



**Zainichi: How Violence and Naming Determine A
Consciousness**

William James Osborn

**Faculty Advisor: Leo Ching
Department of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies**

March 2015

This project was submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Graduate Liberal Studies in the Graduate School of Duke University.

Copyright By:

William James Osborn

2015

Abstract: The purpose of this research paper is to identify how the post-colonial Koreans (also known as *zainichi*) who remained in Japan after World War II form their identity. The challenge within this question lies in the fact that these *zainichi* are not citizens of Japan or Korea. Rather they are in a perpetual state of limbo, having both Japanese and Koreans forcing their ideals and beliefs on them. This lack of nationality creates overwhelming challenges and pressure for the *zainichi* to figure out who they are without others telling them who they should be.

In order to analyze this central question of *zainichi* identity formation I have chosen to analyze two popular films about *zainichi* identity made over 30 years apart. The films in question are Nagisa Oshima's 1968 film *Death by Hanging* and Isao Yukisada's 2001 film *GO*. Within these films I will analyze two separate themes that are crucial to the identity formation of the *zainichi*, Violence and Naming. After reviewing the data my conclusion is that the *zainichi* do not form their own identity. Rather it is the Japanese and their outdated nationalistic beliefs that form the identity of the *zainichi*. Until the Japanese are able rid themselves of their old Imperial Japanese identity, the *zainichi* will be unable to form their own.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE: THE HISTORY OF THE ZAINICHI	6
CHAPTER TWO: PORTRAYAL OF VIOLENCE WITHIN <i>DEATH BY HANGING</i>	13
CHAPTER THREE: PORTRAYAL OF VIOLENCE WITHIN <i>GO</i>.....	21
CHAPTER FOUR: PORTRAYAL OF NAMING WITHIN <i>DEATH BY HANGING</i>	35
CHAPTER FIVE: PORTRAYAL NAMING WITHIN <i>GO</i>	43
CONCLUSION	50
WORKS CITED.....	55

Introduction

Chung Hyang Gyun's news conference was a sight seldom seen in Japan, the raw anger written across her face, the fury in her voice and words, the palpable feeling that these last words would somehow redeem the futility of her actions. After a decade-long battle, the Supreme Court had ruled recently that Chung, the daughter of a Japanese woman and a South Korean man, who was born in Japan and has lived all her life here, could not take the test to become a supervisor at a public health center because she was a foreigner. "I have no tears to shed," said Chung, a 55-year-old nurse. "I can only laugh."¹

This quote from the New York Times documents a continuing problem of racial prejudice in modern-day Japan. The prejudice is not limited to, but perhaps most clearly illustrated in the treatment of individuals of Korean descent born and raised in Japan. Chung Hyang Gyun is such an individual. Her treatment today is better than she could have expected in the past, but still unacceptable by today's modern standards concerning race, ethnicity and citizenship. The discrimination and injustices endured by the Koreans who live in Japan, also known as "zainichi", can be traced back to the early 20th century following Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910.

The naming of ethnic Koreans with the epithet *zainichi* (which translates to "residing in Japan") has affected every aspect of their lives. Many of them were saddled with this unpalatable identity before they were born, as were their ancestors before them. Does this predetermined identity affect the *zainichi*'s behaviors, ability to succeed, and most of all, individual self-consciousness? Indeed, how does an ethnic Korean form an

¹ Onishi, Norimitsu. "Japan-born Koreans Live in Limbo." The New York Times. The New York Times, n.d. Web. 5 Dec. 2014.

individual self-sustaining identity in an environment where a strong, negative, pre-existing identity has been chosen for them? To analyze this question of identity, I have chosen to analyze two films: *Death By Hanging* (Nagisa Oshima, 1968) and *GO* (Isao Yukisada, 2001) I chose these films because of the juxtaposition between *GO* and *Death By Hanging*. They both represent the same theme of *zainichi* in two completely different scenarios.

Death By Hanging is an older film (1968), written and directed by Nagisa Oshima. The film revolves around a *zainichi* named R, who suffered amnesia after a failed execution. He is told who he is and how he came to commit his crimes by his Japanese captors. Various scenes are acted out by the Japanese in a rather darkly humorous manner, with the intention of showing R how *zainichi* act to remind him who he is. However, these scenes acted out are inherently racist against Koreans and illustrate that the Japanese citizens perceive *zainichi* as drunk and violent inferior beings. R's sister, a nationalist pro-North *zainichi* also tries to remind R of who he is. She tells him tales about his old-self's pro nationalist beliefs in a unified Korea and details the plight of *zainichi*. Despite both sides reminding R who he is supposed to be, R struggles with the fact that he can just not be himself and instead is being forced to choose by others.

Isao Yukisada's 2001 film *GO*, faces the same struggle of a *zainichi* but in a much more contemporary context. The film is based off of a best selling book written by a *zainichi* named Kazuki Kaneshiro. The protagonist of *GO* is Sugihara, a third-generation Pro-North Korean *zainichi* in his last year of high school. After deciding to leave his North Korean school where he was involved in petty crime with his fellow *zainichi*, Sugihara decides to attend Japanese school for his senior year. He ends up falling in love

with a Japanese girl from the school named Sakurai. Sugihara's life up until the met her had been characterized by fights and discrimination owing to his own Korean ethnicity. The unlikely couple goes on several dates and end up spending lots of time together, including dinner with Sakurai's Japanese family. However Sugihara cannot bring himself to tell her that he is a *zainichi* Korean.

When the one person whom Sugihara truly respects, his best friend and a fellow *zainichi* Korean named Jeong-II, is stabbed to death at a train station for defending a *zainichi* girl, Sugihara opens up to Sakurai about his background. Her attitude toward him undergoes a complete about-face. She is appalled that she had fallen in love with a *zainichi* as her family had told her how they were inferior and had "dirty blood." This was very demoralizing for Sugihara and ended up causing him to take out his anger on his father. He vows to himself to create a world where citizenship and ethnicity do not matter. Six months later, on Christmas Eve, Sugihara receives a phone call from Sakurai; she apologizes and says she has gotten rid of her prejudice and will love him regardless of his background.

Despite these two films being released over 30 years apart, I hope to find similar themes and trends on the identity formation of these resident Koreans. I believe that the naming of *zainichi* has a sense of continuity that remains relatively unchanged to this day. This sense of continuity is not only perpetuated by the Japanese, but also by the beliefs and practices of other *zainichi*, who force their nationalistic beliefs on their loved ones. To support my thesis, I am going to use two themes of analysis to better understand how the act of naming determines the *zainichi*'s conscious. The first theme is "violence"

and the second is “naming.” I plan to explore these themes within the two films to find similarities or differences on the formation of *zainichi* identity across time and space.

While it may sound like violence and naming are rather unambiguous concepts within a film, this is not the case. Both violence and naming are uniquely tied to the identity formation of the *zainichi*. Violence in this context is not limited to physical violence, but also to perceptions of violence. It is not only the violence acted upon them that I am interested in, but also the assumptions of the *zainichi*'s inherent violent nature that justify the crass and inferior characteristics of the Koreans, especially the men. These assumptions of them could range from sexual violence, to physical violence and on to domestic violence. These themes are seen clearly throughout both films.

Naming almost goes directly hand in hand with violence. It is with these assumptions of violence that we can see where the naming of *zainichi* stems from and it is with the history of the *zainichi* that we can see how their naming came to be. When looking at naming within these two films, we hear names like “dirty blood” and “old inferior Korean race” being aimed at the *zainichi* by Japanese. We also see names like “nationalist” and “traitor to the race” being aimed at *zainichi* by their fellow Koreans. It is with these names given by those around them that the *zainichi* form their identity. Not on their own, but rather at the behest of others.

The *zainichi* identity continues to shape Korean lives in Japan. Many *zainichi* have taken Japanese names to better fit in and get better opportunities. Many *zainichi* are rejected by their own Korean family for wanting to be a part of the Japanese culture they grew up in. A culture they are not allowed to be part of, as the Japanese deny them citizenship despite being born and raised in Japan. They also have no real Korean culture

either, as they were not born and raised in Korea. These *zainichi* are just that, *zainichi*. They are temporary residents forced to go out on their own and find a permanent identity. As these two films show, despite being made 30 years apart, that the *zainichi* struggle for identity hasn't gotten any easier.

Chapter One: The History of the Zainichi

The history of the *zainichi* leading up to the end of the Second World War was almost always associated with some form of violence, especially from their former Japanese overlords. Examples of this violence started as soon as the Japan-Korea Annexation treaty came to fruition in 1910. Various failed Korean uprisings and movements led to the beating, arresting and mistreatment of the *chosenjin*; a name given to the ethnic Koreans who lived under thirty-five years of Japanese colonial rule.

Between 1910 and 1932, the ratio of Japanese land ownership in Korea increased from 36.8 to 39.8 to 52.7%. Conversely, the ratio of Korean ownership decreased from 63.2 to 60.2 to 47.3%. The level of tenancy was similar to that of farmers in Japan itself; however, in Korea, the landowners were mostly Japanese, while the tenants were all Koreans. As was often the case in Japan itself, tenants were forced to pay over half their crop as rent.²

This loss of land and job opportunities forced many farmers out of their native Korea in search of employment opportunities elsewhere. The majority of the displaced Korean workers ended up moving to Japan to take menial jobs to provide for their families. However, due to heavy taxes by the Japanese, many Korean wives and daughters were forced to work in factories or prostitution so that the family could afford a living wage.

