

THE IMPACT OF CULTURAL MIXING ON ZAINICHI'S INDIVIDUAL IDENTITY IN THE NOVEL *PACHINKO*

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Abstract: Postcolonial literary studies aim to explore the impact of colonization, especially in the context of individual identity. The colonized identity is closely related to the culture of the colonizer who controls the territory. In the phenomenon of colonization, cultural clashes between colonizers and colonized are inevitable, which over time will undergo a process of assimilation referred to as a cultural hybrid in the postcolonial studies. The representation of cultural mixing consciously or unconsciously permeates the culture and life of society. This study explores the impact of cultural mixing on Zainichi's individual identity in the novel *Pachinko* by Min Jin Lee. Using a descriptive qualitative postcolonial approach, utilizing Homi K. Bhabha's hybridity theory and Stuart Hall's cultural identity to reveal the impact of cultural mixing on Zainichi's individual identity in each generation. This research finds that the realization of cultural assimilation goes through a very long stage. As experienced by several Zainichi characters from different generations, the process of achieving cultural assimilation has an impact on their identity and nationality. In addition, this research also provides an understanding that the development of Zainichi's search for identity is heading in a more stable direction.

Keywords: *Assimilation; Cultural Identity; Cultural Mixing; Zainichi's Identity*

INTRODUCTION

Colonialism is a phenomenon of the expansion of power from one country to another to dominate the political economy of a country. In its development, this colonialism phenomenon must have more or less influenced the colonized country, and studies that discuss this can be called postcolonialism. Postcolonial studies or theories seek to uncover all phenomena that occurred during the colonial era and also examine the impact of colonialism on today (Baga, 2024; Tomicic & Berardi, 2018).

In relation to literature, postcolonial studies were initiated by Edward Said through his book entitled *Orientalism* (1978) that contains the Western country's perspective towards the East, which became a general view that postcolonialism is always related to the way Western nations treat Eastern nations. It is proven by the many literary works that use orientalist themes such as *Midnight's Children* (Salman Rushdie), *Burmese Days* (George Orwell), and *Buru Quartet* (Pramoedya Ananta Toer) which make most postcolonial criticism also discuss Western dominations towards the

Eastern (Alahmad & Hashim, 2023; Min, 2022; Nuratikah & Wiyatmi, 2021; Shabanirad & Marandi, 2015). Whereas in the history development, colonizing countries do not only come from Western countries. Japan, a small country from East Asia, has also been recorded as a colonizer of other countries such as China, Korea, Taiwan Manchuria, and Indonesia (Booth & Deng, 2017). It can be concluded that postcolonial studies not only reveal the Western views of the East, but further, postcolonial literary studies are related to colonial and imperialism to reveal confrontations of interracial, inter-nation, and inter-state in the frame of inequality of power (Foulcher & Day, 2022). This means that postcolonial literary study is used as a pedagogy to produce literary criticism about colonialism and reveal its impact on culture, race, identity, and nationality.

Min Jin Lee's *Pachinko* (2017), which tells about a Korean family who lived in Japan from the Japanese invasion of Korea in 1910 until the end of the 20th century who formed a group known as "Zainichi" (ethnic Koreans living in Japan), become

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poignant evidence of the colonization impact on the complex interplay of culture, identity, and belonging. Within its pages, the novel explores the diverse experiences of Korean Zainichi generations in the face of poverty, discrimination, and prejudice in a colonial country. It reveals the complexities of their search for identity amidst a backdrop of colonial upheaval and cultural shifts.

In an attempt to reveal the impact of colonialism on culture, race, identity, and nationality in the novel *Pachinko*, the cultural shift resulting from the clash of Japanese and Korean cultures serves as a precursor to Zainichi's intergenerational identity problems. As Bhabha (1994) argued that in the event of colonialism, cultural shifts are not surprising; it is indeed an inevitable event because there will always be an attachment between the colonizer and colonized cultures, so in its development, the two cultures will unite and form a "newness" that forgets the words past and present, ancient or modern, and does not refer to original or fake. This can be interpreted that the development of colonialism phenomena will create a new culture as a result of the clashing of two cultures, the colonized and colonizer, which can be called cultural assimilation. However, to achieve acceptance of a "newness" that is considered the result of cultural assimilation, humans need a long stage, many phases with various acceptances within themselves, because assimilation itself is referred to as a "process of adaptation" by combining two or more cultures (Statham & Foner, 2024) which means that on the way to achieving the results of assimilation, there are a series of different actions and results.

