

Research Article

Social Representation of Japanese Characters in Zainichi Film**Santi Andayani*, Emma R Fatimah, Gathisa S Gunawan., Aisyah B Kancanadewi**

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*Email: santi_andayani@ub.ac.id*Received: Sept 13, 2021; Revised: Oct 19, 2021; Accepted: Nov 26, 2021**Available online: Nov 27, 2021; Published regularly: Dec 2021***Abstract**

Discriminative treatment and zainichi identity crisis have often focused on zainichi-themed literary and media works. In terminology, zainichi is a term for ethnic Koreans living in Japan. Koreans are victims because of their minority, and Japanese are portrayed as perpetrators who discriminate against them. This study focuses on the representation of Japanese people through the main characters in the film *Zainichi*, Hotaru (2001) and *For Those We Love* (2007), which are the objects of this research. This study uses the representation theory by Stuart Hall to propose how Japanese people are represented in the zainichi film media. This research uses documentation and literature study techniques for data collection and descriptive qualitative methods for data analysis. The results showed that the representation of the Japanese through the main characters in the two films emphasized more the positive or humanist Japanese characters: 1) people who respect other nations; 2) people who are compassionate and appreciate human values; 3) people who are considerate; 4) trustworthy people; 5) people who are loyal and committed to their friends and lovers.

Keywords: character and characterization; social representation; zainichi film

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1. Introduction

Ethnic Koreans in Japan are known as *zainichi*. *Zainichi* means living in Japan, the term for all foreigners who live in Japan. However, this time is used more widely for Koreans living in Japan, which is currently one of the largest ethnic minorities in Japan (Trihtarani, 2019). The biggest arrival of Korean *zainichi* in Japan occurred during the Japanese colonialism of Korea, which was around 1910-1945. After Japan annexed Korea in 1910, many of Korea's natural resources were transported to Japan, and life in Korea became increasingly difficult, so many later migrated to Japan, where at that time, many Japanese industries were developing during World War I and were understaffed.

Between 1939 and the end of the war, Japan brought more than 600,000 Korean men to Japan to work in the mining, manufacturing, and construction industries. More than 300,000 Korean men have been conscripted into the imperial army and navy since 1943. (Ryang, 2000: 3). This historical background then triggered the sentiments of the Korean people, especially towards the Japanese government. However, low wages, forced labor, and even many Korean women are forced into the world of military prostitution. Acts of discrimination often afflict the Korean ethnic. Until now, Korean *zainichi* still feel the Japanese people discriminate against them, such as at work or in schools. BBC World Service poll (2014) found that 79%

of South Koreans view Japan's influence negatively, and 15% express a positive view.

With the historical background between Japan and Korea, the term *zainichi* refers to Korean colonial subjects whose concept originated from the Korean annexation event in 1910. As a result of the history of Japan and Korea, the *zainichi*, especially the first generation of *zainichi*, have experienced constant discrimination from the local community due to their ethnic background and social status, and they tend to hold grudges during the colonial period. In 2010 many books and films appeared with the title commemorating 'One Hundred Years of *Zainichi*.'

Korean *zainichi* interacted with Japanese society is represented in *zainichi* film, the global film industry of Japan, South Korea, and North Korea. The film's themes revolve around the struggles of Korean people or the Korean community living in Japan, ranging from melodrama to *yakuza* genres. According to Oliver Dew's, self-representation in *zainichi* films can be seen as part of the *zainichi* empowerment movement. This desire began in 1970 to voice the citizenship movement. This movement also seeks representation and recognition in public life, blue-chip companies, and public professions prohibited for non-Japanese citizens and the right to become a Japanese citizen with a Korean name (Dew, 2016: 70).

Besides Dew, the representation of Korean *zainichi* has also been carried out by Febriani Elfida Trihtarani et al. (2019). This research discusses several Korean *zainichi* in Japanese society: pluralist, nationalist, individualist, and assimilationist. By looking at the identity crisis experienced by the first, second, and third-generation *zainichi* characters in Pachinko's novel, this study shows that the status of Korean *zainichi* will not easily change, and they will remain in a marginal position that is underestimated.

