TONARIGUMI’S ROLE AS A HABIT-FORMING MEDIA IN JAVANESE SOCIETY (1942-1945)

Afghani Trisna Ramadhan
Japanese Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia, Depok
afghanitr@gmail.com

Endah Hayuni Wulandari
Japanese Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Universitas Indonesia, Depok
endah_hwl@yahoo.com

At the beginning of the collapse of Dutch’s rule in Indonesia, Japan took advantage of the crisis to take over Dutch’s rule. The Japanese made various propaganda efforts, such as forming propagandist organisations and broadcasting good framing about Japan. The Japanese used Tonarigumi to help spread propaganda to Javanese people. Besides, tonarigumi also played a role in becoming an arena for changing habits in the culture of the people on Java Island. This article will explain the role of tonarigumi as a propaganda helper and the habits formed by the propaganda spread by the Japanese. This study uses historical research methods with systematic models. The problem analysis will use habitus theory which is first imitated by Pierre Bourdieu and developed by B. Takwin. The result of this study is that tonarigumi acted as a bridge that connects propagandist organisations and the government with the community and actively acting as a mobiliser for Javanese customs. From the role performed, the community has established habits such as saving and increasing the use of regional languages. The habits of people who were previously accustomed to the use of Dutch were eventually replaced by regional languages and Japanese.

KEYWORDS: tonarigumi, propaganda, Japanese government, propagandist organisations, habits.

INTRODUCTION

Before Japan colonized the land of Indonesia, the land was still conquered by the Dutch. Just before World War I and II, Netherlands East-Indies’ government faced a lot of crisis, such as economical and political crisis. In the 1920s, a lot of anti-colonialization movements emerged. These movements grew throughout time and led Dutch government to make repressive policies, such as movement-leaders abduction and alienation, community disbandment and stricter supervision against people’s rights to voice their concerns. Aside the political crisis, economical crisis had also become a concern in Netherlands East-Indies’ territory. In the same period, an era of global crisis begun due to the Wall Street Crash which affected countries around the globe, especially in Europe. The effects were also present in Netherlands East-Indies. Groceries’ price decreased significantly while the numbers of the unemployed increased, and there was also budget efficiency. Moreover, workers from Europe and China were eventually replaced with locals based on cheaper wages. These crises had also changed the government’s policies into a more
conservative regime rather than prioritizing ethical politics (Ricklefs M., 2008:398-400).

Seeing this opportunity, Japan took the initiative to conquer Netherlands East-Indies’ territory. Their first step to conquer it was with boosting the economy and gathering intelligence. One of the biggest factors of their action was the embargo established to them by the United States in July 1939. Thus, Japan thought of Netherlands East-Indies to be very precious for them in order to fulfill their needs as long as they were occupied with the war in East Asia (Ricklefs M., 2008:400).

As soon as Japan had been embargoed by the United States, they started to move south with searching for a land with resourceful manpower and natural resources as their main objective. One of the territories they found was Netherlands East-Indies. Their chance in invading the land was very big since economically, Japan had gained the people’s support with providing cheaper groceries, which the people thought to be very helpful. Politically, Japan gained the locals’ support by giving them false hopes of freedom from Dutch’s tyranny, which was only an exploitation of the locals’ growing nationalism movements. Aside of gaining the locals’ support through founding pro-Japan organisations, Japanese government also implemented a whole new system which was very different from Dutch’s, such as implementing tonarigumi.

After Concord of Kalijati was made, Japan filled the vacuum of power in Netherlands East-Indies. Their first step was establishing a new military government institute or Gunseikanbu which was led by a soldier whose rank must be at least an officer. Besides that, Japan also founded other organisations which also helped in their efforts to conquer Netherlands East-Indies and all of the locals. One of them is tonarigumi.

In Japan, Tonarigumi (隣組) is a part of a civil government which was founded in September 1940 based on Japan’s Ministry of Internal Affairs’ policy. Tonarigumi was formed with a mission to strengthen their control over their people. Based on the data, tonarigumis were not only established in Indonesia or South-East Asia. All territories in East Asia which was colonized by Japan also had tonarigumis. The people in a tonarigumi were given military and natural resources-management trainings so that Japan can gain manpower and resources to support their efforts in protecting and maintaining their colonies. Besides that, people who lived in a tonarigumi territory were tasked to ensure the resources stock in the territory.

Aside of being a part of the government’s administrative territories, tonarigumi was also used by the government to supervise and control the people’s activities. The leaders of tonarigumi were also acting as a bridge for the government to observe and interact with the locals. The leaders also had to associate and familiarize themselves with the social-cultural contexts and conditions of the locals. From this, it can be seen that there were events or activities which acted as medium of interaction between the locals and the government’s officials. One of the activities included competitions, such as Japanese poetry reading competitions and also other activities which acted as an appreciation platform of Japanese’s cultural arts. This indicates that Japan also controlled the locals with cultural approach aside from their militaristic approach. One of the big examples of Japan’s cultural approach can be seen in a magazine titled Djawa Baroe which included lessons of Japanese language, Japanese songs and also articles which discussed Japanese popular culture that was developed at that time. Aside from Djawa Baroe, other magazines which had the same contents were also distributed through tonarigumi. This approach was not used only to gain the locals’ support but also to implement Japanese culture to be practiced in the locals’ daily lives and
activities.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH AND RESEARCH PROBLEMS

