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ABSENT BUT PRESENT: PROPAGANDA STRATEGIES OF THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION IN INDONESIA AS NARRATED IN KAMISHIBAI IN DJAWA BAROE MAGAZINE

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ABSENT BUT PRESENT: PROPAGANDA STRATEGIES OF THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION IN INDONESIA AS NARRATED IN KAMISHIBAI IN DJAWA BAROE MAGAZINE

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ABSTRACT
This paper investigated the propaganda strategies in kamishibai (a paper play) story telling in Djawa Baroe Magazine. This study employed text analysis methods and propaganda theories from Jowett and Donnell on the seven kamishibai and found the following propaganda strategies. First, Western powers were portrayed negatively. Second, Japan was not explicitly featured in kamishibai stories. Third, local cultural elements in Javanese culture were used to convey propaganda messages. These findings indicate that entertainment media, such as kamishibai, can be used as propaganda media and subtly inserted using specific trivial strategies.

KEYWORDS: propaganda strategies, kamishibai, Japanese occupation, Djawa Baroe magazine

INTRODUCTION
Kutzer (2000: xiii), in her book entitled Empire's Children: Empire and Imperialism in Classic British Children's Books, says, "A story, even a children's story, is more than a story, no matter how simple it may seem. Stories grow out of particular cultures and societies and reflect the values of those societies." In other words, a story is never neutral and just becomes a story but contains cultural values that apply to society.

This phenomenon can also be seen in kamishibai during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia (1942-1945). Kamishibai in the Japanese language consists of a combination of two words, namely 「紙」 (kami: paper) and 「芝居」 (shibai: theater/drama). In kamishibai, a person acts as a storyteller or puppeteer who tells images drawn on paper to form a story. More information about kamishibai will be explained in the introduction part.

Kamishibai was not just an entertainment story, but could be used as propaganda media to win the Great East Asian War. It contained specific values conveyed by the ruler, namely the military government, to Indonesians, especially the Javanese population, during the Japanese occupation.

Jowett and O'Donnell (2006) define propaganda using the perspective of...
communication studies. Propaganda aims to understand contexts, senders of messages, purposes of sending messages, messages delivered, media of delivering messages, the target to whom the message is delivered, and message receivers' responses. Propaganda can be defined as "deliberately systematic attempts to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that fulfills the desired intent of the propaganda" (Jowett & O'Donnell 2006: 7). Kurasawa (2015: 247) formulated propaganda in the context of the Japanese occupation of Indonesia as "an effort to indoctrinate Indonesians so that it could become a trustworthy partner in the Greater East Asia Co-Prospereity Sphere." The idea of "becoming a trustworthy partner in the Greater East Asia Co-Prospereity Sphere" can be interpreted as a partner who would follow what is ordered by Japan, neither betray nor resist, and support any Japanese program to win the war against the allies in World War II.

Based on Kurasawa's definition, the keyword of this propaganda is "indoctrination." Indoctrination should be done repeatedly, not once, so the propaganda messages enter people's subconsciousness.

An effective way to indoctrinate is to spread stories that every action the ruler takes is right and should be done. Said's words below can help us better understand the relationship between stories in literary works, the colonization process, and the process against colonization.

"….Stories are at the heart of what explorers and novelists say about strange regions of the world; they also become the method colonized people use to assert their own identity and the existence of their history." (Said 1994:xii-xiii)

In other words, in the colonization process, literary works or stories were used to affirm an individual's identity and existence as a colonizer and to show that this colonization process was compulsorily implemented. Colonizers also used stories to fight back and challenge colonial narratives.

Furthermore, Said argues that stories in literary works function to legitimize the power of Western imperialism against people in Western countries and not to convince the population in the colonies. The basic idea states that stories legitimize a power applied in a broader context. This article investigated how the Japanese used kamishibai as media for spreading propaganda messages that legitimized its power in Indonesia during the Japanese occupation.

Japan was fully aware that stories were effective indoctrination media. For example, the folklore of Momotaro has been included in Japanese textbooks for elementary school since the Meiji period (1868-1912). This story was included in the textbooks to introduce folklore to Japanese elementary school children and present a role model to make the children loyal to the state and submissive to the emperor (Iwaya, 1984).

