



School Representation in *The Japan Times* from 2013–2017

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Abstract. *Chongryeon* is a community organization of Korean permanently living in Japan. This organization publicly supports North Korea. Therefore, they have a bad reputation in Japan's public eye. Newspaper is one of the tools that represent them. Also, this organization has ethnic schools that are widespread throughout Japan. *Chongryeon* schools often get unfair treatment from the Japanese government. One of them is a cancellation of their school tuition waiver from the government. This journal analyzes the representation of *Chongryeon* schools in *The Japan Times*. The author limits the discussion of this study between 2013–2017. This study uses a critical discourse analysis method. The purpose of this study is to see *zainichi*'s image in Japanese media after Japan and Korea's tension arise in the end of 2012. The results of the study show that in *The Japan Times*, *Chongryeon* school dominantly represented as North Korea's propaganda machine. Furthermore, *zainichi* bad image as non-Japanese often shows in every news article.

Keywords: Chongryeon · Korean ethnic school · Mindan · representation · *zainichi* Korean

1 Introduction

Koreans in Japan (*zainichi*) are divided into two different groups because of political view differences. South Korean supports Mindan as a community organization, while North Korea supports *Chongryeon*. During the occupation period, Japan forbid them to learn Korean history and culture. Furthermore, discrimination in the Japanese public school causes each organization to build their school.

Chongryeon school had a different education than regular Japanese school. They taught Korean history from the North Korean perspective. They use an independently published book contains *juche* ideology. Its students are required to wear Korean traditional clothes (*chima* and *jeogori*). Inside the class, the school display Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il portrait.

In April 2010, the Japanese government gave tuition waiver to every high school in the country. The government plans to apply this policy to ethnic schools and international

schools. However, in November 2010, North Korea missile test caused the Japanese government to cancel the tuition waiver for *Chongryeon* schools because they were related to North Korea [1, 2].

According to Lie, in his book *Zainichi* (Koreans in Japan), *zainichi* representation in the past influence their image today. Post-World War I (WWI), *zainichi* was associated with criminality, illegality, and violence [3]. Moreover, according to Kumpis [4], this was aggravated by the development of mass media. In the news related to *Chongryeon*, the issue about Japan and North Korea often resurface. Kumpis concludes in his research that news related to *zainichi* always associated with something negative, including the news about the ethnic school.

This journal will analyze *Chongryeon* school representation in the *Japan Times* from 2013 to 2017. The researcher is using the Japan Times because it publishes its news in English. Therefore, its reader demographics are compelling. Furthermore, this journal is made to support Kumpis research result. The researcher is using critical discourse analysis method by Norman Fairclough.

2 *Zainichi* School in Japan

Japanese colonial government forbids the Korean language. The ban also applies inside the house of every immigrant. Also, the government prohibits the Korean name and the teaching of Korean history and culture in school. Therefore, the Korean community established their school after the colonial government ended in 1945. A year after the war ended, *zainichi* managed to build 525 elementary schools, four junior high schools, and twelve senior high schools [5, 6]. After the establishment of the Korean ethnic school, the Japanese government asked them to follow the Japanese Ministry of Education's curriculum.

In January 1948, Japan issued a Law on School Education. This law requires Korean students to enter Japanese schools. This law gained protests from *zainichi* throughout Japan. One of the most violent demonstrations took place in Kobe in 1948. At its peak, the prefectural governor was kidnapped and forced to cancel the law. The government then responded with military action followed by the detention of thousands of *zainichi* [7]. In the end, all schools established by the Korean community got closed from 1948 to 1955 [8].

In 1951, Japan, Korea, and 47 other countries signed the San Francisco Peace Treaty. Under the agreement, Japan and Korea agreed that *zainichi* must study in Japanese schools. *Zainichi* community saw this as an attempt to suppress Korean culture [6]. Therefore, there were refusal movements in various cities, including Yamaguchi, Okayama, Hyogo, Osaka, and Tokyo [6, 9].