Mali (2019) describes the sense of dislocation and identity crisis of immigrants in the novel *Pachinko*. The identity crisis that occurs because diasporic people are emotionally attached to their homeland, which is the center of culture and tradition, creates a feeling of dislocation that is exacerbated by the dominance of Japanese

culture. It results in a feeling of alienation because the identity of Koreans in Japan is questioned and problematized. The identity problems that occur as a result of this Japanese domination then require Zainichi to carry out an identity search. The study by Tablizo (2022) presents a metaphorical contrast between the pachinko game and the names of characters with Biblical figures as supporting references for Zainichi's search for identity in each generation. This metaphor equates the background of the lives of the *Pachinko* novel characters with figures in the Bible. It provides an interesting conclusion that identity is not resigned to the forces of history but is within human control. Identity is something that each individual can decide for themselves. There are various possibilities for Zainichi to choose their own identity. As in the study Huang (2022) which concludes that in the event of an identity crisis, diasporic people will create a new identity under a bicultural identity, which is where dual or multicultural identities consciously build a mixed identity which is also a solution for identity confusion.

Meanwhile, another study on Zainichi's cultural precarity by RS (2019) explains the mess suffered in the name of ethnicity and culture. Zainichi's existence as an immigrant in a colonizing country is never considered, and surveillance, control, and oppression will always exist. Adaptation and mimicry of the colonizer's culture force the Korean descendants to call Japan as "a home". This indicates that there is a kind of ambiguity in Zainichi's first generation self-identification. There is a sudden and forced patriotic change from Korean to Japanese, which then forms a trans-local identification that connects the current Japanese cultural adaptation with the previous Korean cultural memory. Whereas according to Brubaker and Cooper, as cited in (Bell, 2018), states that "country" can indeed be used as an individual "identifier". However, the classification that exists in an individual proves that the country is not an important "identifier" because identity is plural, which

means that one individual may have several identities at once. Therefore, as Stuart Hall explained in the book *Questions of Cultural Identity*, the idea of identity will always be related to the unexplained problem. Identity is something that cannot always be patented, but is constantly 'in process', so it cannot be judged as won or lost, maintained or abandoned because identity requires recognition (Hall & Du Gay, 1996).

Thus, in accordance with the context above, this paper explores the journey of Zainichi's identity search from the novel *Pachinko* to prove that cultural mixing produces different impacts on Zainichi's intergenerational identity. Each generation of Zainichi gives a different response to the cultural mixing that occurs, which starts from feelings of dislocation, mimicry, ambivalence, and even hybridity. The end of this research has concluded that pure and established Zainichi identity is formed through a long phase represented by several characters from different generations until the final result of the identity search and self-acceptance is a hybrid identity which is the result of a success of the cultural assimilation process.

METHOD

The focus of this research is on the self-acceptance and identity search of Zainichi generations during the Japanese colonization of Korea until post-independence. Because this research discusses the products of colonialism related to identity and cultural mixing, it uses two primary references in its writing. First, it employs a postcolonial approach based on the theory of Hybridity by Homi K. Bhabha to reveal the impact of cultural mixing. According to Bhabha, hybridity is a product of discrimination that has the effect of securing original identity through the negation of domination and deflection of colonial power which provides an opportunity for the colonized to deconstruct a pure and established identity (Bhabha, 1994). Second, to reveal the process of identity deconstruction and self-acceptance of the Zainichi group, this

research also uses the theory of cultural identity by Stuart Hall who claims that cultural identity is developed from the same historical and cultural experiences shared by a group of people with common ancestry and will constantly be in process and transform following power, events, and cultural circumstances (Hall, 2015).