The Meiji Restoration in the late 19th century determined Japan to catch up in various fields. At that time, Japan made the West as its role model. The slogan 「脱亜入欧」（Datsuanyuuoo）or "leave Asia and enter Europe" was echoed by the Japanese government in the Meiji Era to encourage Japan to leave its backwardness as an Asian nation and enter European nations that mastered sciences, technology, and colony. Besides developing science and technology, Japan strengthened its military and began to have colonies. Japan won the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). These wins further strengthened Japan's desire to become a country with many colonies. During the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, a young
man, namely Momotaro, who conquered the giant creatures on the giant islands, became a symbol of Japanese military valor and the imperial state of Japan (Tierney, 2010). Japan's interest in the southern regions had increased, particularly since the Taisho period (1912-1926). Shimizu Hajime, a Japanese historian (1987), considered the Taisho era to be the era of "Southseas fever," or fever against the territories in the South Sea. This phrase was used to refer to the Japanese spirit to expand to the South Sea region. In 1915, Japan took control of Micronesia, which fueled the Japanese spirit to control Southeast Asian territories, including Indonesia.

Less than 30 years later, Japan's desire to dominate Southeast Asian countries, including Indonesia, was achieved. March 1942 marked the beginning of the Japanese occupation of Indonesia. At first, Japan won the sympathy of the Indonesians by positioning itself as an old fellow Asian brother who would save Indonesia from Western colonization, in this case, the Dutch colonization. Although Japan claimed it was Indonesia's partner, the power relations between Indonesia and Japan remained clear. Japan was the controlling party, and Indonesia was the controlled party. In order to make Indonesians cooperate and believe in Japan's propaganda, Japan used story media to indoctrinate.

The Japanese military government established Sendenbu (a propaganda department) in August 1942. Sendenbu's propaganda activities were targeted at civil society in Java, either Indonesians, Indo-Europeans, Asians or Japanese minorities (Kurasawa, 2015). Japanese propaganda in Java was implemented through various strategies, including ways apparently unrelated to propaganda, such as literary works, films, theatrical performances, children's songs, and kamishibai story telling. This paper highlighted kamishibai among the various entertainment media used for propaganda during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia.

Although kamishibai was popularized in Japan since the 1920s, the kamishibai tradition started in the 9th-10th centuries, when Japanese Buddhist priests traveled around to spread Buddhist values by telling stories using images. Kamishibai was then used as teaching media at schools (Kurasawa, 2015). In addition, kamishibai served as entertainment. Kamishibai puppeteers rode a bike from one place to another with images painted on cardboard. If these images had been assembled, they would have become a story. The puppeteer would stop at the side of the road and tell stories using the image media watched by children (as well as adults), and he did this voluntarily. According to Kurasawa (2015: 273), in Java, kamishibai shows "were one of the easiest and cheapest media to spread government messages, and the Japanese benefitted from this media not only for children but also for adults."

Kamishibai production and performances in Java were coordinated and supervised directly by a sendenbu. Kamishibai stories that taught moral values were made in Japan and performed in Java, but most of the kamishibai stories were made in Java by sendenbu staff. Kamishibai puppeteers were recruited from ordinary people in Java and attended a short training for approximately ten days. Kamishibai performances were held in various places, such as schools, workplaces, and villages. The show was free of charge and open to everyone; usually, one story took 10-20 minutes to tell. In storytelling, puppeteers could improvise using regional languages so that the audience would more easily understand the stories (Kurasawa, 2015, pp. 273-276).

On the surface, kamishibai and war propaganda were two completely unrelated things. Kamishibai was an entertainment medium that targeted children primarily. Moreover, kamishibai is a means of pleasure far from propaganda messages. However, the nature of kamishibai, which was far from war propaganda, became propaganda media during the Japanese occupation. There are strategies arranged and word choices when
creating such stories. This paper examined propaganda strategies in kamishibai, as formulated in the following research question: How are propaganda strategies displayed in kamishibai in Djawa Baroe magazine during the Japanese occupation in Indonesia?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous studies analyzed kamishibai propaganda. Kurasawa (1987) discussed the Japanese propaganda media in Java from 1942 to 1945. He mainly focused on film propaganda media and slightly discussed kamishibai. He stated that themes raised in kamishibai in Java were invitations to increase agricultural yields, love saving, join PETA (defenders of the Fatherland)\(^1\), actively participate in tonarigumi\(^2\), join romusha; history of Java; introduction to Japanese children (Kurasawa, 1987, p. 85).