Zainichi school reopened in 1956. At that time, North Korea supported *Chongryeon* to establish ethnic Korean school. North Korea provided funds to develop 161 schools, ranging from kindergarten to university in 1959. Also, North Korea helped establish credit institutions to help *Chongryeon* members economy. This situation made the number of *Chongryeon* supporters increase. In the 1950s, 445,586 of 613,671 Korean *zainichi* supported *Chongryeon* [7].

Teaching and learning activities in Korean ethnic schools use Korean as the language of instruction [10]. Korean usage helps students to know their culture because most of

Table 1. Subjects Taught in Ethnic Korean and Japanese School [11].

Subject	Korean Ethnic School	Japanese School
Korean	26,6	-
Japanese	15,6	22,2
Social Sciences and Moral Education	8,8	14,1
Mathematic	16,5	15,6
English	4,6	3,9
Natural Sciences	9,2	10,2
Sports, Music, Art	18,8	23,8
Other	-	10,2

them only know Japanese. On the other hand, the quality of the curriculum from Korean ethnic schools is not inferior to Japanese schools; it is almost identical. The school alumni got widely accepted in Japanese universities. The difference is that ethnic Korean schools focus on teaching Korean geography and history [10] (Table 1).

Based on the Table 1, the allocation of study time for Japanese schools and ethnic Korean schools is not much different. The Korean ethnic school allocated 26.6% of the study time for learning Korean. The time given obtained with reducing the time of several other subjects, such as Japanese, Social Sciences and Moral Education, Natural Sciences, as well as Sports, Music and Arts subjects. Also, ethnic Korean schools omitted the ‘other’ portions of education.

However, based on the Japanese Ministry of Education in 1965, ethnic Korean schools were not recognized as schools in general but as other schools (non-academic) [12]. This type of schools is called *kakushu gakko* (各種学校), which includes cooking and sewing schools. *Kakushu gakko* students cannot continue their education to a higher level right away. They must take the entrance test (*Daigaku Nyugaku Shikaku Kentei* / 大学入学資格検定) to do so [13].

In the 1990s, *Chongryeon* school enthusiasts began to decline. Based on the data, in 1961, there were 40,542 *Chongryeon* school students, while in the mid-1990s, there were only 20,000 students [10]. Therefore, to attract students’ attention, *Chongryeon* schools adjust their curriculum to make it easier for students to enter college. However, to date, Korean ethnic schools have not been recognized and are still included in the other school categories [14].

3 *Chongryeon* School in the Japan Times

In *The Japan Times*, there were 15 news and opinion about *Chongryeon* education from 2013–2017. The earliest news published on March 3rd, 2013, and the latest news posted on December 29th, 2017. Out of the 15 articles, the issue reported include the education system and subsidies for school fees by the Japanese government.

Accordingly, the author can divide the articles into three periods. The periods are 2013–2014 as the fundamental part, 2015 as a transition period, and 2016–2017 as the

peak of the issues. The news article found was dominated by Japanese government tuition waiver revocation. This tuition waiver is called *shogakukin* (奨学金) means scholarship. However, this scholarship is more like student loans that require students to pay back the money. On the other hand, news that does not address this issue focus on the education system.

The Tuition Waiver Issue (2013–2014)

In 2013, *The Japan Times* published three news and one opinion about *zainichi* education. The first news published on March 3rd, 2013, with the title “*Students convenient proxies in LDP’s Pyongyang angst*”. Philip Brasor wrote the news. The report contained government policies that revoked the *Chongryeon* school scholarship. The government stated that the scholarship revoked based on the school affiliation with *Chongryeon* and North Korea. In April 2010, all schools in Japan, including foreign schools, received the scholarship. However, the Japanese government revoked it after North Korea bombed South Korea in November 2010.

In the news, the author argues that the government “... is clearly discriminating against one group of children as part of its economic sanctions against North Korea”. The author sided with the *Chongryeon* school. Furthermore, he stated, “The government can’t seem to do anything about that stubbornly stupid regime in Pyongyang, so they take their frustrations out on the most vulnerable, most convenient proxies they can find”. This quote accentuates *Chongryeon* as a victim of government hatred towards North Korea. *Chongryeon* school affiliates with North Korea, but this does not make them involved in the illegal activities they do.

