Yakuza Masculinity: Marginalized Hegemonic in Gokusen Manga

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Abstract. Masculinity is a construction formed by society because of the expectations of men in society, so various forms of masculinity emerge. The Yakuza group is a group that is very synonymous with masculinity and is even referred to as the world of men. However, in reality, their masculine form shackles them in social interaction. The purpose of this study is to describe the forms of Yakuza masculinity so that there will be visible differences in the forms of masculinity between Yakuza and society in general. Yakuza masculinity has a general concept of masculinity, or is called hegemonic masculinity. However, forms of masculinity that are too extreme make their masculinity marginal. That happens because of differences in the interpretation of masculinity by society toward certain groups. The data is from images and dialogues representing Yakuza forms of masculinity in Gokusen manga. Data collection used a literature review technique, and data analysis used a qualitative descriptive technique. The findings suggest that masculinity owned by the Yakuza group represents a form of hegemonic masculinity, but the form of masculinity becomes a problem for its existence. The form of masculinity has a dual identity as a tool of legitimacy and a means of subordination to individuals and groups

Keywords: *Hegemonic, Marginal Masculinity, Masculinity, Yakuza Masculinity, Yakuza*

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INTRODUCTION

In Japan, the Yakuza shape popular culture themes through heroes and villains immortalized in many films, ballad books, short stories, and other popular culture. As a well-organized crime, the Yakuza is a criminal syndicate that is most accepted by Japanese society compared to other gangs in the world because of the more openly institutionalized role of the Yakuza and the Japanese public's perception of the Yakuza's glorious past that persists in Japanese people, including the police (Kaplan and Dubro, 2012: 4). Yakuza groups have offices like official offices, have group logos, have business cards, open companies, and donate to certain events using the group's name. Each group has a person in charge of communicating a case in which a Yakuza group allegedly engages with police to investigate. The person in charge can directly check and assist the police task.

Yakuza, the Japanese mafia has been intervening in its society for decades, but surprisingly Japan is known for its low crime as portrayed in most media. This strange phenomenon was researched by Fadli and Nabila (2019), who explored the development of the Yakuza in Japan to find social factors that influenced it. The results of his research explain that there are two controls, namely formal controls that focus on the Japanese National Police Agency and informal controls that focus on Japanese society, with an emphasis on culture. In addition to this research, Aunillah (2016) conducted research that focused on the Yakuza code of ethics, including the *oyabun-kobun* system (role of parents and children), *giri-ninjo* (loyalty and sympathy, *kao* (face), *otoko* (masculinity), and others in the Ryuzo to Shichinin no Kobuntachi movie. Another research about Yakuza by Puspitasari (2018) revealed female masculinity in the Yakuza, and Ropers (2022) discusses the discourse and narrative of women involved in organized crime in Japan. Exposure to previous studies has a relationship with this research. Fadil and Nabila researched the sustainability of Yakuza groups in Japan, Aunillah researched the elaboration of the Yakuza cultural code of ethics, and Puspitasari and Ropers researched Yakuza's women. Referring to previous research, studies that emphasize the form of the Yakuza cultural code of ethics as an identity that marginalizes this group has yet to be studied. This research examines from another perspective, how a prided group's masculinity identity brings it to the margins through government regulations and community agents. Through this research, it is expected to be sensitive to different forms of masculinity and discourses often present in the intersection of life and culture. .

Kaplan and Dubro (2012: 10) state that the Yakuza is a world devoted only to men. The Yakuza will not separate from masculine stereotypes as a group identical to the male world. Masculinity is not just an idea in the head. However, the issue of masculinity has spread throughout the world, is inherent in relationships with social organizations, and is even profoundly involved in institutional history or economic structures (Connell, 2005: 27-28). Starting from appearance, body, behavior, and attitude are constructed to be worthy of being masculine, so they have what is called empirical men. Society or community institutions continuously and consciously or not have constructed masculinity under the times, so there are always forms of masculine construction that experience a shift.