This shift in employment and land control as well as heavy Japanese taxation, led to the March 1st movement in 1919, which sought to achieve equal opportunity and the

² Nozaki, Yoshiko, Inokuchi Hiromitsu, and Kim Tae-young. *Legal Categories, Demographic Change and Japan's Korean Residents in the Long Twentieth Century*. N.p.: n.p., n.d. Print.

return of Korean lands. This movement, which had over 2,000,000 Koreans participating, lasted over a year before the Japanese military intervened. During this 12-month protest about 7,000 Koreans were killed and 16,000 were wounded. Approximately 46,000 *chosenjin* were arrested with 10,000 convictions. 715 houses, 47 churches and 2 Korean schools were burnt to the ground.³ This gross, violent over reaction was a result of a non-violent *chosenjin* protest in which they sought independence from the Japanese who had taken their country from them.

However it was not just the government and police that committed acts of violence against the *chosenjin* in the colony, it was also the Japanese citizens in the metropole. This citizen violence was seen for decade's prior, but culminated following the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923 in Japan. Following this earthquake, over six thousand Koreans living in Tokyo were killed by Japanese citizens. Mai Denawa of Brown University has this to say concerning citizen violence:

“[The] prejudice and hostility the Japanese populace had toward Koreans, especially since Japan's colonization of Korea in 1910, could only explain such extreme measures taken during the massacre though the Japanese government did not want to admit it. In order to guard against "possible attack," local vigilante groups, *jikeidan*, with the support of the government, police, and [the] military stationed themselves in neighborhoods and refugee camps, killing "lawless Koreans" on the spot with Japanese swords and bamboo poles. The frenzy subsided September 4, when the police distributed 30,000 leaflets that told vigilante groups that due to "vigorous vigilance" there was no

³ "March First Movement | Korean History." Encyclopedia Britannica Online. Encyclopedia Britannica, n.d. Web. 15 Feb. 2015. <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/364173/March-First-Movement>>.

longer any need to "oppress them (the Koreans) unlawfully or to inflict any violence upon them." Only two days earlier, however, the same police headed by Goto Fumio, Chief of the Bureau of Police affairs, sent a note to every Prefectural governor to "take firm measures in dealing with the activities of Koreans." Thus the police indirectly allowed vigilante groups to kill the Koreans giving *jikeidan* groups the justification that they were protecting the rest of the community."⁴

Japanese vigilante groups sought to hunt down and murder innocent *chosenjin* who, through the spread of rumors, were thought to be responsible for theft and poisoning water supplies. There was no trial for these *chosenjin*, no evidence to show that they had committed these acts. Rather they were systematically hunted down by Japanese citizens acting without any request or aid from the Japanese Government. It is estimated that these vigilante groups killed six to ten thousand Koreans; many of which weren't even Korean, rather they only looked to be.

This hatred the Japanese had against the Korean people stemmed from their Imperial Japan-mindset. From 1912-1926 Japan went through a political shift known as the Taisho Period. During this tumultuous period, Hirohito, the future emperor responsible for the radicalization of Japanese nationalism, took office as Regent of Japan in 1921. Led by Hirohito and then Emperor Koreiyo, the vicious response and callousness against the Korean people following the Earthquake, only perpetuated the Japanese citizens hate of the Koreans.

In 1937, World War Two began in Asia with the start of the Second Sino-Japanese War. In 1938, the Japanese Army opened its doors to allow Koreans to serve in

⁴ Denawa, Mai. "The Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923." The Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923. Brown University, n.d. Web. 05 Mar. 2015.

the Japanese military, a concept that didn't sit well with many Japanese, but they were desperate. Korean members of the Japanese Army initially served in anti-insurgency roles in Mainland China, but as able men became scarce, their involvement dramatically increased.

By the year 1939, the Japanese civilian labor force became deficient, as the war in China required a much larger demand for finances and manpower. Naturally then, the Japanese began recruiting Koreans to work in mainland Japan to support the war effort. As the war began to take its toll on Japan, they stopped recruiting and essentially enslaved Koreans to work for them. By 1942, Japan's National Mobilization Law was extended to include all its subjects in Korea.

At the height of the Pacific War, Korean men served Japan all across the Pacific theater. Many of them served with great honor and dedication, but were denied medals of merit or valor due to their Korean ethnicity. Things continued to look bad for the Japanese, as they faced defeat in China and by the hands of American and allied war powers. By 1944, all Korean males who were not already working in civilian support of the war were required to enlist in the Japanese Army. Between 1937 and 1945, 242,341 Koreans served in the Japanese Army and 22,182 of them were killed.

Following the official end of the Second World War 148 Koreans serving in the Japanese military were convicted of Class B and Class C war crimes, and 23 of them were sentenced to death. Many of them were guards or officers of guards of the prisoner of war camps who had committed atrocities against captured Allied personnel.⁵ After the sentencing, Korea's rule and responsibilities under the Japanese Empire came to an end.

⁵ "Korea in World War II." World War II Database. N.p., n.d. Web. 04 Mar. 2015.

Immediately following this end, there were roughly 2.4 million Koreans in Japan; the majority repatriated to their ancestral homes in the soon to be Northern and Southern half of the Korean peninsula, leaving only 650,000 in Japan by 1946.⁶ Those that remained were given the legal status of *zainichi*, or those who were “staying in Japan”.

One would think that following the end of the Japanese Empire in 1945 and subsequent de-colonialization of Korea that the Japanese abhorrence of Koreans would have faded away. After all, millions of Koreans served in support of the war effort and hundreds of thousands of them fought for Japan during the wars. Not only that, but the same great Japanese Empire that abused its Korean subjects had just collapsed into itself like a dying star following the end of the war. It should be easy enough for the Japanese people to see, at least to some degree, that their logic was flawed.

Granted, one would not expect the anti-Korean sentiment to disappear overnight. It was engrained in the minds of the embattled and defeated Japanese imperialists over the better part of fifty years. It would be foolish to think that they would immediately befriend these Koreans and treat them with equality. But it is logical to expect some form of apology following the Japanese surrender.

The Japanese apology took much longer than anyone logically would think. It took twenty years, June 22, 1965, for the Japanese minister of Foreign Affairs, Shiina Etsusaburo, to apologize (if you can call it that) to only half of the Korean People. At the signing of the Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and South Korea Etsusaburo said,

⁶ Ryang, Sonia. Koreans in Japan: Critical Voices from the Margin. London: Routledge, 2000. Print.

“In our two countries’ long history there have been unfortunate times, it is truly regrettable and we are deeply remorseful.”⁷

This obviously half-hearted apology that came so late is a clear indicator that the Japanese people, despite losing the war and their empire, still held feelings of hatred toward the Koreans. Despite all the outcomes and changes in the post-war world, the Japanese held on to these feelings and weren’t ready to let them go. Perhaps it is similar to the post-quake violence in 1923. As we saw in that instance, the Japanese took out their frustration about the earthquake and the destruction of Japan’s greatest city on the colonial Koreans. I see a similar pattern in the post-war world; the Japanese suffered a great loss and were yet again using the Korean people to vent their failures on.

I also believe that the 1965 apology was seemingly guided only toward the people of South Korea, likely at the encouragement of the American government (who were in so many words pulling the strings of the Japanese government.) The failed unification of Korea following the Korean War left North and South Korea separated; North Korea was controlled by the Soviet Union and the south by America. It is only right, then, to assume that America did not want any favors or apologies guided to the North.

This concludes my summary of the Korean history in Japan. As we can see, the Korean involvement in Japan is riddled with racism and violence acted upon them by their Japanese overlords. Given the apology in 1965 and the film *Death By Hanging*’s release 3 years later, how much of this violence and naming still exists? Have the

⁷ Oda, Shigeru. "The Normalization of Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea." *The American Journal of International Law* (1967): n. pag. Web.

Japanese changed their ways and beliefs on the matters of the Koreans remaining in Japan, who are now called *zainichi*? These questions are key to analyzing how the *zainichi* form their identity. Knowing how the Japanese view the *zainichi* allows us the ability to see how Korean identity within Japan is formed.

Chapter Two: Portrayal of Violence Within *Death By Hanging*

The first theme I will be analyzing is violence within Nagisa Oshima's 1968 film *Death By Hanging*. I chose to analyze this film first due to its release date in the late 1960's, as it will show how violence and naming has changed in a little over 20 years since the end of Imperial Japan and its colonial mindset. But before we explore these themes and consider the question of violence within *Death By Hanging*, I feel it is important to understand the man behind the camera as well as a plot summary of the film.

Nagisa Oshima was a director known for pushing the envelope on social, political and cultural issues. Born in Kyoto in 1932, Oshima lived through much of Japan's most trying times. He attended Kyoto University where he studied Political History. He was a student leader at his university and was involved in many left-wing activities prior to graduating in 1954.⁸ Choosing not to pursue the field of politics, Oshima began directing films in 1958, as he got bored of the traditional Japanese filmmaking. He sought to reject the classical themes of the traditional hero or of good and evil. Instead he focused his film making on the tales of outcasts, gangsters, murderers, rapists, sexual deviants, and the politically marginalized.⁹

It is understandable, then, why Oshima would direct a film such as *Death By Hanging*. His focus on the undesirables in Japanese culture would naturally lead him to the concept of *zainichi*, a long repressed and looked-down-upon people. Oshima created

⁸ Bergen, Ronald (January 15, 2013). "Oshima Nagisa obituary". London: The Guardian.