Furthermore, the news shows that the Japanese government is indifferent toward *Chongryeon* school education system. The decisions they make are based solely on prejudices and stereotypes. The author defends the *Chongryeon* school and scoffs at the government stance.

The Japan Times then issued an opinion on April 11th, 2013. The opinion was titled “*Targeting ethnic high schools*”. Kayoko Kimura wrote this news. The news contained Japanese residents’ refusal of the government decision to stop scholarships for *Chongryeon* schools. Also, the opinion mentions the UN Convention, which states that education is the right of all children, and Japan does not comply with it.

This opinion focuses on the indifference of the government and students as victims of policy. The author criticized government intolerance. The author stated, “... They (Japanese government) have learned little about the history of Korean residents in Japan and that they could not help getting a bad impression due to the Japanese media”. This statement accentuates that the government considerations are based on prejudices and stereotypes mentioned in the previous news. Also, this opinion indirectly places the school as an institution that has no power.

The author is siding with the *Chongryeon* school. He described the Japanese government as “shameful”. The author stance is unusual considering she is Japanese. However, this opinion does not mention the curriculum in the school at all. Also, this article argues that the system and the content of education in *Chongryeon* school will not affect the government’s decision.

The Japan Times published the following news on June 6th, 2013, entitled “*Kitakyushu grade schools still teaching Korean culture*”. Journalist Keisuke Sunami

wrote this news. The news contained the struggle of three teachers who were in Kitakyushu to continue to teach Korean culture. Three instructors stated that the number of students in the school declined since *Chongryeon* opened its school. Also, the material they could teach to students was only cultural. To keep the class, they do not teach sensitive topics, such as the history between Korea and Japan.

The last news in 2013 published on December 20th. The news entitled “*Pro-North students sue over tuition aid*” and did not include the author’s name and lists Kyodo as a news source. *The Japan Times* has a partnership with the Kyodo news. Therefore, *The Japan Times* often publishes its news by changing the title without changing the contents of the story.

The news contained students and alumni from *Chongryeon* middle and high school in Kitakyushu protesting the government’s decision about the scholarship revocation. The news stated that 67 people sued the court. In April 2010, *Chongryeon* school used to have the right for the scholarship. However, after the North Korean attack on November 2010, the government abolish the rights.

The author gives a different nuance to the previous news. In this news, the author does not try to show students as victims. The author also mentions the image of the school students as positive and powerful. The image portrayed by a statement, “...similar lawsuits are pending at district courts in Nagoya, Osaka and Hiroshima”. Overall, the author does not try to wrap the news into a sad story but courage.

In 2014, *The Japan Times* published three news stories about *Chongryeon* education. The first news entitled “*Osaka school offers a new approach to education for ethnic Koreans*”, which released on April 3rd, 2014. Fukashi Eto wrote this article that contains a new Korean school using a modern education system. This school can be a solution to the education system dispute between *Mindan* and *Chongryeon*. This school meant to answer the changing demographics of the Korean *zainichi* community, which most of them has one Japanese parent. Also, the school follows the guidelines of the Japanese education system, so the government recognizes the school. This school talks about taboo issues, such as the dispute over the territory of Dokdo/Takeshima Island between Japan and South Korea.

The author states that this education system reaps positive responses from students. This system contrasts with *Chongryeon* education that supports North Korea. In this news, *Chongryeon* school has an image as a North Korean propaganda tool. The author stated, “It (*Chongryeon* school) also used the footage in class that emphasized the prosperity of North Korean society”. The news quote gave the school an image of a liar.

The other news in 2014 had the title “*Grade school for Zainichi Koreans in Osaka struggling to survive*”, which released on August 11th. Natsume Watanabe wrote the news. The news is about Korean ethnic elementary school struggling to survive even though the government scholarship terminated. The author stated that the scholarship revocation reason is *Chongryeon* school affiliation with North Korea.