Another research conducted by Wawat Rahwati (2020). This study which Used postcolonial studies, sees the majority group of Japanese people as 'the self,' while the *zainichi* minority group as 'the others'. This study discusses how *Zainichi* figures articulate *Zainichi*'s identity negotiations and resist Japanese domination as the majority community group. In addition, this study also uncovers text discourse that will show the forms of identity negotiation and resistance carried out by the characters representing the *zainichi* group as a form of resistance to Japanese domination in the novel *Go*.

The studies on *zainichi* show that current research focuses more on the representation of *zainichi*, both *zainichi* as an object and as a subject. But, how the expression of Japanese people, especially in the *zainichi* film, has never been reviewed. Interesting to study because most of *Zainichi*'s films have directors and actors from Japan, so the point of view of the storytelling is more from the point of view of the Japanese themselves.

According to Dew (2016: 4), the discontinuity of personnel in the postcolonial world of *zainichi* films led to the absence of verified Korean filmmakers, as well as the lack of representation of Koreans from mainstream film distribution channels in the post-war period as a result of the abolition of legal status, social status, and citizenship of Koreans in Japan in the years immediately following the end of the war.

Therefore, in *Zainichi* films, there are more representations of *Zainichi* as supporting characters than as the main character in the movie. Patria in Kumparan.com (2020) states that term is how the media describes a phenomenon object. Representations are not formed after a phenomenon occurs but representations that give meaning to the phenomenon. The picture made by the media is not a reflection of events that have a certain purpose but rather the society that makes the meaning of the object. Hall (1997:15)

emphasizes that the form of interpretation of each media can be different and even contradict each other, have positive or negative connotations, support or reject, and so on. He focuses on the role of the media as the holder of control over the meaning of the phenomena that have occurred so that the media have full power in shaping reality for the wider community, based on their respective thoughts, ideologies, and interests.

In the Theory of Meaning, Hall (via Patria, 2020) explains that message reception analysis refers to the study of the general public's meaning, production, and experience concerning interacting with the media. Hall divides the process of receiving and interpreting meaning by society into three positions. First, dominant acceptance is when the community accepts and decodes the message from the media according to the connotation the sender wants to convey. This position is called ideal by the media because the purposes they give are accepted accordingly. Furthermore, negotiation acceptance is when the public gets and understands the message displayed by the press without manifesting it. Finally, favour of the opposition is when the public has accepted and understood the message conveyed, both literally and the connotations are given, but they reject the message completely (via Patria, 2020).

Representation means using language to say something meaningful or to describe a significant world to someone else. According to Hall (1997: 15), meaning is constructed by a representative system. Its purpose is produced through a language system whose phenomena occur through verbal expressions and visually. The representation system is composed not of individual concepts but through organizing, infiltrating, and classifying images and various complexities of relationships.

With the above background, this research will dig deeper into how the director, a Japanese person, represents

Japanese characters in their interactions with Koreans in the *Zainichi* films using the representation theory stated by Stuart Hall. These research sees are the films that the director worked on highlighting mutual hatred, suspicion, hostility, and a series of forms of discrimination, or are representations of peace and humanist nuances highlighted.

To examine this, the Author takes two *Zainichi* films released in the 2000s with film settings during WWII and the period after WWII ended as the object of research, namely the movie *Hotaru* (2001) and *For Those We Love* (2007). The film *Hotaru*, directed by Yasuo Furuhashi, is set in Kagoshima prefecture in 1989. The second film object of this research is *For Those We Love*, directed by Ishihara Shintaro. The film is set in Chiran, Kyushu, in 1945 during World War II. Almost having the same story as *Hotaru*, this film also tells the life of the Kamikaze pilots who will depart to attack the allied and American forces. One of the pilots is a Korean national who has the same name as the Korean soldier character in *Hotaru's* film, Kanayama. This film is about several former pilots who were members of the special attack force, the Kamikaze troops. One of them was a Korean pilot who had changed his name to a Japanese name as Kanayama, who later died while carrying out attacks on allied ships (Kamikazeimages.net, 2001).