Other related studies of kamishibai were more comprehensively conducted by Orbaugh (2013, 2015, 2018). In 2013 research, she examined women's feminine bodies that fit the norms of nationalism during wartime as displayed in Suzuki Noriko's kamishibai propaganda. In 2015, she more comprehensively researched the use of kamishibai as media to legitimize Imperial Japanese values within its state during the 15-year Japanese War. In 2018, she focused on examining the function of kamishibai in Japan in the 1930s as a game, education, or indoctrinating media for Japanese children. Irianti (2014) also analyzed kamishibai as propaganda media for the Saving Movement program during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia.

Meanwhile, Widjanarko (2020) analyzed propaganda on kamishibai and general propaganda messages on Djawa Baroe Magazine. He revealed six messages conveyed in Djawa Baroe Magazine: friendship between Indonesia and Japan, Japanese military strength, worship of nationalism, war preparations, Western crimes, the role of women, and entertainment.

Previous research with the closest focus to this paper is a study by Momose (2002). She employed a case study on kamishibai as Japanese propaganda media in Indonesia and collected data from Djawa Baroe Magazine. Her findings are nearly similar to those of Kurasawa. Momose classified the themes raised in kamishibai shows during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia. They are invitations to save money, invitations to increase agricultural production, the recruitment of Indonesians to join the PETA force, and hatred of America and Europe.

Although some of the above studies discussed kamishibai as propaganda media during the Japanese occupation, none conducted textual analysis by focusing on propaganda strategies shown in images and texts of kamishibai during the Japanese occupation. This article regarded kamishibai as a text and conducted verbal and visual analyses on seven kamishibai stories published in Djawa Baroe Magazine.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employed text and visual analysis methods on kamishibai in Djawa Baroe Magazine. The analysis focused on strategies for delivering propaganda messages through kamishibai media. According to Jowett and O'Donnell (2006, p. 269), "Analysis of propaganda is a complex undertaking that requires historical research, examination of propaganda messages and media, sensitivity to audience responses, and critical scrutiny of the entire propaganda process." The analysis of this paper primarily focused on historical contexts and propaganda messages in kamishibai.

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\(^1\) PETA: Pembela Tanah Air (A military unit formed by Japan during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia).

\(^2\) Tonarigumi: rukun tetangga (Neighborhood units)
Jowett and O'Donnell (2016) divide propaganda analysis into ten parts: 1. the ideology and purposes of propaganda campaigns, 2. the context in which the propaganda occurs, 3. identification of the propagandists, 4. the structure of the propaganda organization, 5. the target audience, 6. media utilization techniques, 7. special techniques to maximize effects, 8. audience reaction to various techniques, 9. counterpropaganda if present, and 10. effects and evaluation. This paper focused on analyzing special techniques to maximize effects and explore strategies used to maximize the effect of propaganda and ensure that the propaganda message was achieved.

**Kamishibai in Djawa Baroe Magazine**

_Djawa Baroe_ Magazine is an illustrated magazine published by the Japanese military government in Java for propaganda purposes. The magazine was first published in January 1943 and was a biweekly magazine published on the 1st and 15th of each month until the end of the war in August 1945. _Djawa Baroe_ Magazine consisted of 30 pages, and almost half of these pages contained images. Articles were written in two languages: Indonesian and Japanese. The Japanese version was a summary of the Indonesian version and was not translated word for word from Indonesian. _Djawa Baroe_ Magazine was published by Jawa Shimbunsha Publisher and sponsored by the Japanese military government. This publisher also published the Indonesian newspapers (Asia Raya) and the Japanese newspaper (Jawa Shimbun).

Every article written in _Djawa Baroe_ Magazine was strictly controlled by _sendenbu_ (propaganda department). Articles published in _Djawa Baroe_ Magazine supported Greater East Asia's shared prosperity policy. Besides reporting political, governmental, and socio-cultural issues, _Djawa Baroe_ Magazine published a considerable portion of literary works, such as short stories, scripts and poetry plays, children's songs, Japanese and Indonesian proverbs, Japanese language lessons, and kamishibai text and images. _Kamishibai_ was published in Djawa Baroe Magazine, starting from volume number 5/2604. 3. 1st. _Kamishibai_ texts and images were published in 13 consecutive issues, ranging from _Djawa Baroe_ Magazine Number 5 (1 March 1944) to _Djawa Baroe_ Magazine Number 17 (1 September 1944).