There is two similar articles which inspired this research. The first article is titled “Pendudukan Militer Jepang di Indonesia: Terbentuknya Tonarigumi (1942-1945)” by Azora Nuraida, who was an undergraduate student of Japanese Studies in Universitas Indonesia in 2019. The article discusses about the tonarigumi’s birth which then Japan’s government implemented in Indonesia. It also mentions that propaganda was a key factor in persuading Indonesians to familiarize them with tonarigumi and persuade them to join the organisation. However, the article does not discuss anything about the social condition of the locals when tonarigumi had been a part of the locals’ lives. This problem is discussed in Dewi Yulianti’s article in 2012, titled “Mewaspadai Propaganda Melalui Kajian Sejarah (Studi Atas Sistem Propaganda Jepang di Jawa 1942-1945)”.

The second article discusses about Japan’s methods in strengthen their grip in controlling the locals. From the main ideas of both articles, there are two research gaps. The first research gap is about the locals’ condition after tonarigumi was implemented and after the locals had received propaganda about Japan and its culture. The second one is about tonarigumi’s role as Japan’s government’s hand in controlling the locals, which cultural acculturation and assimilation were not discussed.

Based on the research gaps, this article aims to analyse tonarigumi’s role in spreading Japan’s propaganda to the locals. Specifically, tonarigumi’s role, in this context, will be its role as a bridge between the spreader of the propaganda and the receiver of the propaganda, which are the locals. Lastly, this research will analyse the new habits developed by the locals after receiving the propaganda which had been spread by Gunseikanbu.

METHODS AND RESOURCES

This research uses descriptive qualitative and historical analytics methods. The data and historical proofs is collected from the National Library of Republic of Indonesia and Republic of Indonesia’s National Archives, which correlation will be explained using theories based on the research problems. By using these methods, this research aims to answer two questions. The first question is about how tonarigumi, as an organisation, did implemented Japanese culture to influence or change the habits of Indonesians’ locals to be more-Japanese, especially in Java. The second question is about the kinds of propaganda which was spread by Japan and how the propaganda can be very memorable for the locals.

METHODOLOGY AND THEORIES

As mentioned in the introduction, this research uses historical analytics method. The type of historical analytics method used in this research is a systematical model of analysis which was applied in “Social Change in America” by Thomas C. Cochran, which then was elaborated further by Kuntowijoyo in his book titled “Metodologi Sejarah”. This model was used by Cochran when
he was researching a social change in America in the 20th century. Kuntowijoyo explained that Cochran’s research model uses behavioral science, a study of behavior which is connected or related to a historical event which occurred in a specific time or space. The results of this analysis model primarily show the institutional history, which includes the government’s role in the socio-behavioral change of the people. Kuntowijoyo also included a graph which elaborates the systematical model of the analysis.

![Systematical Model Diagram](image)

**Picture 1.**

Systematical Model Diagram

Each matrix symbolizes an event and other components which are included in a specific event. The components can include a lot of variables, such as people, institutes, and any other things which actually influenced an event symbolized by the matrix. This means that there could be a lot of components included in this method if the time frame and the social space are bigger. However, it is best to note that the components must be proven to be exist in a certain historical event before get included in this method of analysis.

The systematical model is very appropriate for this research because there are a lot of components which are included as subjects in Japan’s government’s efforts in spreading propaganda and implementing their culture along their reign in Indonesia, especially in Java Island. This model is also flexible if being used together with a theory used in this research. Thus, this method is chosen to be used in this research.

A theory which is going to be used in this research is habitus, which was suggested by Pierre Bourdieu in 1977 (Jones, Bradbury Liz, Le Boutillier, & Saifuddin, 2016) along with its development as a theory. Habitus is a conceptual space which becomes a memory storage of an individual when people act. Takwin (2006) then adds that habitus becomes a tool which every individual has, which allows them to act in harmony in their society. According to Takwin, habitus is a perception, appreciation, and behavioral scheme which is created by a social institute and is internalized by the individuals in a certain society. Habitus is born from the interaction between the individuals and also with the environment where they live. In other words, habitus is born from a certain habit which is done or experienced by a person.
Tonarigumi’s Role, Its’ Foundation and Influences to Javanese Society

The Foundation of Tonarigumi

Tonarigumi or Rukun Tetangga is an organisation which was included in Japan’s militaristic government system (Gunseikanbu) during their reign in Indonesia. In Japan, this organisation was firstly formed in 1940 as the new development of buraku (village), a system from Tokugawa’s era. In his era, buraku was established based on the government’s desire to control the farmers so that the harvested crops can be gained and maintained by the government. Buraku was also divided into smaller groups of five families (goningumi) so that the government can have a simpler mean of gaining information on its people’s activities, especially about farming and harvestment (Kurasawa, Mobilisasi dan Kontrol: Studi tentang Perubahan Sosial di Pedesaan Jawa, 1942-1945 (Seri Pengkajian Budaya Jepang), 1993:195-196).