By examining the social representation of Japanese people in their interactions with Koreans in *zainichi* films, it is hoped that this can add insight into the lives of Korean *zainichi* and Japanese people who are members of the Kamikaze troops. Besides, that can uncover hidden messages about how Japanese people want to be seen and placed in their position through films by Koreans and other nations.

2. Methods

This research is qualitative research where this research does not rely on statistical

analysis to support an interpretation but is more focused on people, objects, institutions, and the relationship between these elements to understand an event, behavior, or phenomenon (Kountur, 2003:105).

To collect data, the authors used library research and documentation techniques. To obtain Primary data sources, authors used dialogue and scenes in films that included the theme of *Zainichi* Korea in them, namely *Hotaru* (2001) and *For Those We Love* (2007). Secondary data sources are obtained from articles, journals, books, and other sources relevant to the research.

The data analysis technique was carried out in a qualitative descriptive manner. The first steps of the analysis are classifying 2 Korean *zainichi* films, namely *Hotaru* (2001) and *For Those We Love* (2007), in terms of structure to find out the similarities and differences of each film. The next step is to analyze the social representation of Japanese characters, especially in their interactions with Korean characters in both films. The last is to draw conclusions from the analysis that has been carried out and present them in the report.

3. Result and Discussion

This chapter explains how the representation of Japanese people in *zainichi* films by looking at the structure of the story, especially in terms of the characterizations of Japanese people in the two films that are the object of research, namely *For Those We Love* and *Hotaru*. From this representation, it will be seen how the position of the Japanese people wants to be seen in *zainichi* films. In addition, the representation of Japanese people in *zainichi* movies is also seen from their interactions with Korean *zainichi*.

3.1 Representation of Japanese People in Korean *Zainichi* Films

3.1.1 *Zainichi* Film Structure

It is necessary to know about the feature of each film in terms of its structure. The

movie *For Those We Love* tells about the courage of the Kamikaze pilots in WWII and their obedience to the state duties. Kamikaze Troops or Tokko (Tokubetsu Kogeki) or Special Attack Force is a special suicide attack unit formed by Takijiro Onishi consisting of pilots who dare to die. These troops used the tactic of crashing Kamikaze planes into allied warships. This troop was formed when the Japanese felt it was very difficult to break through the allied combat fleet because of its lost technology and the exhausted naval troops on the battlefield. The Japanese army had also been overwhelmed (Rayner, 2018). Then in the film *Hotaru*, the theme is about loyalty to true love and solidarity regardless of origin that existed among the Kamikaze pilots during WWII. II. These two films have similarities because of the same setting and characterization, about the story of the courage of the Kamikaze pilots in WWII. What distinguishes these two films is the storytelling of the characters, wherein the film *For Those We Love* raises the issue of each character of the army serving as a Kamikaze pilot and how, in the end, they accept the duty of the state as a suicide bomber with various inner turmoils. The *Hotaru* film focuses more on the love story of husband and wife, where their union is motivated by each other's bitter memories from World War II to their twilight years (Dramacool, 2007).

In terms of characters and characterizations, the main characters of the Japanese are dominated by protagonists. Because the setting is wartime, the characters in both films are dominated by characters who act as pilots who are members of the Kamikaze troops. Characters who act as relatives of the pilots, female volunteers, Korean *zainichi* and their relatives, and residents of Chiran, namely the area where the Kamikaze troops are based is in Kagoshima prefecture.

Because this study focuses on the representation of Japanese people in the *zainichi* film, the characters studied are

those who have interactions with *zainichi*. The most prominent personalities in the film *For Those We Love* are Tome Torihama and Shoi Kanayama, a Kamikaze pilot from Korea. Tome Torihama is the restaurant 'Tomiya' owner who accepts and is kind to all Kamikaze pilots and other soldiers who come. Tome's mother is very considerate and cares about the Kamikaze pilots. It did not even matter that one of them was a Korean *zainichi*. In Tomiya, Tome is assisted by his two daughters, Reiko Torihama and Mioko Torihama. Kanayama once told the story of his life before he set out to attack the United States troops to Reiko. Likewise with Mioko Torihama, who later also has sympathy for Kanayama after hearing his life story.