⁹ "Oshima Nagisa." RSS. The Criterion Collection, n.d. Web. 22 Jan. 2015. <<http://www.criterion.com/explore/83-nagisa-oshima>>.

several other films such as *Violence at Noon* (1966) *In the Realm of the Senses* (1976)” and his final film *Taboo* (1999), all of which address similar themes of controversial subjects in post-war Japan. Ronald Domenig, an author for *the Japan Society* wrote the following on Oshima’s earlier filmmaking:

“The *zainichi*-problem (the issue of the Korean minority in Japan) features prominently in Oshima’s films of that period. The TV documentary *Wasurerareta kôgun* (The Forgotten Army, 1963) is about Korean war invalids who were forced to fight for imperial Japan during the war but are denied benefits after the war since they are not Japanese citizens; the TV-documentary *Seishun no ki* (A monument to Youth, 1964) about the Korean student radical Park Ok He; *Yunbogi no nikki* (Yunbogi’s Diary, 1965), a montage of photos of orphaned street children in Seoul that Oshima took while shooting *Seishun no ki*; *Nihon shunka-kô* (A Treatise on Japanese Bawdy Songs, 1967) which mocks the origins of Japan as divine nation and maintains the Korean descent of the imperial family; and the black comedy *Kaette kita yopparai* (Three Resurrected Drunkards, 1968) in which a Korean deserter from Vietnam pretends to be a Japanese.”¹⁰

Death By Hangings release date of 1968 puts it right at the peak of Oshima’s ‘career. In this film, a man named R is to be executed for the murder and rape of two Japanese women. Oshima based this character on an actual young *zainichi* named Ri Chin’u who was found guilty of the same crime, a double murder of two young Japanese girls.¹¹ Oshima’s interest in Ri Chin’u’ was the first example of a *zainichi* in his films. This was also one of the first films in Japanese cinema to bring the racial stereotyping of the *zainichi* into the public view.

¹⁰ Domenig, Ronald. "Death By Hanging." *Japan Society* (n.d.): n. pag. Web.

¹¹ Domenig, Ronald. "Death By Hanging." *Japan Society* (n.d.): n. pag. Web.

Oshima's interest in and subsequent sympathy for the *zainichi* echo throughout much of his portfolio following *Death By Hanging*. Of particular interest to me, however, is his blatant rejection of Japanese sense of superiority and prejudicial practices. One would think being born, raised and educated in Japan would give Nagisa a pro-nationalism outlook similar to that held by the majority of his peers. However, this is not the case. His open-minded and out-of-the-box filmmaking provide a much larger purpose: to expose the masses to the issues of *zainichi* and to create discussion.

Like all of his movies, *Death By Hanging* presents radical ideas teetering on the edge of heresy among the Japanese people. It is these radical ideas, and the risks involved, that make Oshima's work so brilliant. I will begin my analysis on the violence portrayed in *Death By Hanging* by analyzing the representations of violence in the film. I argue that the *zainichi* identity is not a thing in itself, but is instead a construction by the Japanese. This construction is intended to denote inferiority, savagery and crassness among the *zainichi*.

The film begins by addressing the audience with the following question "do you support or oppose the abolition of the death penalty?" prompting statistics from a 1942 poll of Japanese adults. "71% opposed the abolition... 16% supported it... and 13% were undecided." Although I was unable to locate the sources to support this data, I will assume it was approximately accurate. Oshima then asks the 71% who opposed the abolition if they had ever seen an execution or know anyone who has been executed. It is here we see that right away this isn't a traditional film. It is directed at the audience. You are to feel like you are a part of it, like at a theater. It is interesting to note that this film was written by a Japanese citizen (Oshima) and intended primarily for the Japanese

audience. Oshima wrote the film in such a way that the Japanese population, those that are in the “audience” or watching at home, are meant to consider their own beliefs on the matters within the film.

Following this statistic we are shown that the *zainichi* prisoner to be executed is a man named R. As stated earlier he was sentenced to *Death By Hanging* for the rape and murder of two Japanese women. He is brought to the execution chamber, noose placed around his neck and hung. When the doctor comes in to confirm his death, he is surprised to see that R is still alive. Despite being alive, however, R does not remember who he is. His amnesia was brought on by the lack of oxygen during the failed hanging. The Japanese police, doctor and priest present at his execution spend the majority of the film reminding him who he is and what he did.

At first, the Japanese officials try to remind him of his crime by having him place his hands on the police chief’s neck, showing him how he strangled the girls. This effort proves fruitless. The second attempt is to remind him how he raped the girls after he strangled them. This is comically portrayed by the Japanese officials, awkwardly recreated a rape scene for him. This also proves fruitless. They give up on his crimes and next try to remind him who he is by acting a show as if they were his family.

When the officials recreate the scene of the parents, they set the scene by acting out that his Korean family environment is bad, with constant fighting. His father is portrayed as a drunk and his mother a deaf mute. In the scene, the man playing R approaches the father and accuses him of wasting money on alcohol. The father violently gets up and backs him into a corner shouting, “kids no talk like that to father!” then accuses R of stealing some items earlier that evening.

Just in this first scene acted by the officials, we begin to see what the Japanese think the nuclear *zainichi* family is like. While the scene does have a sense of absurdity and dark humor, it is clear that the Japanese think the *zainichi* family to be a chaotic mess of drunken thieves who take any opportunity to confront each other for various misdeeds.

This theme of violence is showed again in the following scene where R (who is actually being played by R this time) goes to his parents' home to see that they had eaten all the food, not leaving any for him. He is instructed by one of the officers to go in and "get angry" at his family. R, unsure how to act angry, hesitates. To demonstrate, the Japanese officials take the role of his brother, who drunkenly comes in and violently flips a table in search of food. R is encouraged to get angry and yell at his brother but R does not. The actors then show a scene with R's father and brother continuously fighting on the ground over money and food. This theme of a violent *zainichi* family is clearly shown throughout the film, though R does not understand why.

R is instructed by an officer to yell, "Stop fighting" at his family. When he does not say it loud enough the officials encourage him to yell louder and then also get involved in the fight. He is portrayed as the only decent member of the family, while the rest spend the rest of the scene drunkenly fighting and yelling at each other over trivial matters. R, not acting, softly says that we must stop fighting so we can take care of the younger siblings. A rational answer to say the least, but the Japanese officials won't have it. They disregard his rationale and force him to yell and act violently. Due to R not acting violently enough, the officials abandon the family scene.

This type of domestic violence is a common stereotype about *zainichi* in Japan. They are viewed to be so backwards that their families cannot function as a unit, which is

a very important factor within Japanese families. Without any firsthand knowledge of R's family or their actual level of violence, the prison officials try to force him and the other actors to be as violent and belligerent as possible. It is clear that the Japanese staging this scene still carry the anti-Korean sentiment that was seen during the years leading up to World War II.

What is important to me in this scene is why the Japanese officials are recreating it. They are recreating it to remind R of his identity. It is interesting to me that the first thing they do to show R who he is, is to show him physically and verbally fighting within a dysfunctional and drunken family. They think that this concept of domestic violence is paramount in the formation of R's identity. They pay little to no mind about his successes as a student, his intelligence, his hobbies or his love for his sisters and friends. Rather, they reduce his *zainichi* identity to violence, poverty and alcoholism.

The next theme of violence portrayed is his sexual violence. They recreate the scene leading up to the raping of those two women by showing him to be a violent and demented sexual predator. They do this with no evidence or knowledge about his mental state leading up to the rape and murders; rather it is completely predicated on their preconceived notions of the *zainichi*. They begin describing to him how he felt preying on women. They have him follow a girl on the street saying things like "you want to talk to them but you can't do it. You have no self-confidence! You don't know any women, certainly not nice women!"

They then recreate the scene where he raped and murdered a woman on the roof of a building. They show him committing the act with no sense of guilt or remorse, rather as a desperate fiend trying to get his daily fix of murder and rape. It should be said that I

obviously don't condone rape or violence in any capacity, but to assume that R took pleasure in the act and acted callously is without merit. They assume he is inherently violent because of his *zainichi* heritage. It is fair to say that they then assume this of all *zainichi*, even ones not charged with murder.

While R did commit the horrible acts of rape and murder, the Japanese assumption that all Koreans think this way, or are capable of such things, is obscenely racist. Given the importance of the Japanese assumption of *zainichi*, it must be made clear that their assumptions are inaccurate, as they are clearly biased in their stereotypes of *zainichi*. With this information made clear, we can then ascertain that the Japanese must not be as violent as the *zainichi*, as this violence is their selling point when reminding R who he is. To better understand the Japanese perspective I will turn to a later scene in which the Japanese officials are no longer playing R's family, rather they are talking amongst themselves as friends and colleagues.

In this scene all the Japanese officers are getting drunk, due to frustration that they are still unable to remind R who he is. One young officer asks the police chief about his thoughts on capital punishment, regarding its ethical and legal standings. The chief reacts almost as if the young officer asked him if he was a murderer. The rest of the officers join in and discuss amongst themselves the people that they have killed. One statement among them stood out to me the most. One officer says, "Koreans were the only foreigners I ever killed!" Implying not only did he view Koreans as foreigners (despite them being born and raised in Japan) but also showing a level of disregard for the life of Koreans. Here we begin to see Oshima turning the notion of violence back on the Japanese.

The officers go on to talk about their acts of violence during the war, many of which are as horrid as the ones R committed. However they justify their violence as a matter of war. They feel that they were within ethical bounds (despite the well-documented Japanese war crimes that came to light after the war.) Another officer discusses how after an execution he needs to have sex with a woman, as it's the only release he has. It is clear that these Japanese officials find excuses or justifications as to why they do terrible acts, yet do not give R the opportunity to justify himself.

Within the context of conversation between the officials we see how Oshima turned the notion of violence back on the Japanese. Oshima sought to bring the violence committed by the Japanese (both domestically and within Korea) to light. He did so in a way that not only illustrates the Japanese's lack of remorse or acknowledgement for wrongs they've committed against other ethnicities, but also shows how those wrongs are comparable to what R did. I wonder then, what would they say to R if he weren't a *zainichi*? What if he was Japanese, Would he still be written off in such a way? I feel that given the evidence, the perception of R, in the context of violence, is based on his identity as a *zainichi*, not on R as a person.

Chapter Three: Portrayal of Violence Within *GO*

Analyzing the theme of violence within *GO* is a much easier task than it is in *Death By Hanging*. This is due to the fact that *GO* is a much more “Hollywood” and big budget type film. The violence in the film is obvious, with violent fight scenes, loud noises, blood and a score to supplement the intensity of the scenes. The movie was based off a best selling book by the same name. *GO* was written by Kazuki Kaneshiro; a *zainichi* who grew up in Japan. Kaneshiro graduated with a law degree from Keio University, but chose to be author books instead. His success as a writer was shown almost instantly. In 1998 he won the *Shōsetsu Gendai Prize for New Writers* for *Revoryūshon No. 3* (Revolution No. 3), his first book.

