	Japanese	1,217	1,280	1,191	1,219	1,443	2,482	2.04
		Koreans	47	47	134	135	150	154	3.28
		Others				2	8	5	
	Geumpyeong-jeong	Japanese	215	114	204				
		Koreans	12	2	13				
	Nambin-jeong	Japanese	1,602	1,672	1,453	1,402	915	762	0.48
		Koreans	77	79	150	197	1,001	42	0.55
		Others			7	12	8	2	
	Bon-jeong	Japanese	1,772	1,893	1,875	1,845	1,882	1,652	
		Koreans	369	402	646	611	667	3,216	
		Others	2	2	13	18	9	2	
	Seo-jeong (West Town)	Japanese	2,417	2,552	2,481	2,390	2,375	2,832	1.18
		Koreans	51	51	91	103	142	34	0.67
		Others	4	4	14	29	13	8	
	Sangban-jeong	Japanese	101	115	92				
		Koreans	–	–					
	Daecheong-jeong	Japanese	1,639	1,717	1,869	1,886	2,023	1,658	1.02
		Koreans	13	19	155	198	256	74	5.7
		Others				5	–	–	
	Bumin-dong	Japanese	75		582	766			
		Koreans	1,728	1,800	767	586			

Appendix: Busan Population by Town (Continued)

	Town names	Ethnicity	October 1920	Late 1923	December 1926	December 1928	December 1931	December 1933	Growth rate
West New Town	Bumin-jeong	Japanese	331	390	582	766	826	667	2,02
		Koreans	103	129	767	586	515	535	5.2
		Others				1	1	–	
	Bupyeong-jeong	Japanese	4,947	5,186	5,444	5,553	5,579	5,989	1.21
		Koreans	303	323	778	522	629	265	0.88
		Others	4	4	9	18	16	4	
	Nok-jeong (Green Town)	Japanese	681	742	950	738	896	812	1.2
		Koreans	237	259	322	352	410	288	1.22
		Others		2		6	4	6	
	Choryang-jeong	Japanese	951	865	1,342	1,583	1,747	2,502	3.68
		Koreans	400	2,289	3,634	3,983	4,938	5,088	2.15
		Others		13	1	5	2	–	
	Toseong-jeong	Japanese	496	1,041	1,577	1,729	1,918	1,786	1.88
		Koreans	178	430	453	413	443	250	0.63
		Others				6	8	6	
	Gok-jeong (Valley Town)	Japanese	159	182	215	241	1,212	344	2.17
		Koreans	2,517	2,761	3,514	4,113	4,963	5,740	2.28
	Jungdo-jeong	Japanese	177	227	346	532	741	602	3.41
		Koreans	823	936	1,437	1,489	1,698	1,554	1.89
		Others					1	1	
	Daesin-dong	Japanese	742	846	1,682	2,035	2,957	4,073	5.49
		Koreans	4,975	5,366	8,373	10,440	13,468	17,492	3.52
		Others				5	10	3	
	Bosu-jeong	Japanese	2,564	2,785	3,548	3,752	3,622	2,362	0.93
		Koreans	1,058	1,226	1,899	2,111	2,598	2,330	2.21
		Others	6	9			11	–	
North Shore Reclaimed Land	Ikenoue-jeong	Japanese	349	363	311				
		Koreans	43	45	82				
	Maeripsin-jeong	Japanese	512	531	526				
		Koreans	40	43	94				
	Daechang-jeong	Japanese	367	411	452	2,192	2,342	2,412	
		Koreans	28	31	127	719	833	351	
		Others				15	8	2	
	Jungno-jeong	Japanese	184	227	306				
		Koreans	-	1	55				
		Others			6				

Appendix: Busan Population by Town (Continued)

	Town names	Ethnicity	October 1920	Late 1923	December 1926	December 1928	December 1931	December 1933	Growth ate
	Anbon-jeong	Japanese	140	154	193				
		Koreans	15	15	24				
	Godo-jeong	Japanese	177	194	246				
		Koreans	22	26	66				
	Jwadeung-jeong	Japanese	140	147	151				
		Koreans	38	48	118				
New Town on the Flattened Land between Double Peaks	Gosa-jeong	Japanese	105	102	154				
		Koreans	3	–	2				
	Yeong-jeong	Japanese	225	303	572	796	853	533	2.37
		Koreans	7	21	244	169	335	208	29.72
		Others	2	2	10	49	27	–	
	Sangsaeng-jeong	Japanese	26	38	51				
		Koreans	–	–	–				
		Others	–	–	–				
	Jangjeon-jeong	Japanese	38	41	43				
		Koreans	2	2	–				
	Bokjeon-jeong	Japanese	175	191	257	216	276	242	
		Koreans	–	–	1	3	5	–	
Makishima	Yeongseon-dong	Japanese	3,652	4,144	4,264	4,282	4,449	5,903	1.43
		Koreans	4,772	5,148	8,184	8,890	11,264	13,984	2.93
		Others	5	9	22	11	10	9	
	Cheonghak-dong	Japanese	39	41	44	51	61	86	2.21
		Koreans	617	677	803	910	1,120	1,287	2.09
	Dongsam-dong	Japanese	54	54	51	28	24		
		Koreans	1,487	1,530	1,592	1,496	1,756		
	Inner harbor ship (*hangman naeji seonbak*)	Japanese	220			93			
		Koreans				1			
Traditional Korean villages	Yeongju-dong	Japanese	286	395	559	508	756	622	2.18
		Koreans	4,687	5,588	7,679	8,817	10,829	11,752	2.51
		Others	10	15	36	56	5	2	
	Choryang-dong	Japanese	2,565	2,753	3,479	3,786	4,293	5,605	2.19
		Koreans	5,248	5,080	8,189	9,187	11,515	12,460	2.38
		Others	191	215	392	328	174	112	

Appendix: Busan Population by Town (Continued)

	Town names	Ethnicity	October 1920	Late 1923	December 1926	December 1928	December 1931	December 1933	Growth rate
	Sujeong-dong	Japanese	1,052	1,103	1,636	1,914	2,090	2,904	2.76
		Koreans	2,678	2,942	4,056	5,017	7,120	8,221	3.07
		Others				8	12	23	
	Jwacheon-dong	Japanese	313	338	1,636	507	672	835	2.67
		Koreans	3,357	3,666	4,056	4,417	4,608	6,332	1.89
		Others	15	20	8	16	22	10	
	Beomil-dong	Japanese	700	782	848	927	1,153	2,100	3
		Koreans	2,675	2,843	4,585	5,967	9,467	9,186	3.44
		Others	5	11	5	11	10	8	
	Subtotal	Japanese	32,786	35,360	40,803	42,246	45,502	51,031	
		Koreans	40,549	43,886	64,928	73,336	93,674	105,197	
		Others	248	306	592	625	362	201	
Total			73,583	79,552	106,323	116,207	139,538	156,429	

Source: Busan-bu, *Pusanfu-zei yomi* 釜山府勢要覽 (An Overview of Busan-bu) (Busan: Busan-bu, 1921, 1924, 1927, 1929, 1932, 1934).

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