During their implementation, buraku and goingumi were proven to be effective in improving the government’s control of the people, especially their control of the farmers. Their control was implemented by using Japan’s collective culture and habit. Each individual had a collective responsibility, which means that an individual is responsible for other individuals’ wrongdoings or mistakes. Aside from improving the harvest’s results, the government was also able to improve the security of the neighborhood, even in the small ones (Ibid:196). In an article written by Douglas A. Rist, “The Social Structure of Commoners in Tokugawa Japan”, it is mentioned that in reality, goingumi’s system allowed direct punishments to individuals who made mistakes or errors. The punishments included physical punishment by the head of goingumi and amercement. One mistake that can lead to punishments was when a farmer intended to change their crops into another type of crop which was not desired by Japan’s government. This could lead to punishment to the farmer and also the other members of the goingumi. This policy was applied because Tokugawa’s government desired the society to fully obey the government and to prevent the people from being influenced by other religions and culture outside of Japan (Rist & Goble, 2014:3-6). This was also related to sakoku political policy establishment around the time when goingumi was also implemented. On the other side of controlling the economy of the people, supervision on the society’s social and cultural environment and activities were present in order to preserve the Shogun’s hegemony (Gordon, 2003).

Even though the control of the society during Tokugawa era was very massive, the shogun’s reign was put to an end due to pressure from the West (the United States and Europe). The shogun’s fall was influenced by a crisis in international affairs, which rooted from the sakoku policy. This policy led to difficulties for visitors from the West to interact with Japan and limiting their chances to start a business in Japan. Aside from pressures from outside the country, Japan also had their internal affairs. Several daimyos rebelled, and several parties who supported the rise of Japan’s Emperor to lead the country (Sonnoo) also started rebellions. Once the rebellions had become massive, big changes were made in Japan’s social structure. Society grouping was erased and was replaced with a more modern goingumi and buraku systems (Kurasawa, 1993:196).

There were several noticeable changes which can be seen after the new systems of goingumi and buraku were implemented in Japan. One of the noticeable changes was the
organisations’ roles in Japan’s government’s structure. During Tokugawa era, the organisations were integrated in the national structure. During Meiji restoration era, the organisations were considered as the government’s partner in gathering people. In addition, nomenclatural changes were also present in the structure of the government. Buraku was renamed into son which was headed by a soncho and was regarded as the smallest unit in the government’s structure. Each son consisted of several organisations which were considered complementary, such as seinendan (youth military training organisation), keibodan (the will of the people), fujinkai (militant women organisation), the veterans’ organisation and farmers’ organisation. Aside from establishing the organisations, the government also expanded the police organisation’s structure, so that each son had their own police organisation with their own jurisdiction in their own area. This was done in hope of maintaining their supervision toward the society.

There is also another point of view which explained the history of tonarigumi’s establishment further. Based on history, tonarigumi or chonaikai originated from goningumi from Tokugawa era. One of the biggest reasons for establishing goningumi back then was to enable interaction between the people in a certain society. This included spiritual and social interaction, such as the presence of honoured public figures who had the power to persuade people to follow their moral compass and norms (Yoshihara & Dwianto, 2003:13-15). With their presence and their role in giving instructions and news to the people, the government can easily control the people in the society. The government only needed to instruct the public figures who they can trust to help in controlling the people. This practice was used as a reflection by the government when they would establish tonarigumi. The government thought that the addition of a smaller unit in the government’s structure was more effective and efficient in controlling the mass. With this, the government would not have to give extra efforts in directing the people in the society to obey their order and policies.

When Japan was involved in World War II, the government planned to apply “Total Mobilization” (Kokka Soodooin) so that the people can help the government by participating in the war. Based on the effectivity of goningumi in Tokugawa era, specifically in controlling the mass, the government then changed their structure by establishing tonarigumi and applied administrative autonomy system for their colonies-like Manchuria and Taiwan-so that the people can be directed as they desired. Once this new system had made the people being effectively controlled, the government followed by applying this system in their other colonies in South-East Asia, including Indonesia.

The government’s structure restructuration and the new policies were applied in Japan’s main island and also their colonies, such as Manchuria and Taiwan in Tiongkok and also Korea Peninsula. Japan Empire’s first step in doing so was announcing their draft of the new policy, which was called “Regional Alliance Restructuration Program” which was done by Japan’s Ministry of Internal Affairs in September 1940. When the announcement was made, the government was planning to establish rinpoban or tonarigumi which consisted of 10 families in a certain area (Kurasawa, 1993:197). This policy was first applied and implemented in Japan’s main island. As mentioned earlier, this policy was made in order to control the mass so that they can provide all of their resources to support the government. To realize the program, the government started with giving instructions to their smallest local governments to supervise the tonarigumis. Because of this, the locals were easier to control due to the control being direct, which
was from the smallest unit of the government itself. Basically, the issues which were being controlled were economy, spiritual or morality and the locals’ social life. The government pushed the locals by putting pressures on the government’s smallest units to always include the locals in economic-boosting activities, such as routine farming programs, which activity was strictly supervised. Therefore, the locals were registered in the tonarigumi of each district even though it was not on their behalf.