Kaneshiro then wrote two other books “*Furai, dadi, furai*” (Fly, Daddy, Fly) and *Speed* before writing *GO* in 2000. Kaneshiro won the Naoki Prize for *GO*, which was extremely popular among younger readers and was later adapted for this film. In fact, most of Kaneshiro's works have been made into films or manga, suggesting their wide appeal. Despite his wide spread success, we will be focusing on Director Isao Yukisada’s take on Kaneshiro’s book *GO* in the form of this blockbuster film.

The film opens with our protagonist Sugihara, a young *zainichi* attending Japanese school. He is standing in a basketball court and surrounded by his Japanese schoolmates presumably during a physical education class. While standing in the middle of the court, he is internalizing all the names linked to his identity, a topic we will cover later on. His classmates then close in on him and beat him up simply for being a *zainichi*. He remains silent on the floor before jumping up, making a shot from the half court line

and shouts “Enough!” With his outcry, he mercilessly attacks the entire group of Japanese students who wronged him. Flabbergasted, they struggle to defend themselves as they are completely overwhelmed by the superior physical prowess of Sugihara. He knows how to fight very well. He has clearly been trained, but by experience or a teacher we do not know yet.

It is clear in this scene that the Japanese, not the *zainichi* Sugihara, were the aggressors. They are the ones who surrounded him and beat him up; then while he was down, all threw basketballs at him yelling “*zainichi!*” Notable here is that he simply defended himself. His internalized anger about his identity manifested itself in such a way that it almost empowered him in self-defense. Perhaps his attackers thought that their strength in numbers kept them safe. Perhaps they did not think a *zainichi* was capable, or rather, willing to take on Japanese students. Either way, they were wrong and paid the price.

The next scene shows Sugihara three years earlier, standing next to a subway track in Japan. He is approached by his friend who says, “Don’t be a chicken” then walks away smiling. That same friend, Tawake, is approached by another who says “how many have made it?” To which Tawake responds “one who made it 10 years ago died on a Yakuza job. I’m the only survivor.” It is clear that this is a group of tough kids, who do not value Sugihara’s life (or theirs for that matter.) Tawake then says “It is called The Great Chicken Race.” As the train approaches, Sugihara jumps on the tracks. Closing in on him, Tawake says “run!” and Sugihara takes off running, down the tunnel, attempting to outrun the train.

As Sugihara runs down the track, Japanese officials chase down his friends who they saw setting him up for this game of chicken. He and his friends escape the subway and violently steal a motorist's scooter. They try to outrun the police, but are caught and taken to the police station. Sugihara waits in a holding cell with a police officer for his parents to arrive. Instantly upon arriving, Sugihara's father starts to beat him senseless in front of his mother and the officers.

In the subway scene, we saw just how raw Sugihara's life was. Part of a group of thugs, he and his friends played games that risked their lives for fun. In one scene alone, they tackled police officers, knocked out a pedestrian, stole his moped and tried to outrun police. All for no apparent reason other than boredom or some type of unusual initiation right. Sugihara, and his friends who are also *zainichi*, acted just as the Japanese assumed all *zainichi* do: as violent and petty criminals with no regard for Japanese property or safety.

It is ascertainable then that Sugihara was violent, as were his friends. Much like R in *Death by Hanging*, he was guilty of a crime acted out against the Japanese people (though a much lesser crime.) These young *zainichi* and their "devil may care" attitude allows one to assume that their quality of life is lower than many. Also clear, is that they are petty criminals with the potential to join the ranks of an organized crime syndicate like the Yakuza, as the last one to complete "The Great Chicken Race" did. The poor life choices of Sugihara and his friends are clear, and help to explain how Sugihara arrives in a cell waiting for his parents.

Sugihara waited silently in the room. He did not look uncomfortable, as if he had been here and done this before. His parents, also *zainichi*, enter the room. Without

hesitation, the father punches his son Sugihara in the face, knocking him off his chair. He continues to beat him up as Sugihara's mom watches and cries. All of this is in plain sight of the Japanese officer, who looks shocked yet does nothing to intervene. I believe that the officer looked on and did nothing, because he did not know what to do. He was Japanese, not Korean like Sugihara and his parents. The fact that the officer did nothing supports the idea that he thought that this was normal behavior for *zainichi*. He thought them so violent that he did not bother to intervene as I assume he would have had Sugihara been Japanese.

Sugihara did not resist or act surprised about his father's reaction. He clearly expected it, as it no doubt had happened to him many times before. Once he regained consciousness, we see his father and mother casually walking down the corridor of the police station. His father and mother look surprisingly casual, as his father yells back at Sugihara "Hey at least we didn't have to go to family court! Be grateful!" Possibly implying that they had gone to family court for something similar in the past.

With his father's casual words, it is clear that what ensued was a good outcome for the family. They avoided court (which presumably would have had penalties and fines involved) and Sugihara didn't serve any jail time. Notable here is that his father didn't just mindlessly punch Sugihara. Instead the father kept one hand up by his cheek, with the other free to punch and protect the other side of his face if need be. As we shall see later, the father's "violence" has greater implication for Sugihara other than physical punishment.

In the first ten minutes of the film, we can see the Japanese perspective on *zainichi*. They realize that Sugihara and his *zainichi* friends are criminals who have no

regard for the Japanese country in which they are forced to live in. Sugihara and his comrades put such a low value on their lives, that they play games that could end them. Sugihara and his *zainichi* friends have broken the law many times before, and will likely continue to do so. His father, a boxer, has no hesitation when laying out a violent punishment for his son, as he has clearly done it before. The mother plays a more passive role in the family hierarchy. She loves her son enough to weep when he is in pain, but is strict enough to let the punishment happen.

This violent family is how the Japanese in the film see *zainichi* culture. This idea is supported by what we saw in *Death By Hanging*, in which R's family was equally as violent. They see them as a violent and anarchic people and they accept that this is how the *zainichi* do things. However, little subtle cues in this scene, such as the father joking about not having to go to family court, shed some light on the idea that maybe this is how they wanted to be seen at this moment. Maybe in some cases, such as getting out of fines and citations, they use these racial stereotypes to their own benefit.

A short while later, Sugihara decides he no longer wants to attend *Chongryon* (North Korean) School and instead attend a Japanese school. An ambitious move, as Sugihara wanted to get away from all the petty crime and bad habits associated with his North Korean identity. This takes us back to the beginning scene on the basketball court in the Japanese school. After single-handedly defeating over a dozen Japanese students in a fight, he found himself regularly challenged by other Japanese students. He was undefeated in fights and had such a good reputation as a fighter, that other students placed wagers on his victory.

In regards to his fighting Sugihara quoted Malcom X saying “self defense isn’t violence, its intelligence.” Sugihara continued in his inner monologue “I hate violence, but sometimes I have no choice. I hate hitting, but I hate getting hit more.” Here we begin to see a more concise picture of who Sugihara really is. Not only is he a talented fighter and ambitious, but he also has an intellectual side as shown in his research into civil rights activist Malcom X. Important to note here is that Sugihara is having this inner conflict about his violent actions. He is actively thinking about his identity and violence, challenging it and reaffirming his beliefs. He does this all while not bending to the will of Japanese bullying, or *ijime*.

Ijime is a common occurrence in Japanese schools. Bullying and violence increased in Japanese schools, according to an annual education ministry survey, particularly for younger students. Reported cases of bullying at elementary schools rose to a record high of 118,805 in 2013, exceeding 100,000 for the second consecutive year. Student violence, meanwhile, at elementary schools exceeded 10,000 cases for the first time since the ministry started its annual survey in 1997.¹² With Japanese school violence on the rise and schools increasingly crowded, it is largely up to the students to handle interpersonal conflicts.

In the case of Sugihara, the violence acted upon him is racist in nature. Due to his identity as a *zainichi* he is singled out and threatened on a daily basis. The Japanese students continue lining up to see which one can beat him in a fight. What’s ironic about this, is Sugihara left the Korean school to get away from violence. Now that he is at a Japanese school, the violence is threefold, constantly testing his limits. The first to

¹² School Bullying on the Increase | The Japan Times." Japan Times RSS. Japan Times, 25 Oct. 2014. Web. 16 Feb. 2015.

challenge Sugihara was a boy named Kato. Kato looks to be somewhat of a rebel with his bleached blonde hair, fancy clothes and constant supply of interested Japanese girls. Another fact, unknown to Sugihara at the time, was that Kato is the only son of a Yakuza boss. Had he known this, he might not have chosen to beat him up.

In the next scene, Sugihara and Kato are sitting in front of Kato's Yakuza Boss father and his henchmen. Sugihara, looking stern yet frightened, does not make eye contact with the father. Kato gets a nose job to fix what Sugihara broke. As he shows it to his father, the henchmen say how good it looks and how his eyes look like "Brad Pitt." The boss notes the complements as sucking up to the son, and beats one of them up in front of Sugihara and Kato. The father then turns to Sugihara and says "I bet you thought I'd cut off one of your fingers" he laughs. "Well I'm not. You're okay." After this, Sugihara and Kato become friends. Notable here is that violence is what brought them together, which is similar to the case of Sugihara's friends at *Chongryon* school. Violence has been a key factor in the majority of his social life as a *zainichi*.

An interesting contrast to the *zainichi* assumption of violence seen so far is the (rightfully) assumed violence of a Yakuza boss. The boss assumes that Sugihara assumed he was going to lose a finger for what he did to his only son. The violent stigma of the Yakuza is known around the world. What is not widely known is the large presence of *zainichi* within their ranks. As we have seen, the *zainichi* are outsiders in Japan. They are unwelcomed guests, reminding Japan of their imperial past. This demographic is perfect for Yakuza recruitment.