Gender stereotypes are considered to be directly related to the concepts of masculinity and femininity, which are conceptual metaphors that convey internal contradictions and, at the same time, the dynamic ratio of male and female substrates. Stereotypes of masculinity relate to intelligence, strength, aggressiveness, dominance, independence, and rudeness in men (Juraeva, 2022: 210). Masculinity is a stereotype made by society towards men which is obtained through being taken for granted by the culture in society. However, masculinity itself is not automatically given or attached to someone. They must carry out strategies and actions that reflect masculinity in the construction of their society so that the term masculine sticks to them. Tt is not surprising that masculinity often becomes a debate so that it becomes toxic masculinity.

Masculinity is also used as a narrative to change views on hegemonic existence (Adams, 2022; Berner-Rodoreda et al., 2023; Vallerga & Zurbriggen, 2022). Knudsen and Andersen's (2020:74) exposure that masculinity is included in advertising branding strategies. In advertising, there is content to change hegemonic masculinity and create a different narrative on masculinity. Koenig (2018) compares prescriptive and descriptive gender stereotypes about children, adults, and the elderly. Prescriptive stereotypes for adults, women should be communal and avoid being dominant. Men should be agents, independent, masculine in appearance, and interested in science and technology, but avoid appearing weak, emotional, shy, and feminine.

Stereotypes are more than simple schemes, besides their function of simplification and cognitive categorization to generate behavioral expectations and have behavioral consequences (Rodrigues et al., 2020). As a form of construction, various forms of masculinity appear in society. Various forms of masculinity are accepted and even followed by society, but some deny their existence. The various forms of masculinity will lead to a pattern of hegemonic masculinity which is considered ideal and becomes a collective agreement. The existence of hegemonic masculinity will discriminate or get rid of masculinity that is outside the hegemonic. As Connel's opinion in Messerschmidt (2019: 86), Hegemonic masculinity is always constructed concerning various subordinated masculinities as well as concerning women, and the achievement of hegemonic masculinity is mostly through cultural power-discursive persuasion-which encourages all to agree and realize gender relations unequal between men and women, masculinity and femininity, and between masculinity itself. Masculinity in this study is part of the hegemonic form, but the hegemonic group rejects its form and existence. The emphasis made by the hegemony is a form of superordination and subordination in various ways.

People always thought that masculinity refers to the male body, which is inherent in the male body or expresses something about the male body. Such as men being more aggressive than women with their muscular body shape, posture, male ways, men move, and ability in terms of sex (Connell, 2005: 53). Masculinity is not always related to the appearance of the body because masculinity can be in the form of embodied and disembodied. However, it cannot deny that body appearance always appears in masculine discourse. This concept has become a relationship in

society because the existence of masculinity is always contrasted with femininity (Connell, 2005: 67-68).

Gokusen is one of the results of popular culture that raises the theme of the Yakuza as a hero who helps the community and a group of rioters. Gokusen shows a form of Yakuza masculinity that makes people fearful. In the types used to construct masculine, Yakuza males belong to the gladiator type (retro man) and protector type (protecting and guarding), of which performance is included in the convention as part of the hegemonic. Nevertheless, over time, the Yakuza form of masculinity undergoes subordination.