In the film *For Those We Love*, the characters of Kanayama are not mentioned much. Because of her kindness and sincerity towards all the soldiers who visited her restaurant, the soldiers respected and loved Tome, the owner of Tomiya. Many of them treated Tome like their own mother, including Kanayama, established the closeness between them.

In the *Hotaru* film, the *zanichi* characters have the same character as the *zainichi* characters in the film *For Those We Love*, both named Kanayama, a *zainichi* who became a Kamikaze pilot in the Japanese army. Kanayama's character also has the same story as the female character who owns Tomiya's restaurant. The only difference is the name of the restaurant owner. If in the film *For Those We Love*, the restaurant owner is named Tome Torihama, then *Hotaru* is named Yamamoto Tomiko. The similarities in the characters in both films occur because both films are based on true stories. The real-life owner of Tomiya's restaurant is named Tome Torihama, the exact character name used in the movie *For Those We Love*.

Tome Torihama founded the Tomiya restaurant in 1929 (Torihama, 2015). The soldiers appointed the restaurant to be a dining room when the

Chiran air base opened in 1942. Many pilots visited her restaurant and became close to them. Because of their closeness, Tome also serves as the pilot's last message to his family. In 1952 Tome Torihama opened the Tomiya Inn for family members who visited the graves of fallen Japanese soldiers. Tome also founded the shrine he dedicated to soldiers in 1955, and until the end of her life, Tome dedicated herself to the Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots.



Figure 1 Portrait of Tome Torihama with six Kamikaze pilots

(http://www.soshisha.com/book_wadai/11hotaru/index.html)

Another character in the *Hotaru* film interacting with Kanayama is a married couple named Yamaoka Shuji and Yamaoka Tomoko. Yamaoka Shuji is a former Kamikaze pilot who survived the Japanese attack on the United States. He is described as a hard worker and very affectionate to his wife, who is sick. Yamaoka Shuji also has a considerate and very trustworthy character when he is asked by Yamamoto Tomiko, the owner of Tomiya's restaurant, to return Kanayama's belongings to his family in Busan, Korea. His wife, Yamaoka Tomoko, is Kanayama's ex-girlfriend. Yamaoka Tomoko has a gentle and determined nature. Even though he has married Yamaoka Shuji, Tomoko still has memories of her love for the late Kanayama, and Yamaoka Shuji knows this. However, he still respects his wife's

feelings because Kanayama is also a friend of Yamaoka Shuji, his teammate.

Then, as the owner of Tomiya's restaurant, Yamamoto Tomiko is also described as a kind-hearted character and cares about the Kamikaze pilots. Tomiko is often considered a mother by the pilots. Lastly is the character Fujieda, Yamaoka's teammate. Fujieda always feels grateful to Yamaoka for saving Fujieda's life when his plane was damaged on the way to the United States ship; Yamaoka told Fujieda to return to base so that Fujieda finally managed to survive the war.

The two films have mixed plots. There is a flashback where the owner of Tomiya's restaurant and some of the surviving kamikaze pilots retold the past events when they lived in wartime. Therefore, the present-day old Japanese character appears with the same Japanese character when he was young.

It is very clear that from the perspective of the main characters, the Japanese in these two films depict as positive characters, such as compassionate, brave, loyal friends, willing to sacrifice, kind, dedicated to the country, gentle, tolerant, and non-discriminatory.

3.1.1 Social Representation of Japanese People in Their Interaction with Koreans in *Zainichi* Film.

To analyze the representation of Japanese characters in the *zainichi* film, the authors use scenes and dialogues that show the interactions of Japanese people with *zainichi* and interactions between Japanese people when talking about *zainichi*. The representations found are as follows.