Published in David Kaplan and Dubro's book "Yakuza: Japan's criminal underworld" we see some interesting statistics regarding *zainichi*. They state that *zainichi*

play a prominent role in Yakuza affairs. Because many are discriminated against in Japan, and are denied social and economic opportunities, they are forced into a life of organized crime. In the early 1990's, 18 of 90 top bosses of Inagawa-kai (the third largest syndicate within the Yakuza) were ethnic Koreans. The Japanese National Police Agency suggested Koreans composed 10% of the Yakuza proper and 70% of the Burakumin in the Yamaguchi-Gumi; the largest syndicate in the Yakuza.¹³

Criminal gangs such as the Yakuza are populated by outcasts. We saw earlier in the film during “The Great Chicken Race” scene, where Tawake talks about the last *zainichi* to complete the chicken race died during a Yakuza job. An outcome like this could very likely have been Sugihara’s fate had he stayed at *Chongryon* School. I understand the appeal of the Yakuza to young *zainichi*. The Yakuza offers them jobs and money, something the Japanese make it difficult to obtain. The Yakuza can also offer them protection, something *zainichi* need if they aren’t trained fighters like Sugihara and finally, the Yakuza can offer them a sense of community with other outcasts. The life would be tempting, but many *zainichi* like Sugihara, choose to resist and earn an honest living.

The next instance of violence we see is a flashback to Sugihara’s life at *Chongryon* school. During “self-criticism” time in class, Sugihara’s friend Wonsu is singled out for speaking Japanese, which was forbidden in *Chongryon* school. When the teacher, Mr. Kim, gets wind of this he hits Wonsu across the face. Mr. Kim then asks who else had spoken Japanese, to which Wonsu not only tells him Sugihara spoke Japanese, but he was also going to Japanese school. Mr. Kim screams at Sugihara “traitor

¹³ Kaplan, David E., and Alec Dubro. *Yakuza: Japan's Criminal Underworld*. Berkeley: U of California, 2003. Print.

to the race!” and tries to punch him, but Sugihara quickly dodges it causing the teacher to fall down. Enraged the teacher throws a chair at Sugihara, breaking the window behind him. Sugihara’s internal monologue then says “it was since then that I was considered a traitor to my race.”

The violence here seems to be typical from what we have seen of the *zainichi* and their physical form of punishment. Much like Sugihara’s father, Mr. Kim, without thinking, strikes Wonsu in a disciplinary fashion and tries to do the same to Sugihara. However, as we are beginning to see, this sort of violence isn’t limited to just the *zainichi*. The Japanese kids on the basketball court, the Japanese kids at school and the Japanese Yakuza boss all used violence. As a matter of fact, up to this point in the film, there hasn’t been a non-violent Japanese person. This is consistent not only with the violent nature of the Yakuza, but also the statistics shown on Japanese school violence. It is clear that Sugihara is different not only from the Japanese, but also from his fellow *zainichi*.

Much later in the film we see Sugihara’s best friend, Jeong-II standing at a populated train station. Of all the people in his life, Sugihara respects Jeong-II the most. Jeong-II is tall and skinny, sort of awkward and very intelligent. His intelligence is one of the reasons Sugihara respects him so much. They met during the scene where the *Chongryon* teacher Mr. Kim calls Sugihara “a traitor to the race.” Jeong-II defended Sugihara and was physically punished by Mr. Kim, though not as bad as Sugihara was.

As Jeong-II is waiting at the train station, a group of Japanese kids dare a friend to “pick up” a North Korean girl near the standing near Jeong-II. One of the Japanese boys tells another “if you cannot pick up a Korean girl, you are shit” the other says “I bet you

500 yen you can't get her." The third boy hands him a knife and says "just in case." The boy with the knife approaches the *zainichi* girl, clearly making her uncomfortable. She looks to others in the subway, but the Japanese bystanders look away. Jeong-II sees his fellow *zainichi* in distress and pushes the knife wielding Japanese boy away.

After getting confronted, the Japanese boy throws his briefcase at Jeong-III. Before Jeong-III can retaliate the Japanese boy stabs him in the throat. As Jeong-III lay dying in the subway, only the *zainichi* girl comes to his aid. She begs and cries for help, but all the Japanese at the subway stand by and do nothing. Jeong-II dies shortly after.

While paying his respects at Jeong-II's funeral, Sugihara is approached by one of his old *Chongryon* school friends. After being pulled aside, his friend tells him to "skip school tomorrow." Perplexed, Sugihara asks "why?" to which the student replies "it's payback time for those bastards" (referring to the Japanese boys responsible for Jeong-II's death.) Sugihara then asks "What's the point?" to which his friend says "I'm asking you. You in or not?"

Sugihara continues "Jeong-II wouldn't want that." His friend then says "Jeong-II is dead, stupid, and he left us some business to take care of. He wants you to do it the most." Sugihara gets upset and asks "What do you know of Jeong-II? You hardly knew him! You just want to get violent. You just want a sacrifice." Angered at Sugihara's lack of willingness to hunt down the Japanese boys responsible, he says "You've changed man. You've sold your soul." To which Sugihara says "If I had a soul like that, I'd sell it for 20 yen."

This mindless violence such as retaliation is not characteristic of Sugihara or all *zainichi*. That isn't to say that fighting isn't allowed. There is scene where Sugihara's

father is training him how to box, essentially explaining how Sugihara was able to fight and defeat all those Japanese students. Sugihara's father teaches him that fighting (boxing) can be a means for self-preservation. But fighting isn't simply physical, but also mental. Mental toughness is what got Sugihara through the most difficult times of his young life.

With that scene, I will end my analysis of violence in *GO*. We saw how Sugihara started, a scrapping troublemaker rolling with a bad group of friends. By this final scene we saw how much he has changed. The key word there is "he." He rejected his violent North Korean heritage by not only rejecting his old life and his *Chongryon* school, but by also refusing to take vengeance on Jeong-II's death. Something he would have been a part of had he remained with his old friends.

Not only does Sugihara reject his violent Korean identity, he also rejects the violent Japanese identity. Unlike his Japanese classmates, Sugihara never pursued violence for violence's sake. He never fought anyone who didn't fight him first. He never openly challenged any individuals, Japanese or Korean, to a fight. He never played violent pranks on another race, like the Japanese boys did in the subway where Jeong-II died. Sugihara was just himself, a non-violent kid surrounded by the mindless violence of others.

In conclusion, in regards to the theme of violence within both of the films, we see many similarities between *Death By Hanging* and *GO*. Both Sugihara and R (after R forgot who he was) were not inherently violent people; rather they were in a culture where violence was more tolerated. When R was unable to remember who he "was" he was simply a non-violent guy, curious about the world around him. He loved his family

very much. There was even a scene where as R was being walked around by the officers, he saw a cat and began to pet and purr at it ever so gently. Similarly, Sugihara was nonviolent and had a sensitive side that he shared with his loved ones. He shared many tender moments with his girlfriend, with Jeong-Il and with his family. It is clear to me that R and Sugihara were only violent when others brought violence on them.

Most interesting to me was the *zainichi* culture of domestic violence between *zainichi* siblings and parents. While over the top, the domestic violence being acted out by the Japanese officials in *Death By Hanging* wasn't far off of what we saw in *GO*. R's father was portrayed as a violent drunk, who wrestled and beat R and his brother. Which does coincide with the drunk and violent nature of Sugihara's father. And while Sugihara didn't have any siblings, it's fair to assume he would have been violent with them as well.

Despite this domestic violence, I found that the relationships between family members remain strong, despite the violent among them. R seems to be accepting of the family violence. Judging by R's immediate reaction to the violence among his family members, one might assume that they have done this before, yet remained close enough to have dinner with each other. Similarly, Sugihara and his father got in several fights, yet remained very close and had a functional relationship.

It was wrong for the Japanese officials in *Death By Hanging* to assume that this sort of domestic violence was responsible for R raping and murdering two girls. Sugihara had similar experiences and ended up just fine. It is clear to me now that the identity formation of *zainichi* is much less related to their individual acts of violence, rather the

stereotype of violence as characteristic of all *zainichi*. What carries the most weight when the *zainichi* are forming their identities is what the Japanese around them think of them.

Also similar in *Death by Hanging* and *GO* was the Japanese violence. In *Death By Hanging*, Japanese officers discussed killing foreigners in the war and raping women. Yet they clearly find ways to justify their violence to themselves. Similarly in *GO*, the Japanese were equally as violent, if not more so, than the *zainichi*. Constantly fighting Sugihara, the bullying and killing of Jeong-Il completely outweigh the contributions to violence by the *zainichi*. Seen in both films is the clear sense of Japanese exceptionalism and the hypercritical, low opinion of the *zainichi*. This mentality has not changed since the end of the war.

So how does this violence affect the identity formation of *zainichi*? It does so in literally every way possible. Firstly, it denies the *zainichi* the right to a fair chance at any social and economic gain. If the Japanese stereotype the *zainichi* as violent, they aren't going to give them jobs and no jobs means no money. No money could lead the *zainichi* to a life of crime; anything from robbery to murder, or joining the Yakuza as many *zainichi* have done. Also, limited money means limited schooling. Many *zainichi* attend Korean school or cannot afford Japanese school. If they do go to Japanese school, they might be bullied as Sugihara was, potentially forcing them to leave. Without a good education, young *zainichi* are limited in their job prospects.

Secondly, how does violence affect *zainichi* relationships? By the ostracizing the Koreans as stereotypically violent, the Japanese force them to stay within their *zainichi* community. A Japanese person is not going to want to be friends with someone they think is overly violent. Simply just being *zainichi* attracts violence as we saw with

Sugihara. Sugihara's only friend from Japanese school was a Yakuza boss' son who challenged and lost to him in a fight. It was also these acts of violence that made it impossible for Sugihara to have any other friends at Japanese school.