Various factors that influence each other between gender, race, and class make the recognition of various masculinities need to be tested, such as the social environment, class, race, and even the gender relations that occur within them (Connell, 2005; Rosen & Nofziger, 2019; Heinz et al., 2023; Travers, 2019). In reality, public unrest over the existence of the Yakuza has prompted the government as part of the hegemonic by enacting laws that narrow the Yakuza's wiggle room and the practice of extreme rituals that show their masculinity side to be rarely used. The purpose of this study is to describe the forms of Yakuza masculinity so that there will be visible differences in the forms of masculinity between Yakuza and sociesty in general. Yakuza masculinity has a general concept of masculinity or is called hegemonic masculinity. However, forms of masculinity that are too extreme make their masculinity marginal. That happens because of differences in the interpretation of masculinity by society toward particular groups and society in general.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research is a qualitative descriptive study with a literature review technique. The main focus of this study is to describe and explain the forms of Yakuza masculinity and the public's response to that masculinity. The data source in this research is the Gokusen manga by Morimoto (2000), which contains 15 volumes. Alam (2021) states that there are two research methods, namely, data collection and data analysis methods. Method of data collection is a set of methods or techniques to obtain empirical facts related to research problems, and data analysis method is a set of ways or techniques to draw relationships between one data and another that leads to scientific knowledge.

Data collection in this study using literature study techniques. According to Pandey (2021) literature study is a data collection technique by conducting a study of books, literature, notes, and reports that have to do with the problem being solved. The first step after determining the material and formal object is a careful reading of the primary data to image, words, or sentences that show the masculine form of the Yakuza and the public's view of the existence of the Yakuza. The next step is a careful reading of theoretical and other references, both books, journals, and others that are relevant to the research focus. After collecting data, it continues to the data analysis step. Faruk (2012: 25) states that the data analysis method is a set of research methods or techniques which is an extension of the human mind. This is because its function is not to collect data, but to find relationships between data that will never be stated by the data itself.

The analysis in this study uses a masculinity discourse approach to describe the forms of masculinity possessed by the Yakuza and societal stereotypes towards this group that appear in the manga. The next step is connecting texts or images and analysing the data identified with the theory used. Then, in the relationship between the texts or images of the data, the relationship between masculinity and Yakuza culture and life would be seen, which is obtained through other references. The results of the text or image interpretations analysis are presented as descriptive descriptions and then drawn into a conclusion.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

This research found the relationship between the value of the samurai with the Yakuza.The forms of Yakuza masculinity are (1) welcoming members out of prison, (2) fighting and *toppamono,* (3) *irezumi,* (4) *yubitsume,* and (5) blood stamps. In addition, the community's respons to the masculine from of Yakuza is represented by community agents in the manga, namely (1) the police, (2) members of the government, (3) educational institutions, and (4) people who have relations with the Yakuza.

Samurai Masculinity in the Yakuza

From its history, the Yakuza were originally *bushi* or samurai so the culture of Yakuza life differs from society. Therefore, the Yakuza representing their masculinity somewhat differs from society's general masculinity. The samurai became a criminal syndicate group because of the change of government in Japan during the Tokugawa period. The power initially in the shogunate 's hand was returned to the emperor, causing the samurai who had served the shogunate to become ronin. Samurai, who usually always carry a sword everywhere are required to let go of the sword is a complicated thing to do because the sword is the samurai's way of life and they adhere to *bushido* applied in their lives. Etymologically, *bushido* consists of the words '*bushi* 武士' which means 'knight', and '*do*道' which means 'way'. It translates to 'the way of the warrior' which has the context of a samurai's way of life or a way of life with the concept of a knight. Widisuseno (2019: 176) reveals that *Bushido* (武士道) is also interpreted as a code of ethics for the heroism of the samurai class in Japanese feudalism. The meaning of *bushido* is the attitude of being willing to die for the state/kingdom and the emperor, which contains values. Such as *gi* (integrity), *yu* (courage), *jin* (generosity), *rei* (respect and courtesy to others), *makoto-shin* (honesty and sincerity), *meiyo* (keeping good name and honor), *chugo* (loyalty to the leader), and *tei* (caring). Usually, the samurai and Shogun are willing to risk their lives for that purpose, if he fails, they will commit *seppuku* (*harakiri*).