This research uses descriptive qualitative to provide a description and explanation of the impacts of the cultural mixing phenomenon in detail and comprehensive, that taken from primary data in the form of dialog and monologues of the characters, words, phrases, and sentences from the novel *Pachinko* by Min Jin Lee and supporting data that are taken from books, scientific journals, and articles related to this research topic. While in the process of analyzing data, there are several steps taken. (1) reading the entire novel *Pachinko* by Min Jin Lee to get and understand the information contained in the novel as a reference for data sources; (2) identifying the data sources that have been found using the appropriate theories, which are Homi K. Bhabha's hybridity theory and Stuart Hall's cultural identity; (3) classifying supporting data in the form of journals, articles, or books that have same topic as this research topic to support the explanation of primary data in more detail; and (4) analyzing and drawing conclusions from the data that has been collected by describing the ideas and findings.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Pachinko describes the identity problems experienced by the Zainichi group as a result of the two-cultural clash; Korea and Japan. The various identity problems shape the process of forming a pure and established its identity. In this section, the discussion is divided into two. First is the origin of Zainichi's background intended to explain Zainichi and what happened to it as the initial knowledge of Zainichi's problems. Second section describes the formation of Zainichi's identities containing a discussion of its identity problems.

The Origin of Zainichi's Background

Japan's annexation of Korea happened as far back as 1864. At that time, Korea became a country contested by China and Japan. Until July 1894, there was a Sino-Japanese war, with Japan coming out victorious and producing the Shimonoseki Treaty in April 1895, which recognized Japan's hegemony over Korea (Ibrahim & Bibi-Farouk, 2020). Through this treaty, Japan officially established its position in Korea in 1910 which made the Korean population feel oppressed (Lee, 2017) and decided to migrate which became the beginning of the first wave of Korean migration to Japan (Cho & Kobayashi, 2019).

The first wave of Korean migration to Japan was also Japan's intent to exploit human resources, as Japan at that time needed a lot of labor to meet the needs of war. A total of 419,000 people had moved from Korea to mainland Japan and it continued to grow every year. Until 1944 the Korean population was obliged to help deal with the labor shortage caused by World War II and brought around 670,000 Koreans to mainland Japan to be forced into laborers and miners and continued to grow until at the end of World War II there were 2.4 million Koreans in Japan (Cho & Kobayashi, 2019).

After World War II ended in 1945, with Japan conceding defeat to the Allies, many immigrants chose to remain in Japan on the grounds that they had no family in Korea, had difficulty finding work in Korea, or already had family in Japan (Shin, 2018). This became the root of the emergence of the Zainichi generations in Japan. The development of this Zainichi group was also exacerbated by the breakup of the Korean peninsula in the period after the end of World War II, precisely in 1950, known as the Korean War, and brought the next wave of migration. The inconvenience of the internal war split the Korean peninsula into South and North. "Besides, they'll kill you in the North, and they'll starve you in the South." (Lee, 2017, p. 275). This had led the Korean population to migrate on a large

scale to Japan which made the Zainichi group continue to grow on the Japanese mainland. The large number of Koreans living in Japan made the Prime Minister of Japan, Shigeru Yoshida, ordered to execute Repatriation aimed at repatriating illegal Zainichi to their home regions. He believed it was unfair for his country to accept illegal non-Japanese citizens (*hi-Nihonjin*) who did not contribute to the Japanese economy and committed political rebellion by cooperating with the communists (Choi, 2021). Other than repatriating Zainichi groups, this Repatriation was also intended to maintain the monoethnic ideology, where Japan would not recognize a person's nationality other than that of native Japanese descent or called *Jus Sanguinis* (Visočnik, 2019).