First, this news stated that government scholarships have a significant influence on the sustainability of education. The author stated, “While the elementary school is provided by donations and tuition of nearly 20,000 per student per month, teachers work almost

without pay". This statement has the potential to invite sympathy from readers. In this statement, *Chongryeon* school described as helpless and indigent.

On the other hand, this news quotes a government official statement that North Korea supports *Chongryeon* school. The author states, "Some municipal governments made similar decisions, saying the schools' educational policies were heavily influenced by *Chongryeon*". Also, the author mentions the school's effort to reduce their supports towards North Korea. However, the author accentuates that the efforts the school make are not enough to attract readers' sympathy.

Furthermore, the author portrays the *Chongryeon* school education system as hypocritical. On the one hand, the school sided with Kim Il-sung in developing nuclear weapons. On the other hand, the school condemned other countries for doing the same thing. The hypocritical stance can cause a bad image for the reader.

The Japan Times published the last news in 2014 on November 13th entitled "*North Korean schools in Japan soldering on despite tough times*". Isabel Reynolds wrote the news. This news again emphasizes the struggle of the *Chongryoen* school to survive and highlight various teaching and learning activities in the school. Also, this news shows opinions from multiple sources that justify the school.

First, this news illustrates the number of *zainichi Chongryeon* which support and defend North Korea. Then, this news contrasts it with supporters of *Mindan*. The author stated, "Japan now has about 70 such establishments... Only four schools backed by South Korea".

Second, this news emphasizes the role of the *Chongryeon* school as North Korean supporter is dangerous for Japan security. Reliable sources, such as a professor, support this statement. The author stated, "Hideshi Takesada, a professor at Takushoku University in Tokyo who specializes in North Korea, said curriculum content is "very ideological" and teaches "all boys and girls should obey leader Kim Jong Un". The statement looks valid, therefore invites the reader to believe. Also, Robert Dujarric, director of the Institute for Contemporary Asian Studies at Temple University, stated that *Chongryeon* schools were Kim's regime "propaganda entity".

The news states facts that confirm *Chongryeon* school closeness with North Korea. The author states, final level students "...visit North Korea during their summer vacation". Also, students learn the same as Japanese students,"...with the exception of modern history, which is said to be taught from a Korean perspective". These facts do not directly confirm the statement of the mentioned claim. However, this triggers the reader to think further and speculate.

At a glance, the title and content of the news seemed to support the *Chongryeon* school. However, the facts presented in the report give a bad image to them. If observed, this news emphasizes the danger of the existence of *Chongryeon* schools within Japan.

Therefore, the news articles positioning could be seen in this Table 2.

Transition Period of Tuition Waiver Issue (2015)

On July 23rd, 2015, *The Japan Times* published a story about *zainichi* education entitled "*The Korean struggle to keep their education system alive in Japan*". Yoichi Lee wrote this news. The news contains the injustices faced by the *Chongryeon* school. The news highlights the unfair treatment of the government and the impact of the treatment

Table 2. Positioning in The Tuition Waiver Issue (2013–2014)

Date	Title	Positioning
March 3 rd , 2013	Students convenient proxies in LDP's Pyongyang angst	<i>Chongryeon</i> school
April, 11 th , 2013	Targeting ethnic high schools	<i>Chongryeon</i> school
June 6 th , 2013	Kitakyushu grade schools still teaching Korean culture	<i>Chongryeon</i> school
December 20 th , 2013	Pro-North students sue over tuition aid	<i>Chongryeon</i> school
April 3 rd , 2014	Osaka school offers new approach to education for ethnic Koreans	<i>Chongryeon</i> school
August 11 th , 2014	Grade school for Zainichi Koreans in Osaka struggling to survive	Japanese government
November 13 th , 2014	North Korean schools in Japan soldiering on despite tough times	Japanese government

of students. Also, the report mentions the background history of the government stance toward *zainichi*.

Based on this article, the school received unfair treatment since the school was founded in 1955, “The policemen was marched into school amid a class and started to take away its desks, chairs and other equipment, Ri said”. This statement gave the impression that the treatment of the Japanese government is cruel and based on racism. The government stance is not surprising considering that Japanese people have a strong nationalism and unique identity.