The samurai who let go of their swords became farmers, but those who could not let go of the swords became criminals and made trouble. They are known as *kabukimono* or *hatomo yakko* (shogunate assistants) with quirky make-up that applies high loyalty to their masters and fellow members (the concept of *oyabun-kobun*). They often use helpless people, especially farmers and small traders, as a tool to practice *tsujigiri*. In general, *tsujigiri* is the practice of randomly killing/cutting a person's body to try out the sharpness of a new sword. Etymologically, *tsujigiri*

comes from the word '*tsuji* 辻' which means 'to walk, cross the road' and '*giri* 斬る(き) ' which comes from the word '*kiru*' which means 'to cut, slash with a knife, sword, object another sharp'. If translated means 'fad walk while killing people (slashing with a sword). The *hatomo yakko* group is the forerunner of criminal organizations in Japan. The emergence of *hatomo yakko* is matched with *machi yakko* (city servants) who mostly come from the *bakuto* (gambler) class to protect the city and shops from *hatomo yakko*. The presence of *machi yakko* was considered a hero by the Edo community at that time. The heroic value of the *machi yakko* is taken by modern Yakuza so that modern Yakuza identify themselves with the *machi yakko* (Kaplan and Dubro, 2012: 4-5; Hill, 2014).

Japanese historian Makoto Ujiie (in Yoshida, 2012: 124) mentions the characteristics of the Yakuza as heirs of proud Japanese traditions and values (samurai spirit). According to him, the Yakuza is considered an embodiment of *jingi* (humanity and justice), a symbol of chivalry, loyalty, physical-mental strength, and conventional masculinity. It is not surprising that in the past many young people wanted to become members of the Yakuza. Being a Yakuza can be a form of pride, even high-ranking Japanese government officials worked closely with the Yakuza until the 1960s (Susilo, 2013: 241). As a criminal group, it is unsurprising that its existence is marginalized in social practice. Although as a criminal group, it does not mean that the Yakuza group does not have a form of masculinity. There is a relationship between masculinity and various crimes that arise in society. As stated by Messerschmidt, the concept of masculinity is influenced by criminology, in which men commit more crimes than women (Connell, 2005: 833). Even men hold a "virtual monopoly" in white-collar crime and syndicates. Likewise, as a criminal group, the Yakuza also has a form of masculinity. However, over time and through social processes, this masculinity has shifted to marginal even though there are still hegemonic patterns.

Yakuza Masculine Form

In Japan, the concept of masculinity is not a single discourse. However, it is influenced by social and historical conditions so that in society, various portraits of Japanese masculinity appear, such as images of samurai masculinity, salary-men/sarariman, and male otaku (Yoshida, 2012: 138). In line with Yoshida, Dasgupta (2000: 190) suggests that that masculinity "varies across and within a culture." The construction of masculinity is created in different cultures, at different times, and in different individuals with the influence of class, age, ethnicity, sexuality, etc. This is in line with what was expressed by Connell (2005: 36) and Kimmel (2005: 71) that the emergence of a variety of masculinity that develops in society is adjusted to the culture that forms it, such as history, social class, and race to make the forms of masculinity into various forms. in society. These various cultures will mingle in society,leading to a new type of masculinity. In general, Japanese society still adheres to the traditional convention of masculinity, namely masculinity which refers to a sturdy and strong body as a hegemonic form. Therefore, it is not surprising that in advertisements on television many types of energy drinks are

marketed through the sarariman and this sarariman becomes a model of hegemonic masculinity (Roberson, 2005: 370).