Japan's defeat in World War II and Japan's monoethnic ideology left the citizenship status of the Zainichi group in an ambiguous position. If in the past Koreans in Japan were utilized as mere labors to meet the needs of the war, they had to be repatriated after the end of the war to maintain Japan's monoethnic ideology. However, on the other hand, Zainichi's return to their ancestral land was not expected and was considered as a traitor to the country which ultimately raised identity problems for them (Osborn, 2015). "They all hate Koreans who've been living in Japan. I know. If you go, I will never support it. Never... For people like us, home doesn't exist" (Lee, 2017, pp. 275-276). The identity position that is not in any one country results in discrimination and demonizing stereotypes. Most Zainichi live in substandard conditions, there are no decent houses for the Zainichi because no landlords want to sell their land to Zainichi, no Japanese citizens want to employ Zainichi, and there are no scholarships that accept Zainichi children (Kashani, 2006). Finally, a movement known as the *Mintohren* movement or the Korean cultural movement emerged, in which Zainichi groups hid their Korean identity by using Japanese names (*tsumei*) to get a decent and fair life (Kim, 2022). Until 1965, the

discourse of Zainichi citizenship was considered by the Japanese government. “With some difficulty, it was possible now for them to get the passports ... if you wanted to travel, you could get a South Korean passport through Mindan” (Lee, 2017, p. 406). The provision of a South Korean passport allowed Zainichi to obtain the rights of a resident in Japan as well as special permanent residency status (Tablizo, 2022).

On the other hand, Zainichi citizenship status can also be obtained by naturalization which allows Zainichi to have Japanese citizenship status, but for few, this is considered a betrayal of the Korean country and culture that raised them. For Zainichi, naturalization is just a written status that forces them to become Japanese and will not remove society's prejudice against them (Morooka, 2016). This provides an opposing view to Zainichi's desired definition of identity because after all, Korean identity cannot simply be eliminated as Robillard-Martel & Laurent (2019) argued that Zainichi identity is not seen from their ancestral country, not judged as foreigners, and not forced to become part of Japan with full absorption of its culture, but Zainichi identity is an acquisition of full civil-political membership in the Japanese government without having to abandon their Korean pride. This marks the resolution of Zainichi's identity as a complex problem. The identification of Zainichi is not just one-sided, it is not only dependent on family, culture, or country because Zainichi has a complicated and unique position in Japan and Korea. In other words, the formation of Zainichi identity is not just limited to sociological generalizations but further, because identity is closely related to culture and social conditions that formed from past events (Hall, 2015).

The Formation of Zainichi's identities

“Home is a name, a word, it is a strong one; stronger than magician ever spoke, or spirit answered to, in strongest conjuration.”

—Charles Dickens (Lee, 2017, p. 13)

This quotation from the opening chapter of *Pachinko* 2017 hints at how important and influential the idea of "home" has been to the *Pachinko* characters in each of Zainichi's generations. Home is defined as a building where people can live safely, concede and accept each other's existence. Taken into a broader context, home can also be interpreted as a country or a person's identifier. In the case of *Pachinko*, which tells the story of Zainichi life during World War II and the Korean Cold War, the idea of home is something that is strongly fought for in order to recognize their existence. As Zainichi is not in the country of Korea or Japan which then gives identity problems for them and makes Zainichi generations find ways that they might not realize to fulfill the idea and dream of "home" which affects the identity, nationality, and self-acceptance of each generation.

Table 1. *The stages of identity formation and self-acceptance of intergenerational Zainichi.*

Zainichi's Generation	Intergenerational differences in Zainichi's self-acceptance and nationalism
First Generation	
Sunja, Yangjin, Kyunghee, and Yosep	- Loyal to Korean culture and nationality. - Identify themselves as Korean.
Second Generation	
Noa	- Mimicry Identity confusion. - Ambivalence / unable to determine an identity for himself.
Mozasu	- Accepts his ambiguous status. - Identify himself as Korean. - Diasporic

	nationalism towards Korea.
	Third Generation
Solomon	- Recognize Korean ethnicity. - Nationality towards Japan. - Identify himself as Zainichi (Korean-Japanese)