Chapter Four: Portrayal of Naming Within *Death By Hanging*

Within the theme of naming I intend to find trends or implications that signify the weight and negative connotation carried by those who bare the title “*zainichi*” or “Korean.”

Firstly I will analyze naming in *Death By Hanging*, jumping right into a scene with the officers and R.

The chief of police is the first one to try to tell R he is Korean. Reducing R’s identity reconstruction to the title of “Korean” implies a similar contextual idea of what a Korean is supposed to be, much like we saw in *GO*. Continuing with the scene, R, unable to understand, asks, “What is a Korean?” The officer is confused and mutters, “It is going to be hard to explain. If he was a Negro, or someone with different skin it would be easier.” Frustrated, the officer goes on to show a map and say, “R, this is Japan. See, and we’re all Japanese (pointing to the other officers), born in Japan. You were born here too, but of Korean parents and therefore you are Korean.”

This is the first instance in which Oshima makes an effort to open up the idea of what it means to be a *zainichi*. Despite looking the same, having the same colored skin and also being born here, R is not one of them. R, still not understanding, frustrates the officer further. The officer then says, “to the Japanese, you still belong to the old inferior Korean race. So you are Korean and I am Japanese. That’s that.”

As discussed earlier, the officers recreate a scene where R comes home to see his family and they were all fighting each other. In this scene we see how this naming affects the shaping of this re-enactment by the officers. When the actor playing R walks in, his father is getting drunk next to his mother. When “R” asks him “father, why are you

drinking” the “father” replies “I can’t help it. There’s nothing else to do,” which was a logical response, given how lowly the Japanese already think of the Korean people. However the officer acting as R tells him to say it “more Korean-like,” implying that the originally spoken way was too intelligent. Changing his tone to sound more like a caveman the actor playing R’s father says, “No can help drinking. Kids no talk like that to father!”

In this scene we can see how the naming, in this case “more Korean-like” implies the obvious connotation of an uneducated lesser being. This perception fits perfectly in line with the officer’s perception of *zainichi* when he says, “you still belong to the old inferior Korean race.” It is this racist mindset that structures how R is to form his identity.

Continuing the same scene, the brother comes home to find his drunken father and they start to fight by wrestling on the ground and yelling. If this wasn’t barbaric enough, one of the officers says, “You’re Korean. Do it more like a Korean. Be more Vulgar!” The actor playing the brother obliges. He simulates pulling out his penis, chasing down family members and pretending to urinate on them.

Again here we see the negative connotation attached to the name “Korean.” By reminding the officer he was playing a Korean, he says to do it more like a Korean, implying that he needed to act more vulgar. When R watches the portrayal of how his family is supposed to act, he gets upset and tries to look away. Within this scene, Oshima makes it clear the notion of Koreans being inherently vulgar is simply a Japanese construction. He does so in a sort of ironic way, making it obvious to the viewer that the Japanese are the ones forcing this vulgarity into the identity of all Koreans. Meanwhile all the Koreans can do is look the other way.

We can see from this short scene what it means to carry the name “Korean.” It shows how devalued the Japanese think them to be, as well as exemplifies how highly they regard their own Japanese heritage. Instead of reminding R who HE is, they are forcing the concept of how unintelligent the entirety of his race is. What is interesting to me, however, is their inability to describe “Korean-ness” when they first try to explain to R what a Korean really is. They tell him that he looks like the Japanese and was born in Japan. They cannot explain why he is different, so they resort to the insult “inferior Korean. They cannot explain Korean-ness because there is no explanation to give. This naming is blatant racism, plain and simple, an arbitrary name that was forced on them by their Japanese oppressors during the *zainichi*’s perpetual struggle of violence..

This vicious stereotyping by the Japanese is only one side of the story. What of the naming placed on *zainichi* by their fellow Koreans? The surmounting pressure placed on the various generations of *zainichi* to politically align him or herself with either North or South Korea is more complex than just picking a side. Apichai W. Shipper puts this complex topic into perspective:

“These Koreans, whose families have been in Japan since before World War II ended, were born and raised in Japan. They are referred to in Japanese as either *zainichi cho* ^{senjin} or *zainichi kankokujin* and are registered officially as *cho* ^{sen-seki} or *kankoku-seki*, respectively. The former typically signifies “North Koreans in Japan” and the latter “South Koreans in Japan.” However, some Koreans in Japan prefer to call

themselves *zainichi cho⁻senjin*, because they want to be identified with neither North nor South Korea but with a past and future united *Cho⁻sen*, or Korea.”¹⁴

Within the context of identity between the *zainichi chosonjin* and the *zainichi kankokujin*, there are two primary Korean Organizations in Japan. The pro-North *Chongryon* and the pro-South *Mindan*. It is the *Chongryon*, however, who have over the years been more dedicated to retaining Koreans’ ethnic identity. They have operated a large number of schools in Japan in which lessons were conducted entirely in Korean. They teach a pro-North ideology and discourage their students from marrying outside their culture or obtaining any other citizenship. We have seen this in *GO* where Sugihara decides to sever himself from the dominant North Korean nationalist ideology in Japan.

While up until the 1970’s the *Chongryon* was the more dominant *zainichi* group, many of their schools in modern age have slowly begun to close. The closures may be due to a lack of funding, or possibly the fact that affiliating oneself with North Korea has become too politically controversial. A commonly accepted theory is simply that many *zainichi* choose to send their children to mainstream Japanese schools. As we can see, starting from a young age, *zainichi* are guided into the ideals and beliefs of their family instead of their own. If one were to *GO* to a *Chongryon* school and then choose to attend a Japanese university, the family would likely feel betrayed. This pressure, either spoken or unspoken by their family, to accept their beliefs is of the utmost importance.

Now that I have outlined what is hopefully a better understanding of naming classification in Japan, we will return back to the *zainichi* known as R, who still remains

¹⁴ Shipper, Apichai A. "Nationalisms of and Against Zainichi Koreans in Japan." *Asian Politics & Policy—Volume 2, Number 1—Pages 55–75 Nationalisms of and Against Zainichi* (n.d.): n. pag. Web.

in captivity. After continued failed attempts to remind R who he is, a woman who claims to be R's older sister arrives in the scene. The Japanese officials try to tell R that he doesn't have a sister. But their efforts prove fruitless. The sister dressed in traditional Korean garb approaches R and he asks her, "am I R? The R you've known?" She replies "yes, you are a Korean called R. You used to be called by the Japanese name Shizuo, but you rejected that name after you were awakened to (Korean) nationalism"

Just in this brief exchange between R and the woman claiming to be his sister, we see how much weight a name carries. On one hand he is Shizuo; a man who accepted his *zainichi* identity and his role in Japan. But by changing his name from Shizuo to R, it is a proclamation of his pro-nationalism and rejection of Japan. Still, R is not sure who he is. He asks to touch her hand, so that he can better remember. She agrees and says "R, you are touching the Korean skin, which bears the long, painful history of the Korean race."

Again we see the importance of naming. The sister does not say, "this is my skin" to remind her brother who she is, rather she says "touching the Korean skin" as if the Korean skin were different than normal skin. The second part of her sentence, "which bears the long painful history of the Korean race", allows me to see that just by being Korean (having Korean skin) R is to assume the painful history of his ancestors. If R rejects this sentiment of his ancestral history, he would be rejecting who he "is."

R's Korean heritage (which his sister is using to define him) carries great weight. Korea has seen more of a change in the past 100 years than any country in Asia, all because of Japan. As covered earlier, the horrific treatment of the Koreans since 1910 has shaped their identity as a nation. It cannot be overlooked or rejected that the current Korean identity is linked to heritage and ancestral history.

Hypothetically speaking, it was R's ancestors who thrived in the Joseon Dynasty. It was R's ancestors that resisted the Japanese annexation of their country, and paid for it in the form of a massacre. It was R's ancestors who escaped the post-quake violence in 1923. It was R's ancestors that were forced into labor to support the war effort of Japan and it was R's ancestors who chose to remain in Japan instead of returning to Korea.

But should this incredible sense of Korean nationalism and perseverance, forged over a hundred years of adversity and struggle, define an individual? People like R's parents endured so much so that their children could live a better life. Would it be wrong to reject their identity and accept an identity that is more in line with modern day Japan? The importance of the Korean identity is continued in the scene with R's sister.

R's sister continues, "When the (Korean) race is sad, we women are especially sad. There are no women my age from the southern part of Korea who do not bear scars." Upon hearing this, R begins to feel sick and lays his head on his sister's lap. His sister continues with a quote from Korean poet Yu Chi-Han, "Like Cain, long pursued, his sadness is profound. Even though it makes a beast of me, I will endure this suffering."

R's sister continues to detail R's history, talking about his father, his home and his life as a *zainichi*. Frustrated, the police official demands that she simply make R realize he is to be condemned. Taken back, the sister states that she believes that he should not die, but rather live life repenting for his sins, juxtaposing the Japanese belief in capital punishment. We see here again the importance of naming; should he be Japanese and assume the identity Shizuo he would accept the death penalty. If he were of the Korean identity, he would choose to live and repent his sins instead.

The sister and the police official argue about what R's outcome should be, the sister in favor of a life of repentance and the official in the death penalty. The exchange between the officer and the sister is as follows:

Officer 1: *The law is the law!*

Sister: *But that is Japanese law!*

Officer 1: *Certainly; R's crimes were committed in Japan.*

Sister: *R did not want to be born in Japan! No Korean does! His father was brought to Japan as a serf! You Japanese will never understand how we Koreans feel! R's crime was caused by Japanese Imperialism! Thus Japan has no right whatsoever to punish him.*

Upon attempting to expedite the process of execution, the scene continues with R and his sister:

Sister: *fine, I'll go with him. We're going to work for the unity of our country.* The sister then asks R: *will you follow me? Why don't you answer? In your letter you said you'd join our ranks, didn't you?*

R: *Maybe, I don't remember very well. Being a revolutionary doesn't seem to fit R.*

Though I'm trying to be and think like him.