1) Japanese people are represented as people who respect other nations

The representation of Japanese people as people who respect other nations is depicted through the introduction scene between Kanayama and his teammates in the Kamikaze army in *Hotaru* and when Kanayama sings Arirang in front of his teammates and in front of Tome Torihama and her two daughters at a restaurant

Tomiya. These matters can be seen in the following data.

Data 1

While running into his teammates on the road, Kanayama is greeted by several pilots he knows in the Kamikaze army. There Kanayama introduced himself and came clean about who he was. In front of Yamaoka and Fujieda, Kanayama said his real name was Kim So Juu, from Korea. Upon learning this, Yamaoka and Fujieda only felt a little surprised because they did not expect any Koreans to volunteer themselves to defend Japan against the allied forces. There is no sense of condescending or demeaning. However, due to the communication barrier in language differences, Kanayama is a little isolated from the rest of the squad.

Even so, the Japanese team with him still tried to get to know Kanayama on the sidelines of their break from training. Telling each other about themselves and their families or loved ones has created a sense of closeness and mutual respect. Especially when they already know that soon death will await them on the battlefield.

So from this awareness, we know that the mutual respect that the Japanese soldiers gave to the Korean soldiers emerged from a sense of humanism between human beings where they had to fulfill the duties of the state regardless of their nation. Ishihara Shintaro stated that the film's production was not intended to glorify the Kamikaze troops but rather to convey a message of peace or anti-war to the audience. "*This film is not meant to glorify the 'special attack' forces, but neither is it an anti-war movie,*" Ishihara told guests at a launch party, describing it instead as a study of adolescence under extreme circumstances and a tribute to Torihama (Reynolds, 2007).

Data 2

The scene in the film *For Those We Love*, shown in fig.1, is when the character Tome and his two children are moved to

hear the strains of Kanayama's sobbing voice singing Arirang, a Korean folk song. "Arirang, Arirang, Arariyo...." is a snippet of the lyrics of the song Kanayama sang before departing to attack the American troops as a Kamikaze pilot. Despite being a Korean national, Kanayama was willing to become a Kamikaze pilot who sacrificed his life for Japan. His longing for his homeland made him sing Arirang, a song that unites North and South Korea. This song describes the sadness and bitterness of life experienced by Korean ancestors in the past. This song is deeply ingrained in the hearts of Koreans, including *zainichi*, who is in Japan. In the scene above, Tome's sense of empathy for Kanayama makes him appreciate Arirang's song even more, even though the song is a product of Korean culture.



Figure 2 Kanayama sings a Korean folk song called Arirang

(<https://dramacool.ai/for-those-we-love-episode-1.html>)



Figure 3 Kanayama asked Tomiko, Yamaoka, and Fujieda to listen to a song from Korea "Arirang" on his last day before the attack

(<https://dramacool.ai/drama-detail/hotaru-the-firefly>)

Data 3

Similar to the story in the movie *For Those We Love*, in Hotaru's film, there is also a scene where Kanayama asks Tomiko, Yamaoka, and Fujie to listen to Arirang's song that he sang on the last day before he left to attack the allies.

Tomiko: I am sorry for all this time, okay? Ah, drink a lot.

Kanayama : Mom.

Tomiko: Yes?

Kanayama: This is my last request. Would you like to hear a song?

Tomiko : Please sing.

Kanayama: Yamaoka!

Yamaoka : Ready!

Kanayama : Fujieda!

Fujieda : Ready!

Kanayama: Would you like to hear my song too?

Yamaoka : Yes sir!

Fujieda : Yes sir!

Kanayama: This is a song from my country.

Tomiko is a restaurant owner who has been considered like his mother by Kanayama. He said goodbye because the next day, Kanayama would go to the battlefield, and as a last request, he wanted to sing a song from his home country, Korea, in front of Tomiko and other Japanese soldiers. This wish was fulfilled by these Japanese figures, which represented the Japanese as people who respect the nation and culture of other countries, namely Korea.