Before Gunseikanbu or the militaristic government was formed in Indonesia, Nusantara was still under an interim government’s structure due to the vacuum of power after the fall of Dutch’s Colonialist Government to Japan (Ricklefs M., 2008:411). Japan’s government then drafted a policy which still acknowledged the Dutch’s policies, which was Osamu Seirei. The first policy in Osamu Seirei was Osamu Seirei Number 1 Article 3, which mentioned that policies which were made during the Netherlands East-Indies’ era could be still used for the time being (Kan Po, 1942:4). Several months later, Japan started reconstructing their governmental structure in Indonesia by establishing Gunseikan or the militaristic government and reconstructing the civil government’s structure under the militaristic government. In August 1942, Gunseikanbu announced their new policy, Number 27, which changed the nomenclature in their administrative government’s structure. When the policy was announced and applied, tonarigumi was just a draft or a concept, and the smallest unit in the structure was still acknowledged as villages. The structural change in Gunseikanbu’s government’s area in Java Island and Madura included the establishment of Shuu (州), Shi (市), Ken (県), Gun (郡), Son (村) and Ku (区) (Ibid:5-6). Shuu was recognized the same as residentie or residential during Dutch’s colonization era. Shi and Ken were the same as stadsgemeente (municipalities) and regentschap (district). Furthermore, each Shi or Ken consisted of Gun, which could be considered as a district (sub-district), son which was the same as villages and ku which was the same as onder-district or wards. Each of this area was led by an individual, called Cho, with its title written as “Government’s Unit + Cho (長).”

Once Japan had restructured their civil government, they changed the system of the government and the mass control in areas which were once controlled by the Netherlands-Indies’ government. The purpose of the changes was to eradicate all aspects of life which was strongly influenced by the Dutch and Europe and then replace it with Japan’s culture. This change was pushed by the belief that if Dutch and Europe’s influences were not fully eradicated, Japan’s own culture and ideologies would not be able to be implemented in the minds of the locals. One of the first changes which were made was policies on broadcasting companies control (radio), prohibition of using Dutch and English languages and also massive education of Japanese language to the locals. Japan used newspapers and radio as their main tool in spreading the propaganda. Sendenbu was also regarded as one of the institutes which spreaded Japan’s propaganda. Sendenbu was a department under Gunseikanbu’s supervision-operating outside the 16th Army Explication Section—which was specifically responsible for civil issues and matters. Even though its’ role was strictly specified to address and solve civil issues and problems, Japan did not want to entrust big responsibilities in the institute to the locals (Kurasawa, 1993:229-230). Thus, Japan’s government always appointed an Army officer to head the institute. The first Army officer who was appointed to be the leader of this institute was Colonel Machida (operating from August 1942 to October 1943). The next officer was Major Adachi (operating from October 1943 to March 1945), and then followed by Colonel Takahashi (operating from March 1945 to August 1945) (Kurasawa,
1987:60).

Throughout time, Sendenbu and its’ subdivisions were still considered to be not enough in controlling the locals located outside Java Island. Based on this assumption, Japan set their sights to the concept of tonarigumi which they had applied and implemented in Taiwan. In reality, however, Japan’s government did not blatantly announce that tonarigumi would be formed and massively applied outside Java Island. In the beginning of their efforts in applying tonarigumi on a bigger scale, they only formed local organizations in several chosen districts. These districts were meant to be the role model of tonarigumi which then would be applied in Java Island. For instance, in March 1943, a tonarigumi was formed in Bandung based on the locals’ initiative. Just as several tonarigumi prototypes were formed, Japan released an official announcement on 11 January 1944 (Ibid:219). Starting from this point, more than 1,000 units of tonarigumi were established all around Java Island. In newspapers on the same day, Japan’s government also released a policy about the main objectives and roles of tonarigumi in an article titled “Azas-azas oentoek Menjempoernakan Soesoenan Roekoen Tetangga.” The policy read:

“Maksoed

1. Roekoen Tetangga haroes mendijadi soeatoe badan oentoek bekerdja dengan boekti dan njata dalam hal membela tanah air, mengatoer pereknomian, dsb. ditempatnja masing-masing.

2. Roekoen Tetangga, sebagai soesoenan bawahan didalam pemerintahan ditempatnja masing-masing, haroes melangsoengkan hal oesaha pemerintahan Balatentera kepada pendoedoek.

3. Roekoen Tetangga haroes berichtiar oentoek mendjalankan kewadjiban bersma-sama, misalnja tolong-menolong, bantoe-membantoe dsb. antara pendoedoek, berdasarkan semangat gorong-rojong, jang hidoep dalam masjarakat Djawa semendjak dahoeoe kala.

Soesoenan

1. Tonarigumi (Roekoen Tetangga) a. Tonarigumi haroes terdiri dari lebih-korang 10 sampai 20 roemah-tangga jang dibentoek dengan djalan membagi-bagi djoemlah segenap roemah-tangga di dalam Ku (desa atau wijk).

   b. Tonarigumi mempoenjai Tonerikumityooy (Ketoea Roekoen Tetangga). Kutyooy (loerah atau wijkmeester) mengangkat Tonarikumityooy menoeroet oesoel anggota-anggota Tonarigumi.

   c. Tonarigumi haroes melakoekan permoesjawaratan, Tonerigunimonyookai (rapat berkala Roekoen Tetangga), jang terdiri dari anggota-anggota Tonarigumi, sekoerang-koerangnya sekali seboelan.