The titles and sources of each kamishibai image and text published in _Djawa Baroe_ Magazine are as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Kamishibai Titles</th>
<th>Sources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Roekoen Mendjadikan Sentosa (Harmony for Peace)</td>
<td>Majalah <em>Djawa Baroe</em> No 5/2604.3.1/hal 32-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Pengaroeh Zaman (The Influence of Era)</td>
<td>Majalah <em>Djawa Baroe</em> No 6/2604.3.15/hal 33-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Melipatgandakan Hasil Boemi (Multiplying Harvest Results)</td>
<td>Majalah <em>Djawa Baroe</em> No 7/2604.4.1/hal 33-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Perboeatan Baik, Baik Balasnjia (Good Actions, Good Replies)</td>
<td>Majalah <em>Djawa Baroe</em> No 8/2604.4.15/hal 32-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Radja Oentoek Semalam (A King for a Night)</td>
<td>Majalah <em>Djawa Baroe</em> No 9/2604.5.1/hal 33-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Tiga Saudara (Three Brothers)</td>
<td>Majalah <em>Djawa Baroe</em> No 10/2604.5.15/hal 33-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Salah Tampa (Wrong Acceptance)</td>
<td>Majalah <em>Djawa Baroe</em> No 11/2604.6.1/hal 33-34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Dongeng Djoko Kendil (Djoko Kendil Story)</td>
<td>Majalah <em>Djawa Baroe</em> No 12/2604.6.15/hal 33-34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This paper focused on analyzing seven of the 13 kamishibai published in Djawa Baroe magazine; they were published in numbers 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 11, and 13. These seven kamishibai stories were selected based on the type of story, namely reality, not a fairy tale. In addition, they were selected because their themes contained propaganda messages during the Japanese occupation, such as defending the country, loving the homeland, being frugal, and diligently saving.

**Propaganda Strategies in Kamishibai**

The investigation of seven kamishibai in Djawa Baroe Magazine revealed three strategies for delivering propaganda messages. They are negative depictions of the West, the absence of Japan in the story, and the use of local cultural elements. These three strategies will be discussed as follows.

### Negative Depictions of The West

The first strategy to deliver propaganda messages was to portray the West negatively. Such a portrayal had two implications. First, it showed the West as an enemy that did not bring prosperity to Indonesia. Second, it showed that Japan was the opposite of the West. In other words, Japan was indirectly described as a good party and brought a better life to Indonesia. The investigation revealed that three kamishibai described the West negatively: kamishibai Pengaroeh Zaman, Roekoen Mendjadikan Sentosa, and Ta' Ada Pekerjaan Hina. The excerpts from the three kamishibai stories are as follows.


"Women's life in the Dutch era was utterly different from that now. The Dutch government separated the lower, middle, and high classes with deception. As a result, there is no relationship between these classes. That is the secret of the Dutch political system: disunity is everywhere!"

(b) “Zaman baroe membawa aliran hidoep baroe pula, bertjorak ketimoeran asli, berdasarkan semangat gotong rojong. Meskipoen tidak dengan segera, tapi sedikit demi sedikit, Nj. Sastramewah poen terpengaroeh olehnja.Fadjar keinsafan moelai menjingsing dalam hati sanoebarinja,
keinsafan akan kedoedoekannja dalam masjarakat sebagai wanita.”
(“Pengaroeh Zaman”, Djawa Baroe 1944.3.15:33)
The new era has brought a new flow of life with the original Eastern style and the spirit of mutual assistance. This new flow does not come immediately but gradually. This new flow also influences Mrs. Sastramewah. The light of awareness started to rise in her heart— the awareness of her position in society as a woman.” ("Pengaroeh Zaman", Djawa Baroe 1944.3.15: 33)

The two excerpts above are parts of kamishibi story texts for the first and second images of the story entitled "Pengaroeh Zaman." Mrs. Sastramewah, the main character, was a Javanese woman from the upper class who, in the Dutch era, did not care about the lower class. However, since the Japanese occupation, she began to change, lived modestly, cared more about others, and actively participated in the women's association called fujinkai. Her husband was very pleased that his wife's character changed to be improved in the Japanese era, which was called the “new era” in this story.