2) Japanese people are represented as people who are compassionate and appreciate human values

Data 4

In the film *For Those We Love*, and *Hotaru*, the restaurant owner Tomiya is considered a biological mother by Kanayama. Because while in Chiran, a location far from his homeland, Kanayama needs a parent figure near him, which he finds in the character Tome in the film *For Those We Love* or the character Tomiko in

the film *Hotaru*. Both Tomiko and Tome are represented as compassionate and highly appreciative of human values. This character has never had a problem with the conflict between Japan and Korea. The characters Tomiko and Tome only see Kanayama as a human in general who needs attention and affection. Likewise, her concern for other soldiers is only based on the impulse of conscience as a human being who is very worried about the safety of the souls of state servants who are still in their teens.



Figure 4 Kanayama thanks to Tome

(<https://dramacool.ai/for-those-we-love-episode-1.html>)

Kanayama expressed his gratitude to Tome,

Kanayama : "I have never met someone as good as aunt in Japan. Every time I come here, I always forget that I am a Korean citizen. Thank you so much for being kind to me, just like my real parents."

From his words, it is clear how Tome, as a Japanese person treats Kanayama, who is a *zainichi*. Tome treats Kanayama like a parent treats her child. Kanayama's expression, which shows that he often forgets that he is a *zainichi*, indicates that there are still Japanese people like Tome who love and respect him as a human being regardless of his country.

Data 5

Data showing Japanese people as compassionate people are also found in the film *For Those We Love*, namely when Kanayama said goodbye to Tome by giving her a photo before leaving for the battlefield.

Kanayama : I want to give this photo to mom. After I die, no one will likely look for this.

Tome : All right.

Kanayama : All my relatives do not allow me to participate in this. "Koreans don't need to do this," they said. I wanted to show myself in a soldier's academy uniform because mom had gone to great lengths to save up for me to go to high school so others would not fool me.

Kanayama gave the photo as a memory of when he had become a soldier as hoped by Tome, who had been willing to pay for his education up to high school so that he would not be considered stupid by the Japanese. *Zainichi* receives discriminatory treatment from Japanese people until now, including at school (Goto, 2021). Here it can conclude that Tome is a Japanese person who loves and respects human values.

3) Japanese people are represented as considerate people.

In these two *Zainichi* films, the depiction of Japanese people as people who have high tolerance can be seen from the relationships between characters, both in their relationships with teammates and in interpersonal relationships. Here are the data.

Data 6

In the films *Hotaru* and *For Those We Love*, the tolerance of Japanese people is represented by the characters of Tomiya's restaurant owners, namely Tomiko and Tome. For Kanayama, who does not have a family in Japan, the presence of the owner of Tomiya can fill the void. In *Hotaru*, this is shown when Tomiko tells about her past when she met Kanayama to her grandson and Yamaoka. Tomiko said that she got the mandate to keep objects in the form of a protective amulet, a memento from Kanayama's mother. With great tolerance, Tomiko accepted Kanayama's favorite item. When Tomiko finally got the news about Kanayama's death, Tomiko was determined to one day convey the will

to Kanayama's family in Korea. However, with Tomiko's current old condition, going to Korea is a difficult thing to do. Therefore, he asked Yamaoka to go to Korea and convey Kanayama's final message to his family.



Figure 5 Tomiko talked about Kanayama



Figure 6 Kanayama's belonging is given to Tomiko

(<https://dramacool.ai/drama-detail/hotaru-the-firefly>)

Tomiko : I was planning to cross to Korea and Taiwan. But it seems impossible. For this person, I want to return the item.

Grandson : We just found out that Kanayama Shoi's family lives in Busan

Tomiko : On his last night, Kanayama gave me this and said, "Please just treat this as your own"

As Kanayama's teammate, Yamaoka also has his memories with Kanayama. Like Tomiko, Yamaoka also has a high tolerance. Yamaoka's loyalty of friends towards Kanayama and his respect for Tomiko, whom he also considers like his mother, makes Yamaoka finally accept Tomiko's wish to go to Busan, Korea, to visit Kanayama's family. Especially after

getting news that there are cremated bones of special forces members who cannot enter Korea. This condition is as the following conversation between Tomiko and her granddaughter.