In the history of the beginning of the Yakuza, fighting, loyalty, obedience, courage, and solidarity are masculinity constructions formed in the Yakuza group (Kaplan and Dubro, 2012: 8). That proves that masculinity is deeply involved in institutional or group history (Connell, 2005: 28). As a group of men, the Yakuza are in a position that often experiences intimidation in a hegemonic group. In addition, as the Yakuza developed rapidly after the post-samurai, Yakuza members were no longer samurai, but mostly from port porters and exiles in society or the *Eta* class (groups that were outside the hierarchy of Japanese society in feudal times, such as tanners skins, butchers, and exiles). Although the Yakuza are a group of men with a high level of masculinity, this group is not necessarily well received by the whole society. There are differences in masculinity in the Yakuza group with the male group calling itself a hegemonic group. Hegemonic is a form of 'ideal' masculinity and is a reference for society (Connell 2005: 77). In a complex society, the presence of hegemonic masculinity is always followed by subordinate and marginal masculinity (Connell, 2005: 76-81). Those who feel different from the hegemonic masculinity or outside the recognized norms in society will rebel and create their group. Those who revolt will later become a form of subordinate and marginal masculinity. Masculinity that is not hegemonic in society would be seen as masculinity that is not normative. Groups of men who are considered not ideal often receive violence or intimidation. This is different from the group of men who are considered ideal. As a group of men who are considered ideal in the construction of society, they are the ones who are dominant in subordination to other types of masculinity.

Muscular body, stocky, good at fighting, has the courage almost all members of the Yakuza have. When viewed from the performance of a body that emphasizes muscle strength and is always associated with physical violence, Yakuza masculinity is a form of masculinity. The hegemonic also claims that performance is included in conventional masculinity. Connell (2005: 840) also highlights this as a form of hegemonic masculinity with the quote, " …the concept of hegemonic masculinity is based on practice that permits men‟s collective dominance over women to continue, it is not surprising that in some context, hegemonic masculinity does refer to men‟s engaging in toxic practices -including physical violence-…." Connell (2005: 68) argues that the performance displayed by men is nothing but a strategy to be called masculine. Likewise, this group does with extreme forms of masculinity embedded in its group so that it becomes the identity of their masculinity. Nevertheless, the Yakuza group in Japanese society is not hegemonic. Yakuza perform actions that are considered masculine and have criteria set and used as a standard of assessment by the community as a hegemonic form. However, Yakuza masculinity is not automatically called hegemonic masculinity. In Japanese society, certain acts of masculinity in the Yakuza culture are not according to the construction of society. These masculine actions even tend to cause inconvenience to the community so that they become marginal masculinities. These changes occur because the masculinity of a product is influenced by culture and

historical processes. Kimmel in Hasyim (2017: 68) identifies the diversity of masculinity in four ways. Namely, masculinity varies from one culture to another, masculinity in a society is not static but develops from time to time, and masculinity changes in a person's life cycle, and the meaning of masculinity varies even within a society at a time.

In practice, Yakuza use their bodies to show their masculinity, such as fighting, irezumi, yubitsume, ettc. The body in the Yakuza is a symbol of his total attachment to the group. Yakuza-style fights usually occur on the side of the road, in crowds of people, and anywhere.

Figure 1. Yakuza Fighting (p. 22, 141- 142)

"woohoo amazing"
"he alone could defeat three people"
"that man!!
"strong…" *(p.22,141-142)*

The battle Yakuza is fighting for a reputation. Their fight usually starts from a street fight. Herbert (2022) said that physical toughness, fighting skills, and leadership are conditions for success as a future Yakuza. Impulsivity and violent actions in such circumstances are approved as masculine in the Yakuza world. Fighting becomes an essential component of dignity. There is not a Yakuza member who has not fought, even if it is a trivial fight. Fighting is one strategy for the Yakuza to maintain their survival and simultaneously show their masculinity. According to Pype (2011: 254) fighting between groups on the streets, muscle fighting represents masculinity and is one of the models of masculinity. In Gokusen, from volume 1 to 15, almost every volume is treated to a fight between clans and people outside the clan. The way "fight" can show the person has strength, power, and aggressiveness. As stated by Kimmel (2005:10) that to strengthen masculinity, men take several actions, namely (1) no sissy stuff, which means that they should not have feminine traits; (2) to be a big wheel then it must have strength, power, and status; (3) be a

sturdy oak, must be strong and hard at heart, reliable in times of crisis; (4) give em hell which means responsible, aggressive, and able to take risks in society.