On the other hand, this news mentions an interesting point of view of the issue. The author stated, “The presence of ethnic Korean schools across Japan was a legacy of the colonial rule over the Korean Peninsula from 1910 to 1945”. This sentence gives the nuance of Japan itself causes the ‘problems’. Therefore, the author demands Japan to settle the problem.

This news also contains the relation between *Chongryeon* and North Korean schools. The author stated, “... Schools proliferated with the growing presence of the predecessor organization of the General Association of Korean Residents in Japan (*Chongryeon*), which functions as North Korea's de facto embassy in Tokyo”. The author explains *Chongryeon* school to be related indirectly to North Korea. However, there were no opinions regarding the relationship.

Therefore, the news articles positioning could be seen in this Table 3.

Table 3. Positioning in the Transition Period of the Tuition Waiver Issue (2015)

Date	Title	Positioning
July 23 rd , 2015	The Korean struggle to keep their education system alive in Japan	Japanese government

The Peak of Tuition-Waiver Issue (2016–2017)

In 2016, *The Japan Times* published two news related to *zainichi* education. However, only one study of *Chongryeon* education. The news published on April 12th, 2016 entitled, “Korean schools in Japan riled by the possibility of using subsidies over anger toward Pyongyang”. Daisuke Kikuchi wrote the news. The news contained central government intervention of local governments tuition waiver to *Chongryeon* schools. In this news, the central government asked the local government to evaluate in detail before providing subsidies.

Like the previous news, the following news also highlights the injustices imposed by the government. The author emphasizes two opinions from two sources. Shin Gilung, the principal of Tokyo Korea High School, stated that the school had nothing to do with diplomatic and political relations. However, the Japanese government made decisions with political considerations. Shin argued that the Japanese government saw their relationship with *Chongryeon* as “problematic”. The author stated, “... Subsidies to Korean schools are cut off in response to North Korea’s abduction of Japanese and its nuclear weapons tests and missile launches”. *Chongryeon* image as a political victim was re-highlighted in this news. However, Shin’s statement can raise questions from readers because it seems subjective.

On the other hand, the author uses the opinion of the Japanese Ministry of Education, Hiroshi Hase. The author quotes, “... The Korean schools have strong ties with North Korea and that the pro-Pyongyang *Chongryeon* group... is influencing their education and human resources”. The image of the *Chongryeon* school given by Hase was in sharp contrast to Shin. Therefore, the image in this article subjects to the reader identity and background knowledge. Japanese readers will tend to hold Hase’s opinion.

Furthermore, in 2017, *The Japan Times* published six stories. This year has the highest amount of news compared to previous years. The first news posted on April 14th, 2017. Eric Johnston wrote this news. The report entitled “North Korean-run schools fall victim to Tokyo-Pyongyang tension as funding dries up”. The report contained the termination of regional government subsidies toward *Chongryeon* schools, including Gunma province. This cut was following central government notification last year. The report stated some reasons including *Chongryeon* school connection with North Korea and the Japanese citizens kidnapping by North Korea in September 2002.

The news stated that some prefectures had not stopped the scholarships. It means several *Chongryeon* schools gained local government as well as residents favor. The author said, “Of the 28 prefectures that offer assistance to elementary, junior high and high schools...a few are now refusing to continue such support”.

The indifferent government stance appears again in this news. Osawa, Head of Gunma prefectural government, stated, “I’ve only read translated parts of the textbooks the school uses. While it is true it’s not ‘anti-Japanese’ education, it’s also true there are some strongly anti-Japanese passages”. Osawa has drawn conclusions based on several readings. The author shows that the government makes decisions without looking at the whole situation. This statement is dangerous for readers who have prejudice to *zainichi*. Reports that come from a government have a nuance of ‘trustworthiness’ and ‘true’, so they will see the opinion as fact.

On July 20th, 2017, *The Japan Times* published news entitled “*Hiroshima Court dismissal lawsuit by the Korean school in government tuition waiver case*”. The report contained *Chongryeon* school students, and alumni demand for tuition waiver get rejected in Hiroshima. This rejection was the first, and there were still four cases in four other regions. However, unlike the previous articles, this news did not mention the North Korean bombing in November 2010. This news only describes the situation occurred within the country and mention North Korea and *Chongryeon* relation.