Sister: *You mean you don't care about the unification of your country?*

R: *It doesn't fit...*

Sister: *When did you change your mind? R!! You're no longer R! You're no longer a Korean! You've lost R's spirit, and you've lost the Korean spirit!*

The importance of this scene is paramount to understanding how seriously name and traditions means to ethnic Koreans. R's sister assumes that he will choose Korean identity. R says that while he doesn't feel like a revolutionary, he is trying to think like the R that would be one. Shocked, the sister declares that R is no longer Korean. To this end, one can assume that if a *zainichi* does not have a nationalistic mindset, much like one taught in the *Chongryon* schools, he is not Korean. Not only is he not Korean, but he is now void of the Korean spirit. It is literally impossible for R not to let someone down and with that I will now discuss the naming within the film *GO*.

Chapter Five: Portrayal of Naming Within *GO*

GO opens with a powerful Shakespearian quote taken from the classic *Romeo and Juliet*:

“What’s in a name? That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet.”

This quote certainly sets the tone for what seems to be the biggest theme of the movie, naming. Sugihara struggles with his naming during the entire movie, starting with his inner dialogue during dramatic scene at the basketball court in the beginning of the movie. Sugihara’s inner dialogue begins:

“Race, homeland, nation, unification, patriotism, integration, compatriots, goodwill. Makes me sick. Rulers, repression, slaves, subjects, aggression, discrimination, exclusion, chosen ones, blood, mixed, pure, union...” (he gets the ball passed to him and then gets beat up by the Japanese students) “I was born in Japan. Also called Korean-Japanese. I don’t think I’m any different, but they call me this” (the Japanese students all throw basketballs at him and yell “Zainichi!”)

All these names are related to the *zainichi* identity, not only for Sugihara, but for R as well. It is at this point that Sugihara begins to defend himself. He yells “enough!” then beats them all up. During this scene he starts screaming like a lion at them. I think he does this because that’s how he feels to them, like he is a carnival attraction. A monster. A lion. This inner dialogue sets the tone for the movie; the film is an issue of naming. However the name is shown in a perspective different than the one in *Death By Hanging*. It shows how naming affects the modern, younger *zainichi* and in a much broader scope.

After the scene where Sugihara gets beat up by his father at the police station, his father decides he wants to visit Hawaii. He goes to the customs office with Sugihara and his wife. When asking to go to Hawaii the father states he is ready to give up his North Korean citizenship to travel. The customs officer then informs him he can travel as a North Korean citizen. Regardless of this, his father says that he is a loyal Marxist and wont travel to Hawaii as a citizen of North Korea. He implores that he has to resign it and he does. Sugihara believes his father did all of this just to travel to Hawaii. But the real reason is more complicated.

After Sugihara's incident at the police station, it is clear that his father knows his son is going down a bad path. His father recognizes this and chooses to renounce his own citizenship so that his son doesn't have to be affiliated with North Korea; renouncing his affiliation with North Korea will open up more opportunities for his son. Sugihara doesn't realize this at first, but later in the film it dawns on him. With the naming of a North Korean, Sugihara could feel that he is obligated to sympathize with them and wouldn't want to betray his family. This seriousness of this family betrayal was shown in *Death By Hanging* when R told his sister he didn't want to support the North Korean ideology.

By changing his own nationality Sugihara's father opened the way for Sugihara to do the same, should he choose to do so. This is the first and basically only positive change for Sugihara, as one of the names attached to *zainichi* identity, North Korean, was lifted from his shoulders. By removing this North Korean naming/identity from Sugihara, it allowed him to make his own decisions on who he wanted to be. He did not have to worry about "loosing the Korean spirit" by betraying his Korean people, a fate R suffered

when he told his sister he didn't want to be a revolutionary. Later on Sugihara informs his father that he wants to attend Japanese school, to which his father replies "whatever."

This change of schools will provide a future with fewer ties to the aging ideals of North Korea and a better chance to assimilate with peers, a chance that was given to him by his father as an unspoken act of love.

Next during the scene at *Chongryon* school, Sugihara reveals to the class and teacher that he is interested in transferring to a Japanese school. As we know, this goes poorly for him. He is called a "traitor to the race" by his teacher, and is publicly humiliated in front of the class. The teacher is livid that he would betray his country. In the background, Jeong-II says in his friend's defense, "We never had a country!" The teacher in disbelief asks Jeong-II to "say it again", he does and the teacher hits him for it.

The truth rings out in these words: "We never had a country." The teacher, a much older man, likely had a country that he was proud of and that he identified with. Judging by his age, the teacher was raised by parents who were born in the Joseon Dynasty. He was raised in the traditions of unified Korea and was appalled at the fact that a fellow Korean wouldn't want that. Yet Sugihara and Jeong-II couldn't want it, because they had never had it.

The traditions and heritage of the teacher were not their own. Korea wasn't their country, Japan was; but Japan could never be their country either. Even Sugihara's interests in media and fashion (blue jeans, Mariah Carey, Malcom-X, Hollywood movies etc.) were American --yet another culture that wasn't his. Much like R, Sugihara rejected his claim to being branded as a Korean Nationalist. By taking an interest in western popular culture, Sugihara chooses not to accept the Korean nationalistic mindset his

family and others in his community choose to believe in. Yet he is not allowed to accept the Japanese mindset either. Herein lies the struggle of the *zainichi*: Not only do they not have a homeland to return to, but they are also not accepted in the land where they reside.

Jeong-II chose a path different than Sugihara. Jeong-II wants to finish *Chongryon* school and come back and teach fellow North Koreans, following the nationalistic approach that Sugihara rejects. Sugihara is upset when he hears this. Sugihara thinks his friend has a more promising future; but Jeong-II feels that he owes it to his people to educate them and provide them the best light forward. This, we are led to believe in the film, is an unusual solution. Most of the brightest *zainichi* move on to big Japanese companies. This makes sense because in order for a *zainichi* to be competitive, they have to have some quality that outshines their negative ethnic background.

Now we will look at Sugihara relationship with his Japanese girlfriend Sakurai. His relationship with her is important because she is the one he cares the most about and much of a young man's life is defined by those around him. This relationship is interesting because Sugihara does not let Sakurai know at first that he is a *zainichi*. Rather, he chooses not to say anything about it; leaving her to decide how she feels about him without naming determining her opinion.

Sakurai first noticed Sugihara after his fight in the gym against the Japanese boys. He was different somehow, she felt, a breath of fresh air to her. His tastes and interests in western culture were something the two had in common. He was funny, sincere and she loved him for it. It was his being different from the rest of the Japanese boys that caught her attention. Under the assumption that he was Japanese, all of his unique qualities were not only appealing, but also socially acceptable. He was enamored with her as well. She

was beautiful and interesting, she brought out his funny side and she had similar interests. Yet he kept his *zainichi* identity from her, not knowing how she could react.

Other than his secret *zainichi* identity, much of Sugihara and Sakurai's relationship was going great. They spent ample time together, went to the symphony, he had dinner with Sakurai's family and they said they loved each other. Later on they get a hotel room together so they can have sex, both planning on losing their virginites to one another. It was a very special moment. Though that moment never ended up arriving as Sugihara decided before they were to have sex to tell her about his *zainichi* identity.

He said "I have to tell you something. I don't think it's a big deal but... I have to say it now. I'm...not Japanese. My nationality is different." She asks "what is it?" He responds "South Korean; North Korean until Junior High. I might be Japanese in 6 months." Sakura replies "what are you saying?" Sugihara says "I'm saying it doesn't matter. Sakurai remains silent, yet looks disgusted with herself. She finally says "Pop told me when I was younger "don't go out with Koreans or Chinese." Sugihara asks if there is a reason for that to which Sakurai says "I don't know. Pop said blood of Chinese and Koreans is dirty." Sugihara laughs at her response, realizing what she had just said. She apologizes and says "I realize that having you inside me makes me scared." As Sakurai cried in bed over Sugihara's *zainichi* identity, Sugihara put on his clothes and ran out of the hotel.

Sugihara's identity, the name "Korean" made the girl who otherwise loved him, suddenly disgusted by him. Fueled by the same radical, pro-Japanese ideology that plagued R in *Death By Hanging*, Sakurai is disgusted by him and is in shock that she almost lost her virginity to a *zainichi*. I was able to identify the face he made when she

told him about her disapproval of his race; it was the same face he made when his father had walked into the police station in the beginning of the film. A face of remorse, showing that he knew he was going to receive the outspoken disapproval of the ones he cared about; a hollow expression that was tied directly to his consciousness and his sense of self worth.

The naming here, “dirty blood” and “Korean,” exceed Sugihara’s value as a person. Had he not told her about his Korean heritage, everything would have been fine. The value of naming cannot be underestimated in this analysis of identity formation. When you look at R, he is stripped of all titles and has no preconceived notions as to who he is. He is simply R. But once all the titles and accolades that come along with being a *zainichi* are added, he is a monster, a member of the old inferior Korean race.

The most powerful scene of the film comes at the end. A montage of scenes go by, indicating time passing on. Out of the blue Sakurai calls Sugihara and tells him to meet her at their old hang out spot. Perplexed, Sugihara puts on his coat and walks out the door. He is walking alone to the park he sees her and shouts, “What am I! God damn it, what am I?” to which she calmly responds “Japanese born Korean.” (At this point in the film, this is the angriest we have seen Sugihara, who is usually soft spoken.)