The excerpt (a) negatively depicts the Dutch period, which implemented political segregation. The story of kamishibi entitled "Pengaroeh Zaman" starts with an era before the Japanese occupation, namely the Dutch era. This era was described as an era that did not accommodate equality for Indonesians. This is shown in the first sentence, "the life of women in the Dutch era was completely different from that now." The expression "completely different" indicates the contrast between the "Dutch times" and the "recent time." The ugliness was expressed in detail by explaining the political segregation the Netherlands implemented. This condition was illustrated in the sentence, "The Dutch government separated the lower, middle, and high classes with the deception. As a result, there is no relationship between these classes." The words "deception," "separated," and "no relationship" confirm the position of the Dutch as a Western nation that segregated Indonesia.

The Dutch attitude was contrasted with that of the Japanese, as shown in the opening sentence in excerpt (b), "The new era has brought a new flow of life with the original Eastern style and the spirit of mutual assistance." The phrase "new era" indicates an era change from the Dutch occupation to the Japanese occupation. The phrases "the original Eastern style" and "the spirit of mutual assistance" express that Japan and Indonesia were in one group, namely the Eastern group against the West, in this case, America and Europe. The word "original" from the phrase "original Eastern style" implies that in the previous era, namely during the Dutch occupation, the characteristics of the "original Eastern style" were not visible or hindered. The second implicit meaning is that the Japanese occupation era encouraged the emergence of "original Eastern" values, namely the values of "mutual assistance." This value can be interpreted as the values of cooperation and collective spirit between Japan and Indonesia. This narrative wants to affirm Japan's position as the "elder brother" of Asian nations.

The other two excerpts describe the West negatively.


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"Since the fall of the Dutch government, the life of Indonesians had returned to its nature, namely based on the spirit of mutual assistance. In some places, this nature started to appear brightly. The new situation gave her more energy to live." ("Roekoen Mendjadikan Sentosa", *Djawa Baroe* 1944.3.1:32)

(d) “Petroek ingin mendjadi seorang pahlawan, pemimpin laskarnja dan memerangi Inggeris-Amerika.” ("Ta' Ada Pekerjaan Hina", *Djawa Baroe* 1944.8.1:33)

"Petroek wants to be a hero, a leader of the army, and fight against the Anglo-Americans." ("Ta' Ada Pekerjaan Hina," *Djawa Baroe* 1944.8.1:33)

Excerpt (c) uses the word "Dutch" directly to denote the "West." In contrast to the previous excerpt that shows the negative portrayal of the Dutch, namely segregating Indonesia, this quote does not show a negative portrayal of the Dutch's direct actions. However, the implicit meaning showing that the Dutch did something negative is seen in the following sentence, "Since the fall of the Dutch government, the life of Indonesians had returned to its nature, namely based on the spirit of mutual assistance." In other words, this sentence constructs that the Dutch disabled Indonesia to be itself, namely a nation with the spirit of mutual cooperation. Indonesia is a nation with the spirit of mutual cooperation. This idea should be read as the author's construction of *kamishibai*, which implicitly conveys that Indonesia and Japan have the same nature, namely togetherness and anti-individualism.

In contrast to the implicit negative portrayal of the West in quote (c), quote (d) directly positions the West, in this case "British-American," as the enemy. This can be seen in the phrase "fighting Anglo-Americans." In other words, in this quote, the West, represented by the "Anglo-Americans," must have been fought and was the opposite of Indonesia and Japan.

To portray the West negatively, the word "Japan," as the opposite of the West, does not come out explicitly. This will be discussed further in the findings of the second propaganda strategy of *kamishibai*, namely "the absence of Japan in the story."