In the Zainichi family tree, the first generation is referred to as Koreans who migrated to Japan during the period from the Japanese invasion to the Korean Cold War (Cho & Kobayashi, 2019). Being the first generation of Zainichi descendants, the first generation struggled to adapt to the upheaval of two different cultures. Struggling to survive in a colonial country while still carrying and maintaining the traditions of their Korean ancestors, first-generation Zainichi still hold high nationality towards their homeland. It is clear that the first generation Zainichi did not experience identity confusion within themselves. As in the novel *Pachinko*, where the first generation is represented by Sunja, Kyunghee, and Yangjin who still want to do *Jesa* (a Korean tradition that aims to honor the ancestors) even though the new Christianity they believe in prohibits it (Lee, 2017) is proof that the first generation Zainichi are still closely tied to the traditions and culture of their home country. Other evidence is also seen when Phoebe, Solomon's girlfriend, is honest about her Korean family living in America by adopting American culture as a whole, which is considered inappropriate by Sunja and Kyunghee (Lee, 2017). According to them, identifying as Korean means that they also have to practice Korean culture such as eating Korean food and speaking Korean even though they are on the outside of their country. This view has led to prejudice against Koreans in Japanese neighborhoods because of their monoculturalism (Visočnik, 2019).

“When she told her friends in New York about this curious historical anomaly and the pervasive ethnic bias, they were incredulous at the thought that the friendly, well-mannered Japanese they knew could ever think she was somehow criminal, lazy, filthy, or aggressive —the negative stereotypical traits of Koreans in Japan” (Lee, 2017, p. 516).

This quotation shows the feelings of dislocation, such as the feeling: "I shouldn't be here or this is not my place" in the first generation Zainichi. Like Sunja, who realizes that her simplicity in her traditional Korean clothing, which is not liked by Japanese society (Lee, 2017), is a clear symbol of the inevitable differences and making Sunja feel alienated in her adopted country. However, according to the historical record, once the migration of Koreans to Japan began to work and get decent jobs to achieve financial success (Cho & Kobayashi, 2019), the feeling of alienation soon disappeared, replaced by the strengthening of nationality towards the mother country. It alligns with the statement from Shipper (2010, p. 57) who describes that “First-generation Zainichi Koreans often choose to involve themselves mostly in their own ethnic association, which serves as an institutional and cultural extension of their ‘imagined’ homeland.” There is no desire for the first generation Zainichi to settle in Japan permanently, their goal of coming to the colonizer country is only to achieve success, as Yosep, Sunja’s brother in law, require the children must learn Japanese to achieve success and still speak Korean to prepare them to go back home (Lee, 2017). Learning Japanese and maintaining Korean language indicate that even though they have adapted to Japanese culture, the first generation Zainichi still recognize the Korean country with all its culture and traditions as one thing to be proud of and at the same time as an identifier of who they are.

However, Noa and Mozasu, Zainichi's second-generation Korean ancestry who were born and raised with both Korean and

Japanese culture at the same time, consider the idea of identity as a complicated issue for them. Their Korean family background made them subject to all forms of discrimination and violence which prompted little Noa to hide his Korean ethnicity and totally imitate Japanese culture to fit in and avoid discrimination. This is proof of the early stages of the cultural assimilation process, as discrimination is the trigger for the realization of hybridity and the formation of new identities (Bhabha, 1994).

“Noa Baek was not like the other eight-year-olds in the neighborhood... In his clean, pressed clothes, Noa looked like a middle-class Japanese child from a wealthier part of town, bearing no resemblance to the unwashed ghetto children outside his door... and though everyone in his class knew he was Korean from his Japanized surname, if he met anyone who didn't know this fact, Noa wasn't forthcoming about this detail. He spoke and wrote better Japanese than most native children... Above all the other secrets that Noa could not speak of, the boy wanted to be Japanese; it was his dream to leave Ikaino and never to return” (Lee, 2017, pp. 213-215).

Noa's mimicry is performed so that he could go to school with peace of mind, but the introduction of Korea as the origin of his family through the parenting and the past stories of the elders in Noa's family has indirectly evoked a sense of nationalism towards Korea as well as a sign of self-identification in little Noa. Even though Noa was born in Japan and never saw Korea, he was still bonded with Korea because Noa's parents are Korean and still maintain traditions and introduce it directly to him. This is consistent with Stuart Hall's theory that cultural identity is formed through the presence of common history and ancestors. While Noa's desire to become Japanese and leave Ikaino, the Zainichi's settlement, which illustrates the social gap and discrimination against Zainichi, is a form of representation of Noa's identity alteration

attempt in accordance with the existing culture and circumstances as a defense against discrimination that occurs. As Stuart Hall's opinion that identity will continue to undergo a process of transformation (Hall, 2015).