2. Azazyookai (Rapat berkala Aza)

   a. Masing-masing Aza (kampoeng) haroes membentoe Azazyookai.

   b. Azazyookai itoe terdiri dari Azatyoo, Tonerikumityooy dan orang-orang tjerdik-pandai dalam daerah Aza.

   c. Azazyookai haroes mengadakan Zyookai (rapat berkala) sekoerang-koerangnya sekali seboelan, menoeroet panggilan Azatyoo.”

It could be seen with the announcement that the main objective of tonarigumi in Java Island was to control and maintain the economy and also support Japan in directing the locals to contribute in Japan’s main mission to win the East Asia War or World War II.
In addition, there was also a more detailed explanation on tonarigumi’s activities. Based on a source collected by Aiko Kurasawa (1993:202), the activities included:

1. Supporting keibodan to protect the homeland from aerial attacks, fires, espionages and criminals
2. Delivering information regarding decrees, policies and instructions from the government and making the locals aware of them
3. Supporting the improvement of rice and other specialties’ production
4. Distributing supplies
5. Working together with Gunseikanbu in military issues and others
6. Mutual-cooperation optimalization in the society.

These functions and roles clarified that tonarigumi’s role in the government’s structure as the extension of gunseikanbu in mobilizing the society. As mentioned before, Japan continued their efforts in strengthening their grip on the society so that they can be deployed in East Asia War. Considering these facts, there were four issues which then became the main concern of tonarigumi, which were security, human resources deployment, propaganda and economy. Tonarigumi’s roles in security and propaganda optimalization were very important in preventing rebellions from the locals. Japan’s government worried that when the society was not supervised and controlled to the smallest unit, then the society could make grassroots movements which could not be detected by the government. Aside of that, tonarigumi’s roles in these two issues were also applied to ensure the safety of the society when there were attacks from Japan’s enemies. Economically, tonarigumi was tasked to improve the economy level of the society so that the locals could help Japan as they desired in the future.

Japan’s Government’s Control over Mass Media

Propaganda was the most important factor for Japan in conquering Indonesia. Japan’s government thought that militaristic approach would not suffice since those who were not ideologically controlled by them would aggressively rebel against the government. This part will explain the propaganda made and controlled by Japan’s government.

Their propaganda was already prepared far before they stepped into Nusantara. Robertson (1979), cited on a journal written by Dewi Yulianti explained that the first propaganda material prepared by Japan was marked with the release of an article written by Japan’s Minister of Wars and Military Issues, General Araki, in April 1932. The article, titled The Call of Japan in the Sowa Period (Robertson, 1979), included teachings that Japanese should carry the Way of the Imperial with devotion to elevate the status of nation of Yamato and to save East Asia and the world. General Araki emphasized that Japan’s mission was to spread the Way of the Imperial around the world. Aside of that, another article, titled The Present Position of East Asia which was also written by General Araki, stated that Japan’s Imperial, as mentioned in the Way of the Imperial, based on Japanese’s or others’ point of views, was the leader of East Asia, and as its’ leader, would not stand still when they saw other nations and countries being colonized and ruled in tyranny, and that they would save those people. Both articles already hinted that Japan would put extra efforts in strengthening their power and rule in Asia (Robertson, 1979).
Some time after wars occurrence in Europe around September 1939, Japan then prepared themselves to move south and to conquer countries in South-East Asia. One of their main targets was Indonesia. At that time, Japan’s first effort in conquering Indonesia was by controlling the trading activity which was originally controlled by the Netherlands-Indies. One instance which showed that Japan had already taken the control of the trading activity from Netherlands-Indies was the report of the 31-percent increase of import activities from Japan which was done by the Netherlands-Indies in the same year. Japan aimed to conquer Indonesia since they were aware of the big potential of the resources which Indonesia had, which can help Japan in their wars (Aziz, 1955:100-101).

To perfect their efforts in conquering the South, Japan improved their system in spreading propaganda. Prince Konoye inaugurated four propaganda institutes in Tokyo. The institutes were Cabinet Information Bureau, a propaganda institute which was supervised under the Ministry of International Affairs, military bases and Taisei Yokusankai (Imperial Government Supporting Bureau). These organisations used radio, press conferences and pamphlets as Japan’s government media in spreading propaganda. In addition to written media and radio broadcasts, the organisations also spreaded the propaganda orally. This was done by inviting Asians to study and work in Japan (Robertson, 1979). In Indonesia’s territory, Japan had high concern on the journalists of the newspaper’s companies. Japan’s government’s first step in controlling the newspapers companies was by inviting the head of Bintang Timur’s editorial staff and other journalists to Japan in 1933. They were invited to make them felt that they had moral duties to fulfil so that they would spread articles which would benefit Japan, such as articles which praised and glorified Japan (Soebagijo, 1980:64). Another effort done by Japan was by creating their own newspapers called Java Nippo, Nichiran Shogyo Shimbun and Tohindo Nippon which were targeted for Japanese who stayed in Indonesia (Soebagijo, 1980:164).