In the event of a battle between Yakuza gangs, as a form of courage and loyalty to the *oyabun*, the *kobun* members of the two groups will act as shields standing in the front to block enemy weapons and swords and risk their lives in a fight and even take over responsibility and enter. It is called toppamono (Figure 2). *Toppa* 突破means "breaking through" and mono者"person." Toppamono description appears in Miyazaki Manabu's autobiographical book reviewed by Yang (2018). On the cover flap of the English-language version, Miyazaki defines toppamono as "a person with a devil-may-care attitude, who pushes ahead regardless." Miyazaki's views, toppamono is an honourable designation with a somewhat romanticized view of the outlaw, one who lives on the margin of extra-legality due to criminal activities and associations with the underworld. Providing his body as a shield for his group can also be seen in Figure 2. The image depicts a conversation between the leader and Yakuza men when the police raid their place of business.

Figure 2. Toppamono (p. 165)

"What!? Police!? Everyone here!!"
*" **You guys clean up this place!!! Put your body up and block them!!!** (p. 165)*

Being a *toppamono* must prepare to give your life and go to prison for the sake of *oyabun* and his group. Prison for Yakuza is part of the lifestyle. Prison for Yakuza is described as a school, university, business trip, trip abroad, etc. Yakuza see prison as a "training ground" to become a real man (Gambeta, 2009). A prison with a negative stigma is seen as a place of maturity and self-respect. In this case, the relationship between oyabun-kobun in Yakuza culture is very attached to its members. As Lampe said (2016:107) that the norms and values of criminal groups are beneficial as a way to build and foster trust in "criminally exploitable bonds" among members (Moorman, 2020: 4) explains that Yakuza culture, which involves symbols, rituals, rules, and values certain values play a role in maintaining a sense of kinship and organizational trust. Prison for crimes committed by *oyabun* (Iwai Hiroaki in Kaplan and Dubro, 2012: 8). To go to prison is a rite of passage to become a full-fledged yakuza (Herbert, 2022). This can be seen in Figure 3, which depicts Kyou's freedom from prison. The Yakuza leader and his men welcome Kyou's freedom by throwing a party.

Figure 3. Party welcomes out of prison (p. 17)

"Sir...forgive me for bothering you for so long."
"Thank goodness you're back! Come on in and rest. ***Thanksgiving for your release from prison will be held another day and prepare massively. But today there will be a small thanksgiving among us only****."(p.17)*

Yakuza members who go to prison because they are fighting to defend their group will be respected and considered real men (Susilo, 2013: 39). After leaving prison, a party will be held to welcome him as a congratulation for being released from prison. Usually, the rank will go up. The description of figures 1 -3 show how the *oyabun-kobun* system is firmly held in this group. Protecting the leader is a form of loyalty and a chivalrous attitude like a samurai. Masculinity does not only refer to the reason "embodied (the mind/body split)" but is also connected to "disembodied reason" (Connell, 2005: 164). In addition to muscle capital (stocky, strong in fighting) as a form of disembodied masculinity in Yakuza, it appears in terms of courage, high loyalty, reliability, and responsibility (Susilo, 2013: 209). Loyalty and being chivalrous represent masculine values, which in this era, are still believed and constructed in men.

The other form of masculinity associated with the body is *irezumi. Irezumi* tattooed the entire body to become a large image plastered on the body. Making a tattoo is very long and painful because it is made traditionally. A complete tattoo from the neck to the spine can take 100 hours and months because large tattoos do not happen immediately but go through a long process. That is why tattoos are a strength test to show their courage, toughness, and masculinity to the world and signify that the Yakuza are excluded from society (Kaplan and Dubro, 2012: 15; Susilo, 2013: 232). In the 1970s, about 70% of Yakuza were tattooed. In the 17th century, at the birth of the Yakuza, tattooing in Japan was associated with crime (Moorman, 2020: 4). Today, however, tattoos are relatively less common due to the expense, pain, and discrimination associated with getting a tattoo (Fifield, 2017; Hill, 2014; Herbert, 2021). In addition, there was a revision to Japan's 2007 anti-gang law, which targeted the cultural practices of cutting fingers, tattoos, and policies to assist and encourage members to leave the Yakuza (Moorman, 2020: 6). The existence of these laws then affect the life and culture of the Yakuza. Tattoo expert, Miyazou also admits that the number of their Yakuza clients is decreasing. Yakuza members now have tattoos with small images that can be easily covered up