In the course of his life, Noa's self-identification slowly began to change following the existing social and cultural circumstances that Japan is considered better. “He believed that he could enjoy going to school if he were a regular person and not a Korean. He couldn't say this to his father or to anyone else, because it was certain he had never be a regular Japanese” (Lee, 2017, p. 233). Thus, mimicry can be interpreted as arising from representations of different identities that trigger discrimination and lead to a process of defense (Bhabha, 1994). Noa who tries to be like Japanese people to receive the same treatment still leaves an “in-between space” that can be filled by various possible identities. After all, imitation will never be identical which allows the imitator to experience confusion because it falls into identity uncertainty due to the emphasis on the original identity (Singh, 2009), causing Noa to experience an identity crisis. The ambiguous position of standing in the middle of two different countries with an overall culture that is closer to Japan but with Korean blood and family traditions that remain loyal to Korean teachings puts him in a position of ambivalence, a state when individuals feel ambiguous between rejecting or wanting something at one time (Ashcroft et al., 2013).

When Noa reached college age and attended Waseda University in Tokyo far from home and family, Noa tried to find and establish his own identity. In this phase Noa wants to be himself. But the presence of Akiko, his girlfriend, undermines Noa's identity formation efforts beyond ethnicity and nationality.

“Noa didn't care about being Korean when he was with her; in fact, he didn't care about being Korean or Japanese with anyone. He wanted to be, to be just

himself, whatever that meant; he wanted to forget himself sometimes. But that wasn't possible. It would never be possible with her" (Lee, 2017, p. 367).

The existence of Akiko who is a Japanese girl from an upper-class family has damaged the identity that Noa has built after revealing the truth about his father, causing Noa to face existential crisis problems. The image he formed on himself as a Japanese since childhood was destroyed by the fact that Hansu his biological father was a Yakuza. Yakuza for Japanese people is a group of criminals who are feared and hated by Japanese people, providing painful facts for Noa who has been adopting and practicing Japanese culture and customs to simply be labeled as a good Japanese despite having Korean blood.

"You know that he's a yakuza? Is that right?"

"How can you make something clean from something dirty? And now, you have made me dirty... All my life, I have had Japanese telling me that my blood is Korean—that Koreans are angry, violent, cunning, and deceitful criminals. All my life, I had to endure this... and now I learn that my blood is yakuza blood. I can never change this, no matter what I do. It would have been better if I were never born. How could you have ruined my life. How could you be so imprudent? A foolish mother and a criminal father. I am cursed" (Lee, 2017, p. 371).

This shatters the idea of identity that Noa has built, the dream of acceptance in Japanese society is shattered within himself with all his origins and family tree, Noa considers all his efforts to be Japanese futile. Having Korean blood was already difficult to accept and coupled with the fact that he was a descendant of the Yakuza made it even more impossible for Japanese society to recognize and accept him, because just being fluent in Japanese and having extensive knowledge of the country and Japanese culture was not enough to define

Noa as Japanese. However, through the discourse of naturalization by capitalizing on fluent Japanese and extensive knowledge of Japan, Noa can marry a Japanese woman and have a family like Japanese people by deeply burying his Korean identity for the rest of his life. The identification of the Zainichi group cannot be seen only through physicality. This is because the Zainichi's facial features has many similarities with the Japanese and Noa did not want to admit his Korean identity until after Hansu and Sunja found him in his escape, he chose to shoot the gun on his head rather than confirming his Korean identity (Lee, 2017). It depicts that Noa cannot survive with the ambiguity of identity that exists, even though he has lived as a full Japanese with his harmonious family, the nationality towards Korea that his family has built since childhood remains deep in his heart, until he gave up because he was tired of fulfilling the label of being a good Japanese and Korean in the same time. As confirmed in Htun (2012) interview's of minority residents in Japan, minorities who experience difficulties with their minority status feel negative about their origins. Aside from that, individuals who leave their community to pass as Japanese find that the mimicry action does not really help solidifying their identity because the feelings of ambivalence and long-distance nationalism embedded from childhood make them unable to simply discard their original identity, which is also in line with Bhabha's opinion that the discourse of mimicry is built on ambivalence (1994: 122).