**The Absence of Japan in The Story**

The second propaganda strategy is Japan's rarely explicit appearance in *kamishibai* stories. However, it does not mean that Japan was not present because it is present implicitly (indirectly). The forms and characteristics of the Japanese presence in seven *kamishibai* stories in *Djawa Baroe* Magazine are as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Kamishibai Titles</th>
<th>Forms of Japanese presence in the stories</th>
<th>Characteristics of Japanese presence in the stories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Roekoen Mendjadikan Sentosa (Harmony for Peace)</td>
<td>These stories narrated several activities of Indonesians (Javanese), such as becoming a chairman of the women's association and a member of the PETA Army. In this story, Japan was referred to by the word &quot;Government.&quot;</td>
<td>Implicit (indirect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Pengaroeh Zaman (The Influence of Era)</td>
<td>Comparison of conditions between the period before the Japanese</td>
<td>Implicit (indirect)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table above shows that Japan was present implicitly (indirectly) more often than directly (explicitly). Of the seven kamishibai, Japan's presence was explicitly found in two stories: kamishibai "Nasihat Jang Bermanfaat" and "Sembadra dan Srikandi." Kamishibai "Nasihat Jang Bermanfaat" narrated that Japan was present explicitly in the form of the character of Guncho (Japanese head of the army). He advised the main character, Sastro, to save his money at the post office. The story narrated robbers who tried to take Sastro's money at a savings place at the post office. However, they failed to rob because when they would take the money, the robbers' signatures and writing were not the same as those listed in the post office. Although Guncho was not the main character, he played a wise character who advised the main character to save money. Placing Guncho as an advisor who was not the main character but drove the story indicated Japan's position as a mentor, protector, and advisor to bring Indonesians to a better life.

Another story that shows the explicit presence of Japan is Sembadra dan Srikandi kamishibai. In this kamishibai, Japan was presented in the form of a language expression used by the main character, Srikandi, who was an Indonesian. Srikandi was depicted as a female army member who pronounced military command in Japanese. This indicated that the Japanese language was internalized in Indonesians' daily lives during the Japanese occupation.

In addition to the two kamishibai above, Japan was implicitly present in the other
five kamishibai. The implicit form was seen in the characters' activities, such as becoming a member of the PETA Army, saving money, farming, and becoming a chairperson of the women's association. The Japanese military government initiated these activities to support the Greater East Asia War. In other words, even though "Japan" and Japanese characters were not explicitly presented in the story, characters in kamishibai selected activities that showed Japanese presence, which drove the characters' lives.

Another implicit form is the technique of comparing Japan with Western countries. This technique refers to the subtlest and most implicit technique. This can be seen by showing the Western's ugliness or negative portrayal, as discussed in the previous sub-chapter through quotes (a), (b), (c), and (d). The comparison between Japan and the West was also made indirectly. For example, the word "Japan" was not present directly but is replaced by other words, such as "new age" and "now." Not explicitly writing the word "Japan" indicated a refinement of the propaganda message; as a result, Japanism did not sound too emphasized in Indonesia. This technique obscured the presence of Japan in the story and, at the same time, strengthened the presence of Japan as a driving force that provided a better life than the Dutch occupation.