“How dare you call me Korean!” Sugihara exclaims. “If I’m Korean then that means I’m a stranger leaving the country. Is that what you’re saying?” (Rejecting the Korean identity) He then continues “I feel like killing you Japanese sometimes. Why do you feel the need to call me something? (Rejecting a Japanese identity) Ok, I’m a lion; lions don’t think they are “lions” yet you gave them that name. Call me a viper or a scorpion or even an alien, it doesn’t matter! Any name is okay. But I don’t think I’m

Korean or an alien, I AM ME!” With these words, he has found a new meaning for his identity. He is only himself.

"What's in a name? That which we call a rose by any other name would smell as sweet." You could call Sugihara a lion or a scorpion, a *zainichi* or an alien; it would not matter. He is Sugihara. With all the pressures young men and women face regarding who they are supposed to be, a young *zainichi* like him isn't given an environment to become who they really are. Like R, those Koreans he has a relationship want him to be Korean. Those who are Japanese don't want him to be Japanese or Korean. He is forced under outdated generalizations dating back to 1910 and further, that he is supposed to be something.

Conclusion

Following from the dramatic portrayal within these films, it is easy to wonder “what is a Korean?” Its complexity is staggering. To the Japanese, you have to be of Korean heritage. If you are of that heritage and live in either North or South Korea, then you are Korean. If you were born and have heritage in Korea and traveled to Japan, you are Korean. However, if you are of Korean heritage and born in Japan, you are ethnically Korean, but not of Korean nationality nor Japanese nationality. You are *zainichi*; you have all the negative benefits of being Korean and none of the positive benefits of being Japanese.

To the Koreans, if you are of Korean heritage you are Korean. If you are Korean you either reside in North or South Korea and you would assume their respective identities. If you are Korean but living/born in Japan, you are either a *chosenjin zainichi* (North Korean in Japan) or a *kankokujin zainichi* (South Korean in Japan). If you are *chosen-seki*, you cannot be *kankoku-seki*, and if you are *kanjoku-seki* you cannot be *chosen-seki*. If you are *chosen-seki* and choose to renounce it, you are no longer Korean, nor are you Japanese. If you are *kankoku-seki* and renounce it, you are no longer Korean nor are you Japanese.

If you are Korean (regardless of residing in North or South Korea or being a *kankokujin* or *chosen-seki zainichi*) you are viewed by the Japanese as a barbaric, drunk, sex crazed, uneducated and inferior being. If you are Korean, you are viewed by fellow Koreans as a nationalistic revolutionary and are expected to carry *pro-chosen* (*Pro-North*

Korean) or pro-*kankoku* (Pro-South Korean) beliefs. You are also expected to bear the entire weight of your ancestors' struggles and assume a hatred of the Japanese.

The concept of naming and identity is forced on the *zainichi* as we saw in both these films. You're either Korean or literally nothing at all. Many *zainichi* assume Japanese names to provide themselves with more options. Contemporary Japan is very competitive, both socially and economically. If you are Korean and assume a Korean name living in Japan, there is a chance you will be rejected based on the fact that you are not Japanese.

If you are a *zainichi* and assume a Japanese name, you are denied opportunities within the *chosen-seki* or *kankoku-seki* communities. Regardless of names you could assume or national identities you take, if you are *zainichi* you are essentially a vagabond. As Jeong-Il in *GO* pointed out, *zainichi* have no home country and no customs or traditions therein to assume. You only have your friends and family. Even then, as we saw, your friends and family expect you to assimilate to their identity. If you shun their identity, you risk losing one of the few relationships you have in your life.

I have found that violence and naming are both directly tied to *zainichi* identity and to one another. There is not a "how does violence and naming shape *zainichi* identity", rather it is "how does being a *zainichi* shape your identity?" The two films I analyzed have shown that treatment and assumptions of *zainichi* remain unchanged since 1945. R and Sugihara are treated the same as the 645,000 Koreans who remained in Japan in 1945.

The main difference I saw between R and Sugihara was that R tried to accept the naming that was placed on him. He heard both sides and took a very passive approach to

figuring out who he was as an individual. Sugihara however was a different story perhaps, because his father taught him to fight. Sugihara continuously fought off every one who tried to tell him who he was. By rejecting the Japanese and Korean pressures, he was able to realize that he didn't have a choice in his identity. Sugihara realized that no matter what he believed or who he wanted to be, external pressures from the Korean and Japanese communities would end up dictating his outcome in life. He was helpless and this realization is why he had the outburst at the end when he was talking to Sakurai. Despite being post war zainichi, R and Sugihara are treated very much the same.

I found myself asking an important question about the *zainichi* identity formation “why are they outsiders still? They are born and live in Japan! They are as Japanese as I am American.” But it comes down to one factor that hasn't changed in centuries, Japanese exceptionalism. *Zainichi* cannot become Japanese because they are not good enough. As Sakurai's father points out the Koreans and Chinese have “dirty blood.” *Zainichi* (and Chinese for that matter) have been a constant thorn in the side of Japan for hundreds of years. But despite losing the war and coming under the protection and guidance of the United States, the Japanese refuse to admit that they are at the same level. They will always be better. In an interview with Tamura Yoshio, a member of the notorious Japanese biological warfare unit 731, this question was asked of him:

Interviewer: *How did you view those people (that you infected with bubonic plague and dissected while still alive)? Didn't you have any feelings of pity?*

Tamura Yoshio: *None at all. We were like that already. I had already gotten to (a point) where I lacked pity. After all, we were already implanted with a narrow racism, in the form of a belief in the superiority of the so-called “Yamato Race.” We disparaged all other races. ... If we didn’t have a feeling of racial superiority, we couldn’t have done it. People with today’s sensibilities don’t grasp this. ... We, ourselves, had to struggle with our humanity afterwards. It was an agonizing process. There were some who killed themselves, unable to endure.*¹⁵

The fact that the Japanese are able to look past their individual actions of violence, murder and rape in past years, yet assume all *zainichi* are as violent as R tells me that this mentality is unchanged. It’s the same for Sugihara. He holds the exact same identity as R, despite not being violent, raping or murdering anyone. As a matter of fact, the Japanese were much more violent and did murder someone in *GO*. Yet the Japanese are an exception to this, because they are of Japanese heritage: their exceptionalism.

It is because of this exceptionalism, this “Yamato Race” sense of nationalism that *zainichi* identity is predetermined for them at birth. In fact, this predetermining helps the Japanese form their own identity by defining for them what they are not, thusly making clear that the *zainichi* are the Japanese’s constitutive other. This mentality has continued in much the same way since 1910. The colonial mindset remains the same: the Koreans are still temporary residents in Japan. However the only difference is now they are not called *chosenjin* and they are no longer colonial subjects. They are now called *zainichi*, a name that carries the same negative, outdated connotation that the Japanese believed to be true over 100 years ago.

¹⁵ Cook, Haruko Taya., and Theodore Failer. *Cook. Japan at War: An Oral History*. New York: New, 1992. Print.

So how do former colonial Koreans, or “*zainichi*” form their identity in Japan? The answer is clear to me. They don’t. It is formed for them. Until the Japanese change their nationalistic “Yamato Race” mindset, the *zainichi* will continue to struggle. But as long as individuals like Nagisa, Kaneshiro and Yukisada continue to bring the *zainichi* struggle to light through books and films, things will change. I feel the *zainichi* will indeed overcome their identity crisis, but in order to do that the Japanese first have to address theirs.

WORKS CITED

FILMS:

- Death By Hanging*. Dir. Nagisa Oshima. Prod. Nakajima Masayuki and Takuji Yamaguchi. By Nagisa Oshima. Perf. Do-yun Yu, Kei Sato and Fumio Watanabe. Art Theatre Guild Shōchiku, 1968. Videocassette.
- GO*. Dir. Isao Yukisada. By Kazuki Kaneshiro. Prod. Mitsuru Kurosawa. Perf. Yosuke Kubozuka, Kou Shibasaki, Shinobu Otake and Taro Yamamoto. Toei Company, 2001. DVD.

SOURCES:

- Bergan, Ronald. "Nagisa Oshima Obituary." *Nagisa Oshima Obituary*. The Guardian, 15 Jan. 2013. Web. 09 Jan. 2015.
- Chen, C. Peter. "Korea in World War II." *World War II Database*. Lava Development LLC, n.d. Web.
- Cook, Haruko Taya., and Theodore Failer. Cook. *Japan at War: An Oral History*. New York: New, 1992. Print.
- Denawa, Mai. "The Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923." *The Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923*. Brown University, n.d. Web. 9 Jan. 2015.
- Domenig, Ronald. *Death By Hanging*. N.p.: The Japan Society, n.d. .PDF.
- The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica. "March First Movement." *March First Movement: Korean History*. N.d. Print.
- "Nagisa Oshima." *Criterion*. The Criterion Collection, n.d. Web. 9 Jan. 2015.

- Nozaki, Yoshiko, Hiromitsu Inokuchi, and Tae-young Kim. "Legal Categories, Demographic Change and Japan's Korean Residents in the Long Twentieth Century." *The Asia-Pacific Journal* (n.d.): 1-6. *The Asia-Pacific Journal*. Web.
- Oda, Shigeru. "The Normalization of Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea." *The American Journal of International Law* 61.1 (1967): 35-56. *JSTOR*. Web.
- Onishi, Norimitsu. "Japan-born Koreans Live in Limbo." *The New York Times*, 2 Apr. 2005. Web.
- Ryang, Sonia. *Koreans in Japan: Critical Voices from the Margin*. London: Routledge, 2000. Print.
- "School Bullying on the Increase | The Japan Times." Japan Times RSS. *Japan Times*, 25 Oct. 2014. Web. 16 Feb. 2015.
- Shipper, Apichai A. "Nationalisms of and Against Zainichi Koreans in Japan." *Asian Politics & Policy—Volume 2, Number 1—Pages 55–75 Nationalisms of and Against Zainichi* (n.d.): n. pag. Web.