Japan was very focused on controlling the mass media at the beginning of their efforts in spreading propaganda to the locals in Indonesia. Their reasons for doing this was because Japan thought that journalistic was the easiest field which they could access, and through journalistic, they could spread their ideologies to control Indonesians’ mindset. Even though the literacy rate among the society was not equal, through the mass media, Japan could spread the idea that Japan was a good country which would save the world from tyranny and misery. Based on these explanations, the first type of mass media which was controlled by Japan was newspapers, and then magazines. Magazines then became their concern once Japan had been aware of the society’s literacy rate and competency at that time. With pictures in the magazines, the people of the society could understand the message which was implied by the media (Soebagijo, 1980:3-4).

In 1940, Japan increased the spread of their propaganda. Through Taihoku radio station in Tokyo, Japan broadcasted a narration about teamwork and collaboration, which sounded: “Teamwork and collaboration between Burma, Philippines and East Indies should be made. This collaboration should be made by Japan. Japan should act as the leader so that Japan can lead and direct them to the right way of collaboration and prosperity since they have been treated without fairness by the outsiders (Robertson, 1979:95).” This narration explicitly emphasized that Japan was the only power to lead other countries to prosperity. Without Japan, these countries could not achieve it by themselves. In Indonesia, Japan broadcasted a special narration which stated that the Dutch had been unfairly treating the locals. They also made a narration which stated that Japan
had come in Indonesia to give them a new hope in kicking Europe from colonizing Indonesia and moving together to reach prosperity (Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogs-documentatie, inventaries No. 031602). Aside from making this narration, Japan also broadcasted in Bahasa Indonesia in order to gain the locals’ support to work together in creating an Indonesia filled with prosperity.

Several months after Pearl Harbour bombings on 8 December 1941, Japan’s military troops landed in Java Island on 1 March 1942. Japan’s efforts in spreading propaganda actually resulted in a warm welcome from the locals. Almost simultaneously, the locals shouted with valor when the Japan’s troops were traveling down the roads (Notosusanto, 1979). The locals’ warm welcome was exploited by Japan to establish a new government to replace the Netherlands East-Indies’ governance. The establishment process moved along with the establishment of organisations responsible for spreading propaganda to the locals, with one of the organisations being sendenbu, as mentioned earlier.

Japan’s propaganda continued after they had stepped in in Indonesia. Their efforts in controlling the mass media continued with drafting a specific policy for broadcasting-control purposes. In August 1942, Japan released a policy which mentioned about radio-broadcasts receiver device restriction (Kan Po, 1942). This policy specifically mentioned about radios ownership, legal radio stations and the time for listening to radios. Aside from drafting similar policies, Gunseikanbu also formed new institutes which supported sendenbu’s efforts (Kurasawa, Mobilisasi dan Kontrol. Studi tentang Perubahan Sosial di Pedesaan Jawa, 1942-1945 (Seri Pengkajian Budaya Jepang), 1993). Written below is a table which consists of the institutes formed to support Japan’s efforts in spreading propaganda to the society.

Table 1.
Propaganda Organisations (Kurasawa, 1993:203)

| Names of Organisations                          | Time of Foundation | Function                                                                 |
|------------------------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Jawa Hosu Kanrikyoku (Java’s Broadcasting Control Bureau) | October 1942       | Supervising and controlling domestic broadcasts (NHK and Japan’s Radio Broadcasts as administrators) |
| Jawa Shinbunkai (Java’s Newspapers Company)        | October 1942       | Writing and publishing newspapers (Asahi Shimbun as administrator)       |
| (News Office) Domei                                | December 1942      | Correspondences or national reports’ institute                           |
| Jawa Engeki Kyokai (Java’s Acting and Drama Union) | Unknown            | Control on dramas production                                             |
| Nihon Eigasha/Nichi’ei i (Japan’s Film Company)   | April 1943         | Control on films production                                              |
| Eigab Haikyusha/Eihai (Film Distribution Company) | April 1943         | Control on films distribution                                            |

Aside from establishing or founding organisations which purposes were to control the mass
media, Japan also founded an organisation which purpose was to be a cultural center. The name of the organisation was “Keimin Bunka Shidosho” (Kurasawa, Mobilisasi dan Kontrol: Studi tentang Perubahan Sosial di Pedesaan Jawa, 1942 -1945 (Seri Pengkajian Budaya Jepang), 1993). This organisation was tasked to spread Japan’s culture and traditional arts to the locals in Indonesia. Furthermore, the organisation also trained Indonesia’s artists who focused on musics, literatures, fine arts and performing arts, and this organisation also enlisted these artists as its’ employee (Djawa Baroe, 1943:8-10). Since the establishment of the cultural center, Japan’s culture had structurally entered Indonesia.

Since the foundation of organisations which were listed in table 1, sendenbu’s role were drastically reduced. Its’ role and task were then limited to creating and distributing propaganda programs to specific organisations. However, aside from creating propaganda programs, sendenbu still had authority to control the execution of the propaganda transmittal done by these organisations (Kurasawa, 1993:231).