In contrast, Mozasu, Noa's half younger brother, displays a different view of his identity. Mozasu's nature, who does not hesitate to fight back if he is mistreated just because he is Zainichi's descendant, indicates that Mozasu is different from his brother who chooses to hide his ethnicity. Mozasu recognizes the two cultures that have raised him. Born with Korean blood with a traditional Korean mother's upbringing, but raised in Japan, Mozasu speaks Japanese well, knows Japanese culture, and looks like a Japanese. Mozasu

accepts his ambiguous identity because he knows that people will never change the way they treat a Zainichi. "In Seoul, people like me get called Japanese bastards, and in Japan, I'm just another dirty Korean no matter how much money I make or how nice I am" (Lee, 2017, p. 449). This made Mozasu realize that wherever Zainichis were, be it Japan or Korea, they would still be foreigners and created a diasporic nationalism in him. This signals that the second generation Zainichi no longer have dreams of returning to the Korean peninsula and Japan is considered a permanent domicile but still define themselves as ethnic Koreans (Shipper, 2010). For Mozasu, the granting of a South Korean passport by the Japanese government as a discourse of granting citizenship to the Zainichi group was enough for him. The passport allows him to strengthen his residency status in Japan and helps stabilize the Zainichi's legal status. Mozasu can have permanent residence, freedom to travel abroad, and less threat of deportation.

Almost similar to Mozasu, Solomon as the son who represents the third generation of Zainichi must continue to submit fingerprints as a foreign identity every three years once he turns fourteen. This regulation was made to control the citizenship of the Korean population in Japan (Wickstrum, 2017). This may seem strange to some people for constantly checking their fingerprints like a criminal just to apply to live in Japan when they were born and raised in Japan. As Mozasu said:

"Koreans born in Japan after 1952 had to report to their local ward office on their fourteenth birthday to request permission to stay in Japan. Every three years, Solomon would have to do this again unless he left Japan for good... And this is something Solomon must understand. We can be deported. We have no motherland. Life is full of things he cannot control so he must adapt. My boy has to survive" (Lee, 2017, pp. 464-469).

Many Zainichi ancestors find this method demeaning. However, Mozasu did not feel objected. He taught his son to live a multicultural life, which can be seen in the modern houses built in the western residential area of Yokohama with not a trace of Korean or Japanese in it. In addition, Mozasu also enrolled Solomon in an international school with English as the education language (Lee, 2017). It was done by Mozasu as an endeavor to prevent Solomon from experiencing discrimination like himself and his brother who ended up committing suicide due to identity issues. Mozasu also taught Solomon not to discriminate against someone's ethnicity resulting in Solomon growing into a teenager who was not easily prejudiced against someone's ethnicity. It was seen when Solomon's girlfriend Phoebe concluded that all Japanese people were cruel and would never admit their war crimes, yet, Solomon found himself defending Japan rather than agreeing with Phoebe's words (Lee, 2017).

Phoebe's confession of identity as a Korean-American girl is very different from Solomon's confession of identity.

"In America, there is no such thing as a Kankokujin or Chosenjin. Why the hell would I be a South Korean or a North Korean? That makes no sense! I was born in Seattle, and my parents came to the States when there was only one Korea," she'd shout, relating one of the bigotry anecdotes of her day. "Why does Japan still distinguish the two countries for its Korean residents who've been here for four fucking generations? You were born here. You're not a foreigner! That's insane. Your father was born here. Why are you two carrying South Korean passports? It's bizarre (Lee, 2017, p. 516).