The Use of Local Cultural Elements

The explicit strategies of negative depictions of the West and the absence of Japan in the story were strategies to construct stories from the side of Japanese characters. In the third strategy, namely the use of local cultural elements, stories were constructed from the side of Indonesian characters. In this case, Javanese culture was included in the story. Local cultural elements were seen in the characters of the stories, their names, their clothes, and the background of the place. The categories of local elements in Kamishibai in Djawa Baroe Magazine are summarized in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Kamishibai Titles</th>
<th>Local culture elements</th>
<th>The meaning of local cultural elements in the stories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Roekoen Mendjadikan Sentosa (harmony for peace)</td>
<td>Names of places directly mentioned, &quot;somewhere in Java.&quot; Visualization included wearing kebaya clothes and hair in a bun for female characters and wearing peci for male characters. The figures had Javanese names, such as &quot;Marsoediroekoen,&quot; &quot;Soeminta,&quot; &quot;Soemanti,&quot; &quot;Bagdja,&quot; &quot;Perwira,&quot; &quot;Soeprihatin,&quot; and &quot;Ratna Djuwita&quot;.</td>
<td>Japanese military government established various programs, such as saving and living frugally, joining the march of the female army, joining the PETA Army, and practicing mutual assistance with neighbors. This value was internalized and reasonably practiced in the daily lives of Javanese/Indonesian society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Pengaroeh Zaman (The Influence of Era)</td>
<td>Visualization included wearing kebaya clothes and hair in a bun for female characters and wearing peci for male characters.</td>
<td>Japanese military government established various programs, such as saving and living frugally, joining the march of the female army, joining the PETA Army, and practicing mutual assistance with neighbors. This value was internalized and reasonably practiced in the daily lives of Javanese/Indonesian society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The characters had Javanese names, such as “Sastra.” The word &quot;Mas&quot; refers to a husband.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>saving and living frugally, joining the march of the female army, joining the PETA Army, and practicing mutual assistance with neighbors. This value was internalized and reasonably practiced in the daily lives of Javanese/Indonesian society.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Melipatgandakan Hasil Boemi (Multiplying Harvest Results)</td>
<td>Visualization included wearing peci, beskap, and blankon for male characters. The characters had Javanese names, such as “Sastra.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Japanese military government established various programs, such as saving and living frugally, joining the march of the female army, joining the PETA Army, and practicing mutual assistance with neighbors. This value was internalized and reasonably practiced in the daily lives of Javanese/Indonesian society.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Nasihat Jang Bermanfaat (Helpful Advice)</td>
<td>Visualization included wearing peci, beskap, and blankon for male characters. The characters had Javanese names, such as “Sastrowikromo.”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Japanese military government established various programs, such as saving and living frugally, joining the march of the female army, joining the PETA Army, and practicing mutual assistance with neighbors. This value was internalized and reasonably practiced in the daily lives of Javanese/Indonesian society.</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Insaf Membawa Bahagia (Repentance for Happiness)</td>
<td>Visualization included wearing peci for male characters and wearing Japanese military government established various</td>
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<td>6. Ta’ Ada Pekerjaan Hina (No humiliated occupation)</td>
<td>Characters in puppet stories, such as &quot;Semar,&quot; &quot;Gareng,&quot; and &quot;Petroek&quot; were used. Visualization included wearing peci, blankon, beskap, and keris for male characters and wearing kebaya clothes, fabric, and hair in a bun for female characters.</td>
<td>The personification of the wise puppet character, Semar, in the story conveyed a message to work and reinforced the message that any work must have been done to win the Great East Asian War.</td>
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<td>7. Sembadra dan Srikandi (Sembadra and Srikandi)</td>
<td>The characters had names used in puppet stories, such as &quot;Sembadra&quot; and &quot;Srikandi.&quot; Visualization included wearing peci for male characters and wearing kebaya clothes, fabric, and hair in a bun for female characters. The characters had Javanese names, such as &quot;Soetarti&quot; and &quot;Soeparti.&quot;</td>
<td>Three female characters in the story were compared. First, Soetarti was a strong, brave, and valiant woman who participated in the female army. In contrast, Srikandi and Soeparti were gentle and maternal women who were good at cooking various dishes to support the soldiers on the battlefield. This figure comparison emphasized the message that women, with their various works, were urgently mandated to join and win the Great East Asian War.</td>
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The table above shows that the most frequently appearing local cultural elements were visualizing the characters’ appearance and use of Javanese names. These findings...
indicated that each activity advocated by the Japanese military government was truly performed by Indonesians as well as integrated and internalized in their daily lives. These activities included saving money at the post office, joining female army activities, cooking for the soldiers, living frugally, joining the PETA Army, and farming with agricultural techniques taught by the Japanese government. All of these activities supported the victory of the Greater East Asian War. In other words, these kamishibai stories conveyed messages that Indonesians and the Japanese military government supported all efforts to win the Great East Asian War.

Besides visualization of appearance, such as clothes worn and hair or head accessories, local cultural elements were also presented by using wayang story characters in kamishibai. This can be seen in the kamishibai of “Ta’ Ada Pekerjaan Hina” published in Djawa Baroe Magazine Number 15 on 1 August 1944. This story narrated the brothers Gareng and Petroek who quarreled because they thought their dreams were the best. Petroek wanted to be a soldier, and Gareng wanted to be a farmer. Semar, their father, came to break up their quarrel when they were arguing. Semar advised wisely that all occupations were equally excellent and essential, especially during war. Moreover, he advised the people to unite to move forward and said that the despicable were those who did not work at all.

The three main characters in this story, Petroek, Gareng, and Semar, were taken from the three Punakawan characters in the movies. In accordance with the Javanese puppet play, Petroek and Gareng in kamishibai were brothers, and Semar was their wise father. The physical characteristics of these three figures were also maintained. For example, Petroek had a long nose, Gareng had hair in a ponytail at the back, and Semar's posture was small and slightly bent.