In the news, Judge Hiroshi Konishi stated, “He accepted the government arguments that the school operator suspected of having close links with the pro-Pyongyang General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, or *Chongryeon*, as well as North Korea”. The statement confirmed the government’s suspicion of relations between North Korea and the *Chongryeon* school. The readers can see the judge as a fact by the. Even so, the government’s suspicion expressed in the news is without substantiation. This reasoning explained in *The Japan Times* news on March 3rd, 2013.

Furthermore, the author stated, “Further, the government argued that the possibility cannot be ruled out of the government financial aid being diverted to purposes other than tuition costs”. The statement shows that *Chongryeon* schools are not a priority for Japan. The Japanese government does not consider them to be part of the country. Therefore, the image of *zainichi* as an unimportant outsider is increasingly visible.

Following on July 28th, *The Japan Times* published news entitled “*Osaka court rules Korean school is entitled to tuition subsidies withheld by the government*”. The news contained the Osaka court’s decision to continue the *Chongryeon* school scholarship program. The decision contrasts with similar news in Hiroshima. The same demands also occurred in Tokyo, Nagoya, and Fukuoka. Also, the Osaka Court stated that this was merely discrimination due to bad diplomatic relations between Japan and North Korea.

In this news, the author explained the reason for *Chongryeon* schools’ scholarship revocation. The author stated, “The government had also expressed concerns that the subsidies might be misused, close links between the school and the pro-Pyongyang association called *Chongryeon*”. The statement explains that the Japanese government is suspicious of *Chongryeon* school. The government sees *Chongryeon* school as a stooge of North Korea, and this situation can endanger Japanese society.

This news resurfaced the issue of Japanese citizens kidnapping and the school relation with *Chongryeon*. The report stated that the affiliation with *Chongryeon* is intense in the public eye. Therefore, the association with *Chongryeon* always came up as the reason to justify every issue. However, opinions given by Osaka city judge can be a lesson for readers to re-evaluate their point of view.

Next, on August 2nd, 2017, *The Japan Times* published a story entitled “*Korean school in Hiroshima appeals, ruling rejecting tuition subsidies*”. The news contained Korean school operators in Hiroshima who appealed to higher courts. The school requested after seeing Osaka courts support towards Korean schools in the same case.

The author stated, “The appeal comes just days after a court found for the first time that it is unlawful to deny the tuition of subsidies to a Korean school”. Then, the author added, “The previous case concerned the operator of a Korean senior high school in Osaka”. The phenomenon shows that Osaka inspired other cities to protest. Also, this showed strong solidarity and brotherhood between the *Chongryeon* school.

In the news, the author affiliates the schools with North Korea and *Chongryeon*. Like the news before, the court issues the statement. Therefore, the news is more natural to believe. Also, the author concerns that government scholarships would “not used properly”. The government suspects the *Chongryeon* school as a spy school, so they do not want to endanger Japanese society by supporting them [15].

On September 14th, 2017, *The Japan Times* published a story titled “*Tokyo court rules against pro-Pyongyang school tuition waiver lawsuit*”. The news contains court rejection against *Chongryeon* school alumni scholarship demand. Also, this news stated that the Minister of Education decision to terminate the scholarship was reasonable considering this is related to Japan security.

Again, this news mentions the relationship between the school and *Chongryeon*. The author stated, “... These schools are under the influence of the pro-Pyongyang General Association of Korean Residents in Japan, known as *Chongryeon*”. The statement is mentioned twice in the news. The author emphasizes again, “... citing the schools’ close ties to North Korea and *Chongryeon* as suggested in news reports and intelligence analyses”.

The news also mentions the potential misuse of the scholarship fund. Something similar stated in the previous article. Even so, this cannot prove with certainty. Next, the author explains this concern further, “The government... Citing the abductions of the Japanese nation by North Korea and other issues concerning the country”. The government again linked the *Chongryeon* school with North Korean abduction of Japanese citizens. However, if we pay close attention until this news is published, there has not been a maximum government effort in examining *Chongryeon* school.