Granddaughter : Just recently, a cremated bone of a special soldier who wanted to be returned to his family was not allowed to enter Korea because they used to be special forces.

Tomiko : There's no other choice but to ask you for help. Not even Kanayama's bones were cremated.

Data 7

In *Hotaru*, Yamaoka also shows tolerance for Kanayama. In the last meeting between Yamaoka, Fujieda, and Kanayama before being killed on the battlefield, he told Tomoko, his wife, Kanayama's former lover. Yamaoka finally conveyed to Kanayama's last words that he couldn't relate to Tomoko at that time



Figure 7 Yamaoka and Fujieda asked about the message Kanayama to his fiancé

(<https://dramacool.ai/drama-detail/hotaru-the-firefly>)

Yamaoka : We are very happy to be with you on the last day.

Fujieda : We will catch up with you in a minute!

Kanayama : ...I have a fiancé. She is Japanese, and she still loves me even though she knows I am Korean.

Fujieda : Didn't you write her a letter?

Kanayama : Should I write down my true feelings?

Yamaoka : There must be something you want to tell your fiancé.

Kanayama : I will not do anything for her. That way, this can be a sign that she forgot me or not.

Yamaoka : Isn't that just a wrong conclusion from you?

Fujieda : We will pass it on to you!

Kanayama : Soon, you will receive a call too. How could a kamikaze soldier leave a message to a kamikaze soldier too?

The scene in *Hotaru* above is the last day before Yamaoka and Fujieda part ways forever with Kanayama. Empathizing with the relationship between Kanayama and Tomoko makes Yamaoka and Fujieda want to help Kanayama convey his last message to his fiancé, Tomoko. Yamaoka and Fujieda wanted to give Kanayama's feelings towards Tomoko. Yamaoka also told Tomoko his intention to meet the Kanayama family in Korea as requested by Tomiko.

Yamaoka: "If we didn't say anything back then, there wouldn't be a Lt. Kanayama who was left behind in this world. His words and feelings at that time, I want to convey them to his family even though now only words are left,"

Yamaoka said when he expressed his intentions to Korea to Tomoko, his wife. The data above showed that Yamaoka and Tomoko have high solidarity and tolerance for Kanayama even though they are from different countries. However, they still try to convey Kanayama's last message to his family in Korea.

4) Japanese people are represented as loyal and committed to their friends and lovers

In the films, Japanese people are represented as loyal and always committed to maintaining love and friendship in their way. Respect for these feelings is maintained even towards their husband or wife. This condition is found in the characters Yamaoka and Tomoko in the *Hotaru* film.

Data 8

Kanayama, a soldier from Korea who joined the Kamikaze special assault squad, is Tomoko's former fiancé and Yamaoka's best friend.

After Kanayama dies in the attack, Tomoko then marries Yamaoka, the only surviving special forces member. Even though they have become husband and wife, they both realize that their memories of Kanayama will live on. Tomoko, who still loves Kanayama until his old age, does not necessarily make Yamaoka jealous. Yamaoka has realized and respects Tomoko's feelings. Because Yamaoka himself also has a bitter taste, he lost many of his comrades in arms, including Kanayama.

When Tomiko, Tomiya's owner, asks Yamaoka to go to Busan, Korea, to meet the Kanayama family, Tomoko begs Yamaoka to take him along. Yamaoka, who initially did not want to tell Tomoko about his departure to Korea because he considered Tomoko's health was not good, finally granted Tomoko's request. Tomoko wants to come because she also intends to convey her feelings to the Kanayama family.

From the story of Yamaoka and Tomoko, this film wants to show that Japanese people are loyal and committed to their friends and lovers.

5) Japanese people are represented as trustworthy

In this *Zainichi* film, Japanese people are also represented as trustworthy people who always hold on to that belief until they convey the truth to others. These matters can be seen in the *Hotaru* film, as in the following data.