Japan’s efforts in strengthening their propaganda did not stop on the national scale. Japan also established local operation units to spread the propaganda programs which were made by sendenbu (Ibid:232). These units included: Operation Unit for Jakarta Districts (including Banten, Jakarta, Bogor and Special District of Jakarta), Operation Unit for Bandung Districts (including Priangan, Cirebon and Banyumas), Operation Unit for Yogyakarta Districts (including Sultanate of Yogyakarta, Kasunanan Surakarta, Madiun and Kedu), Operation Unit for Semarang Districts (including Semarang, Pekalongan and Pati), Operation Unit for Surabaya Districts (including Surabaya, Bojonegoro and Madura) and Operation Unit for Malang Districts (including Malang, Kediri and Besuki). These local operation units were commanded by the head of Sendenbu. With the foundation of these local operation units, Japan was able to spread their propaganda to all Java.

**Tonarigumi’s Role in Japan’s Government’s Propaganda Programs Transmittal**

As mentioned before, one of tonarigumi’s roles was to spread information about policies and instructions from Japan’s government and also to make the locals aware of them, or in short, as propaganda transmitter. Even though the role of propaganda transmitter had been taken by several propagandist organisations, tonarigumi were still tasked to distribute Japan’s government’s propaganda to the locals. This was caused by the incompetency of the propagandists organisations in reaching the locals to the smallest unit in Japan’s government’s structure, such as the limitations of space and tools in spreading the propaganda (Kurasawa,1993:244).

However, these limitations did not mean that the distribution of propaganda was stopped for a moment. Propaganda programs, such as films, for instance, when Jawa Eihai were running their “Bioskop Keliling” program, were aired to several cities like Jakarta, Semarang, Surabaya, Yogyakarta and Malang. This was done by 15 films airing team which were prepared by Jawa Eihai. However, considering the fact that the number of the teams were limited, which led to their incapability in airing the films in each village, Jawa Eihai then chose a location where could be easily accessed by the locals so that they can watch the films which were aired. Then, the public figures of the villages and the head of tonarigumis were asked to invite the locals in each district to watch the aired films in the specified location. One of the films which were aired through “Bioskop Keliling” program was Hawaii Malay Oki Kaisen”, a documentary of Japan’s wars at
Pearl Harbour (Kurasawa, 1993:244). This movie was aired due to the government’s desire to show the military might of Japan’s military force to the Indonesian locals, so that the locals could feel that the presence of Japan among them in their society would make them feel more secure. The leaders of tonarigumi were also tasked to make the locals acknowledge Japan as their collaborator, friend, and assistant in everything.

Aside from spreading propaganda through films, tonarigumi also had a role in distributing magazines as their media of spreading Japan’s propaganda. One of the examples of this was Djawa Baroe magazine. The magazine consisted of music sheets of spirit-boosting songs, writings from inspirational figures, lifestyle rubrics and many others. Several instances of the spirit-boosting songs and the lifestyle rubrics can be seen in the pictures below.

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Picture 2.
“Koua Houyuu no Uta” Music Sheet (Djawa Baroe, March 1945)
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In addition to these types of content, there were also instructions for each tonarigumi to keep the magazine and give it to Japanese soldiers. However, in all magazines issued in 1943, this instruction was not present. If looking into the date when tonarigumi was officially established, then this indicated that since 1944, the distribution of the magazines was not done through the commercials, but also through tonarigumi.

Picture 3.
Lifestyle Rubrics which depicted the beauty of Japanese women. *(Djawa Baroe, March 1945)*

In addition to these types of content, there were also instructions for each tonarigumi to keep the magazine and give it to Japanese soldiers. However, in all magazines issued in 1943, this instruction was not present. If looking into the date when tonarigumi was officially established, then this indicated that since 1944, the distribution of the magazines was not done through the commercials, but also through tonarigumi.
Instructions for *tonarigumi* to keep and spread *Djawa Baroe*’s magazines

(*Djawa Baroe*, March 1945)

*Tonarigumi* also actively influenced the locals to save money. This aligned with the results of the meeting between *aza* and *tonarigumi* in Surabaya. Based on the meeting’s results, all of the *azas* and *tonarigumis* agreed to start influencing the Indonesian locals to save money and to publish magazines written in local language, which was administered by *Djawa Shimbun Sha*. These two things indicated that *tonarigumi* played an active role in spreading the propaganda programs, in this case, saving money which was instructed by Japan’s government. This program was also publicly spread through pictures which were included in *Djawa Baroe* magazines, such as pictures on the celebration on reaching a specific amount of money through saving money. Furthermore, there was also a picture of a group of locals depositing money to an officer in the *tonarigumi*’s leader’s house (Irianti, 2014:74). Aside from these pictures, the publication of magazines with local language also aligned with Japan’s government’s mission to make the locals felt that their local language was appreciated by other people with different culture.

At the beginning of the foundation of *tonarigumi*, propaganda in the forms of songs were also present and were spread to the society. One of the examples of this was a song titled “*Tonarigumi*”. The lyric of the song was as written below:
There was one thing which was implied a lot of times in the lyrics, which was “gotong royong”. Japan used this concept in Java because they had known that the locals had been used to working and collaborating together in their social and daily activities. This concept was emphasized in order to make the concepts of tonarigumi or “neighbourhood collaboration” to be accepted by the locals without a lot of scepticisms. This also allowed tonarigumi to easily spread the propaganda to the locals. This was due to the locals being used to interacting with the leaders of the tonarigumi to discuss about their daily activities. From the lyrics, it was also depicted that tonarigumi was originally formed as a bridge between Japan’s government and Indonesian locals who lived in the smallest units in Japan’s government’s structure.