The furthest investigation carried out by the Japanese government was in 2010 by the DPJ (Democratic Party of Japan). However, the study vanished halfway when North Korea bombed South Korea in 2010 [16]. Therefore, we can conclude again that the government is unwilling to take risks and make decisions based on suspicion and prejudice.

The Japan Times published the last news about *Chongryeon* school on December 29th, 2017. The report entitled “*Major Korean junior high school, cut off from Japan’s tuition aid, to close in March*”. The story contained the closing of the *Chongryeon* school in Osaka. The school is the first and largest school in Japan, so it is unusual for the Korean community. This news summarizes the phenomenon, from policymaking to discrimination experienced by students so far.

This article puts *zainichi* as a victim of regulation and diplomatic relations. The author stated, “The move is a sign that the tense situation between Japan and North Korea is harming Korean residents of Japan”. The author then noted that the public misunderstood the primary purpose of the existence of this school. The author elaborates with the statement, “... Parents tend to send their children to these schools to learn their mother tongue and discover their identity, not to acquire political ideology”. The author implies that the school has no connection with politics.

On the other hand, the authors state that the mistakes made by North Korea against Japan caused discrimination towards *Chongryeon* school. Some of the discrimination triggers were the kidnapping of Japanese citizens in 2002 and the missile launch in 2006. The author then mentions *Chongryeon* school students’ discrimination experience. The

Table 4. Positioning in The Peak of The Tuition Waiver Issue (2016–2017)

Date	Title	Positioning
April 12 th , 2016	Korean schools in Japan riled by possibility of using subsidies over anger toward Pyongyang	Japanese government
April 14 th , 2017	North Korean-run schools falls victim to Tokyo-Pyongyang tension as funding dries up	<i>Chongryeon</i> school
July 20 th , 2017	Hiroshima court dismisses lawsuit by Korean school in government tuition waiver case	Japanese government
July 28 th , 2017	Osaka court rules Korean school entitled to tuition subsidies withheld by government	Japanese government
August 2 nd , 2017	Korean school in Hiroshima appeals ruling rejecting tuition subsidies	Japanese government
September 14 th , 2017	Tokyo court rules against pro-Pyongyang school tuition waiver lawsuit	Japanese government
December 29 th , 2017	Major Korean junior high school, cut off from Japan's tuition aid, to close in March	<i>Chongryeon</i> school

author stated, "... Female students of pro-Pyongyang schools saw their traditional *chima chogori* ... slit by strangers on the street". In conclusion, the author places *Chongryeon* schools as political victims of North Korean and Japanese diplomatic relations (Table 4).

4 Conclusion

Based on the research, the opinion almost divided into half. Eight of the 15 articles represented *Chongryeon* school as a North Korean propaganda machine. The news shows the representation by stating the relationship between schools and *Chongryeon* organizations, followed by *Chongryeon* relations with North Korea. This statement mentioned in every story siding with the Japanese government.

On the other hand, seven of the 15 news stories side with the *Chongryeon* school. It represents *Chongryeon* schools as victims of North Korean and Japanese diplomatic relations. The image of *zainichi* struggling to survive in the community often accompany the stories. Also, the news shows a critical perspective towards the Japanese government by condemning the government's treatment to them.

From the tables of the different periods, we could see that the media is shifting from siding with the *Chongryeon* school to the Japanese government. The siding could be seen by the number of articles that support the Japanese government. In the first period, two pieces sided with the Japanese government. By the third period, the number of items escalates to five.

Besides, each article mentions Korean *zainichi* as outsiders. The authors state the fact that *zainichi* Korea is not a part of Japan. The exclusion applies in every context, both supporting the *Chongryeon* school and the Japanese government.

The findings of this research show a mixed perspective compared to Kumpis negative findings. The result indicates that the image of *Chongryeon* school as North Korean propaganda tool remain. However, through this research, we found out that there are other stakeholders that see the Japanese government differently and support the *Chongryeon* community as a part of Japan.

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