In addition to Ta' Ada Pekerjaan Yang Hina story, a story entitled Sembadra dan Srikandi borrowed the characters from puppet stories to strengthen this story. Sembadra was compared to Soeparti, a gentle and maternal woman. Meanwhile, Srikandi was compared to Soetarti, a brave and strong woman. In wayang stories, Sembadra is described as a gentle woman, while Srikandi is described as a strong woman.

It is interpreted that the strategy of using wayang characters in kamishibai aimed to reinforce messages. Protagonists in the wayang who are famous for wisdom (Semar), strength (Srikandi), and female gentleness (Sembadra) supported every activity to win the Great East Asian War. These messages were not presented directly in a wayang story, but the characters in the wayang story were borrowed in characters and characterization to reinforce Japanese military propaganda messages. "Ta' Ada Pekerjaan Hina" story used the characters of Semar, Petroek, and Gareng more explicitly to construct the three characters in this puppet story. The images visualized that the characters were painted following their characteristics, and their names used the names of these three wayang characters. On the other hand, Sembadra dan Srikandi story used characters in wayang more indirectly. This story used a technique that compared the characters in the story with these two wayang puppet characters.

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3 The word “Petroek” was deliberately written in the old spelling to adjust to the writing of the kamishibai text published in Djawa Baroe Magazine.
4 Punakawan is a typical character in Indonesian puppets. They symbolize the average person, and their characters indicate multiple roles, such as knight advisors, entertainers, social critics, clowns, and sources of truth and wisdom. In the Javanese puppets, Punakawan characters consist of Semar, Gareng, Bagong, and Petruk. (http://www.seasite.niu.edu/Indonesian/Wayang/contents/Defaultpage.htm-diakses on January 10, 2024 at 13.55 WIB)
Using local cultural elements was an attempt to internalize and teach various activities the Japanese military government made during the Japanese occupation. The characters were represented by visualizing clothes, kebaya, beskap, blankon, peci, and Javanese names. These elements were recommended by the Japanese military government and denoted that Indonesians supported the Great East Asian War. Although kamishibai stories used local cultural elements with various techniques, they conveyed an equal message: Indonesians' support for winning the Great East Asian War.

CONCLUSION

This study revealed that entertainment media, such as kamishibai published in *Djawa Baroe* Magazine, could serve as media to spread propaganda messages during the Japanese occupation. Moreover, this study discovered three propaganda strategies: delivering propaganda messages by portraying the West negatively, negating the explicit presence of Japan in the story, and including local cultural elements. These strategies made propaganda messengers, in this case Japan, indirectly visible in each story. In other words, Japanese was "absent but present" in every kamishibai story. It was absent because it did not exist directly through directly visible elements in the stories, such as characters, characterizations, places, and the language used. However, it was present through more implicit elements, such as the characters' activities and the negative portrayal of Japan's enemy during the Greater East Asia War.

This research has a limitation. It only investigated seven kamishibai texts and sets of images collected from *Djawa Baroe* Magazine. In fact, more kamishibai stories were performed in Java during the Japanese occupation. For this reason, further research should analyze a bigger amount of data and more comprehensive data to explore various propaganda strategies in kamishibai in Java. This study did not examine the effectiveness and impact of propaganda messages conveyed to Indonesians in kamishibai during the Japanese occupation. The author of this kamishibai has not been exactly revealed because *Djawa Baroe* Magazine did not list any information about it. Thus, further research is suggested to analyze the effectiveness of propaganda messages in kamishibai and explore the authors of kamishibai stories.

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Additional Information:

1 Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere or 大東亜共栄圏 (Daitoakyoooeiken) is a concept of Japanese imperialism, which stated that Japan was the leader of the Asian nations and was free from Western powers.

2 Momotaro, or "peach boy," is a very popular Japanese folklore. Momotaro was born from peaches and was cared for by a married couple who had longed for children. One day, a giant attacked Momotaro's village, stole the harvest, and committed crimes. Momotaro went to the giant's island (onigashima) with his three followers: a monkey, a dog, and a pheasant. He defeated giants at Onigashima.

3 The year 2604 of the Japanese calendar = the year 1944 of the AD calendar.

4 The excerpts were quoted in accordance with the original writing, including some Indonesian grammatical errors, such as the prefix di- and the word zaman (era), which should be separated. In the original writing, these two elements were not written separately. However, this research faithfully follows the original writing.