Data 9

The trust that Kanayama gave to Tomiko, the owner of Tomiya's restaurant, to keep Kanayama's memories of his mother made Tomiko want to convey the memorial in the form of a protective talisman to Kanayama's mother in Korea.

In the morning before the day of the attack, Lt. Kanayama is at the Tomiya Inn. He looked like he was waiting for someone to say goodbye to him. But nothing came to him" was the memory that

Tomiko remembered at that time, which then gave rise to Tomiko's determination to meet the Kanayama family. The trust that Kanayama gave to Tomiko, the owner of Tomiya's restaurant, to keep Kanayama's memories of his mother made Tomiko want to convey the memorial in the form of a protective amulet to Kanayama's mother in Korea. However, due to Tomiko's aging condition, Yamaoka asked Yamaoka to pass the message on to the Kanayama family.



Figure 8 Yamaoka tells Kanayama's condition on the last day before the attack on Mrs. Kanayama in Korea

(<https://dramacool.ai/drama-detail/hotaru-the-firefly>)

Yamaoka at first hesitates to accept the belief because Tomoko, his wife, is sick. However, when Tomoko heard the plan, Yamaoka came straight. To Yamaoka's surprise, Tomoko wants Yamaoka to take him to Korea to meet the Kanayama family. Even though she was sick, Tomoko still insisted on leaving because she wanted to introduce herself and convey her feelings about Kanayama, who had become her fiancée to his family. Despite knowing the risks, they would face in Korea in the future, the two of them finally set out and, with the help of an

interpreter who was willing to help both of them, finally managed to meet Kanayama. When they arrived in Busan, the Kanayama family shouted and scolded them. They considered them representatives of the Japanese state who did not know ethics for not informing their family about Kanayama's death, even though Kanayama had sacrificed his life for the sake of the Japanese empire. Some family members even assume that Kanayama is still alive and are not happy with Yamaoka's news.

Yamaoka and Tomoko just silently accepted the humiliation of the Kanayama family. However, with firmness and humility, Yamaoka apologized and conveyed Kanayama's memories in the form of the Arirang song that Yamaoka sung in front of the Kanayama family, which touched the mother and other family members and began to accept Yamaoka and Tomoko's presence and wanted to share memories and sorrows.

From this scene, it can be said that this film wants to describe how the Japanese maintain the trust given to them and, with their determination and sincerity, can move the hearts of others, which in this case are Korean people whom the Japanese government hurts. Insults that are not reciprocated in the same way, but showing the generosity of accepting every fault has paved the way for peace for both families and regard Yamaoka and Tomoko as ordinary people regardless of their identity as Japanese.

Following Hall's statement, which divides the process of receiving and interpreting meaning by society into three positions (Patria, 2020), in these two Zainichi films, we can assume the director positions himself as a Japanese person who opposes the narrative that Japanese people have discriminatory, rude, arrogant, and condescending characters towards zainichi as can be found in many zainichi-themed literary works. The resistance is manifested in the creation of positive and humanist

Japanese characters, as in the findings above.

4. Conclusion

The representation of Japanese people through the main characters in the two films focuses more on positive or humanist Japanese characters, namely 1) people who respect other nations; 2) people who are compassionate and appreciate human values; 3) people who are considerate; 4) trustworthy people; 5) people who are loyal and committed to their friends and lovers. As mentioned above, representation is how the media describes an object phenomenon. Representations are not formed after a phenomenon occurs but representations that give meaning to the phenomenon. The *zainichi* film, directed by a Japanese person, does not highlight the narrative about the *zainichi*'s struggle for Japanese domination but rather emphasizes the Japanese side of humanism towards *zainichi*. It can be seen that there is a social construction that is reflected in the *zainichi* film, namely through the representation of positive Japanese characters. The director gives a propaganda message to match the narratives that always appear in *zainichi*-themed literary works. The Japanese used the representation to restore the Japanese image in the eyes of *zainichi* or other nations, considering what happened in the past between Korea and Japan.

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