Phoebe never had any citizenship issues. In contrast to Solomon, his citizenship issues were confusing. He lived and was born in Japan but was forced to choose between either South or North Korea

for his citizenship. It was resolved by his father by having South Korean passports for the family; then there were no need for Solomon to think about siding with the South or the North. It helped Solomon in the way he did not need to worry about the politics of nationality. Nevertheless, when Phoebe discussed Solomon's nationality and offered him American citizenship by marrying her, Solomon refused because he did not want to become an American. He preferred to live in Japan. "Was it better to be an American than a Japanese? He knew Koreans who had become naturalized Japanese, and it made sense to do so, but he didn't want to do that now, either" (Lee, 2017, p. 55). In this case, Solomon occupies a position of ambivalence. His desire to remain in Japan despite having to endure the complicated issues of citizenship and identity proved his loyalty to the country where he was born. Meanwhile, Solomon's decision to continue his father's pachinko business indicated that Solomon also recognized his ethnicity. Pachinko is an association that is always associated with Korean immigrants to Japan. Therefore, by continuing the pachinko business, Solomon received a lot of stigma and stereotypes of Japanese people towards Zainichi descendants. This action actually betrayed Mozasu's struggles all this time for keeping out Solomon on his pachinko business. By rejecting Phoebe's American citizenship offer and continuing pachinko's business indicate that Solomon recognizes himself as a Zainichi, as a Korean-Japanese instead of choosing one of the two, in line with Stuart Hall's opinion that identification is not a determination but a recognition (Hall & Du Gay, 1996).

While the other side of Solomon who also knows a lot about Japanese culture and history, and sympathizes with Japan's suffering during the war in addition to his knowledge of Zainichi makes him more critical in assessing and not necessarily judging a country. It indicates Solomon has grown into a young man with a multicultural personality. As mentioned by Ashcroft,

Griffiths & Tiffin (2013), the colonizer and colonized cultures cannot be separated, but instead form an invisible space that follows the opinion of Homi K. Bhabha which is referred to as the "Third space of enunciation". It means the individuals give meaning to colonizer culture and colonized culture which then forms a hybrid culture as a new identity that is not far from the concept of multiculturalism. In the latest development, identity formation no longer disputes Japan or Korea as a self-identifier. The acceptance of hybrid culture as a new identity aims to find comfort and fulfillment of self-will for the nationality of the younger generation of Zainichi. The new identity allows Zainichi's third generation to remain proud to be Korean with its cultural and historical heritage and remain in their beloved homeland by associating themselves as Korean-Japanese.

CONCLUSION

Pachinko emphasizes the mixing of cultures due to colonization and illustrates the impact of this mixing on Zainichi. It has a diverse impact on identity, self-acceptance, and nationality in each generation of Zainichi (generations 1-3). The first generation, represented by Sunja Kyunghee, Yangjin, and Yosep, still hold on to Korean culture and nationality. While the second generation, Noa fell into a complicated and ambiguous confusion of identity and nationality, keeping him in a trough of ambivalence until the end of his life. Mozasu, on the other hand, accepts his ambiguous status, adopting a long-distance or diasporic nationality towards Korea, the country he knew from his mother and living as a law-abiding Zainichi. While as the third generation, Solomon is almost the same as his father. He accepts Japan as his nationality because he was born and lives there, and recognizing Korea as his ethnicity. Solomon adopts two cultures for himself, forming a hybrid identity and declaring himself as a Zainichi (Korean-Japanese). It confirms Solomon as the third generation of Zainichi who grew as a

modern individual with a multicultural personality. It can be concluded that the formation of a pure and established identity of the third generation Zainichi stems from the identity problems of the previous generations which form a series of developments in identity formation towards the better of each generation. At the same time, the acceptance of hybrid culture as Zainichi's identity requires years of process to be truly accepted without favoring one culture.

As concluding remarks, the study and analysis of the Zainichi group's identity problems in the novel *Pachinko* has contributed to academics in explaining the concept of identity and hybridity. However, in the process this study certainly still has limitations. Thus, to complement and develop this research, future researchers can take the point of view of the social environment in the novel to reveal the factors that support or inhibit the formation of Zainichi's multicultural identity. Further studies may prove whether the family, friendships, work, and societal environments have a role in the multiculturalization process.

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