**Tonarigumi’s Influences to Indonesians’ Culture and Habits**

Based on the previous explanation, Indonesians’ locals had received a lot of propaganda from Japan through tonarigumi. The propaganda varied, starting from films, magazines, news and also directions or instructions from the regional leaders or administrators. The propaganda led to a certain form of response, which was the change in the locals’ habits and the opinion of the public figures which were published or announced through newspapers and radio broadcasts.

Based on Habitus theory developed by Takwin, Indonesians’ locals responded to Japan’s propaganda with perception, appreciation and action. This could be proven by looking at the facts that when the radio broadcasted songs arranged by the Japanese, the locals would be very happy to hear them. However, when the radio broadcasted propaganda programs such as rallies or
speeches from Japan’s public figures, the locals lost their interest and said “Nippon lied” or saying negative things and then ignored the broadcasts. These responses were the results of propaganda done by Japan.

Aside from radio broadcasts, when tonarigumi was instructed to help Jawa Eihai, they mobilized the locals to watch Japanese films. Since the locals’ entertainment options were limited, the presence of the films managed to change the locals’ views or opinions about forms of entertainment provided by Japan. The locals willingly went to the film-airing location to watch films, with this activity being the first time for many of them. Since then, the locals had expanded their options for the types of entertainment which they could enjoy at that time. Aside from that, Japan’s values were also implemented in the locals and managed to change the locals in Java Island even though it was only a little. This was due to the limited competency of the locals in using Japanese language (Kurasawa, 1993:244-245).

Aside from radio broadcasts, instructions for saving money was also one of the propaganda programs which were routinely instructed to the locals by tonarigumi. Looking at the results of the meeting between aza and tonarigumi in August 1944, it can be seen that the leaders of Aza and Tonarigumi enthusiastically enticed the locals to start saving money. Taking note that tonarigumi also worked together with gunseikanbu in militaristic issues and controlling the mass, then all of the locals in the society should be moved to start saving money, as instructed by the government through tonarigumi. The motivation for this was because, if they did not start saving money, the government would give punishments to the locals. This depicted the coercive approach done by Japan’s government to make the locals start saving money. Other motivation which made the leaders of aza and tonarigumi to instruct the locals to save money was the daily needs’ price inflation. The locals were forced to save money so that they could buy their daily needs even if the price were very expensive. Since this, the locals had become more aware of the importance of saving money so that they could fulfill their needs in any kind of condition. Furthermore, saving money had become a common activity in the society.

The publication of magazines with local language was also one of the reasons why the locals stopped using Dutch language. On the other side of using local language, Japanese language tutorials were also included in the magazines, so that the locals could learn the language and communicate with the Japanese with less difficulty. Aside from converting the governance system from Dutch’s style, this also led to the change of the use of language in the daily lives of the locals. Since then, the frequency of the use of local language had increased significantly. The locals became more interested in using their local language because the language allowed them to express themselves and their culture easier than using Dutch language.

Songs which were propagandized by tonarigumi also had influences to the society in Java Island, specifically from the song “Tonarigumi”. This song, which main message was about collaboration among peers, successfully made the locals to work together and help each other. Aside from that, the songs erased the barrier which once prevented them from interacting with tonarigumi’s officers and administrators. Thus, the notion of a long distance between the leaders and the locals disappeared slowly with the message of the song being implemented every day.
CONCLUSION

Based on the explanation in the previous section, it can be concluded that tonarigumi played a role as the government’s hand in helping propagandist organisations in distributing propaganda. Even though the distribution of the propaganda was the task of the propagandist organisations, they could not successfully finish the task due to their incapability in spreading or distributing the propaganda to the smallest unit in Japan’s government’s structure, which was the villages in Indonesia’s land. Tonarigumi also succeeded in being the proxy between the propagandist organisations and the Indonesian locals due to the nature of tonarigumi, which was collaboration which was already familiar for the locals. The original reason of tonarigumi establishment, which was to change the culture and habits of the locals, was also done successfully. One of the examples of this was the use of the local language in magazines. With the magazines, the locals stopped using Dutch language which then was used, and they changed to using their local language massively.

To conclude, this research proves that the habits or habitus in Javanese society can be formed and changed due to the propaganda which was internalized by Japan’s government to the Indonesian locals, in this case, Javanese. The culture, values and habits can be internalized due to the routine distribution and application of the values implied in the propaganda. Looking to the systematical analysis model developed by Kuntowijoyo, there are several historical events based on this research, which are the foundation of tonarigumi, propaganda internalization to the society and the Indonesians’ habits conversion. The components in this analysis are Japan’s government, tonarigumi, the values which were propagandized (collaboration and kinship), propaganda programs (films, songs and others) and the Javanese society. However, this research is only limited to tonarigumi’s role and the habits which were formed after the implementation of tonarigumi and the distribution of the propaganda. Hopefully, this research could motivate further research on this issue with a different approach or different problems, such as the functions of tonarigumi once Japan had left Indonesia and Japan’s ideologies and values which were still used since the day Japan left Indonesia.

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