(Herbert, 2021: 31). Even so, *irezumi remains* a masculinity element of the Yakuza, and even its existence is consistently featured in Yakuza films, such as in Hasugian's research (2019) and Fifield (2017).The following is a picture of the *irezumi* spawned in the Yakuza group of the Umano'o clan, Kuroda, and branch clans of several other groups (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Irezumi (p. 66, 101, 122, 126, 153)

The Yakuza's habit of tattooing his body to prove his courage implies that the body is both an object and an agent in social practice. As an object, the body displays its courage. As an agent, the body is an identifier that they are Yakuza. Although masculinity does not only refer to the body, the initial concept of hegemonic masculinity is connected to the use of the male body as a way to represent masculinity. As stated by Connell (2005: 851), hegemonic masculinity is associated, in particular, with how the representation and use of the male body have been recognized from the start as a conceptual formula. Besides tattoos, the other form of masculinity is *yubitsume*. The ritual of cutting the top segment of the little finger is a form of punishment and an apology. The ritual is cutting off the top of the finger, and then the cut finger is wrapped in a nice cloth and offered to the oyabun. Yubitsume is interpreted as a form of punishment, apology, loyalty, and dispute resolution (Kaplan & Dubro, 2013; Bosmia et al. in Moorman, 2020; Herbert, 2021). The beginning of the ritual is to weaken the sword's grip so that it succeeds in making the stubborn *kobun* dependent on his *oyabun*. This practice is a more prominent symbol of a culture of violence (Fisher in Moorman: 2020). This culture is now obsolete and replaced by millions of yen compensation (monetary compensation). However, the straight Yakuza still uphold this painful custom of *yubitsume* (Herbert, 2022: 30). Figure 5 illustrates the yubitsume practice, where the substitute for the temporary chairman of the Kuroda clan, Hyougo wants to do yubitsume as a sign of regret and apologize for not being able to resolve the problem with the Inubo clan.

Figure 5. Yubitsume (p. 60)

"Please solve this problem with my finger only"
"Hoo, is that so? If Hyogo Tsuji of the Kuroda family talks like that, I can only agree." "Thank you very much." (p. 60)

The depiction of *yubitsume* also shows a Yakuza minions named Carlos Sho (CS). He is a former pro boxer who was ordered by the grandson of the Kuroda clan to train her students in Figure 5.

Figure 6. Yubitsume (p. 38-39)

"That's, yakuza, isn't it!? From any angle that's Yakuza, isn't it!!?"
" Where did you find this man!?"
" ..."
" Ah! Co., coach! **Your...your little finger is missing half!!?"**
"When cooking..."
" Lies!!!" (p. 38-39)

In the dialogue in Figure 5, the students can immediately feel that CS is part of the Yakuza, especially seeing the little finger that is not intact, which makes it even more convincing that the trainer is a member of the Yakuza. In terms of making promises, sometimes, this group uses blood as a stamp of agreement. That is shown in Figure 7.

Figure 7. Blood stamp (p. 17, 101)

In Figure 7 on left side, two alumni whose youth were very naughty and related to the Yakuza promised they would cover up Yankumi's identity as the grandson of the greatest Yakuza clan by scratching his finger with a knife and making his blood a seal of agreement. When the two alumni did the blood stamping, they did it wholeheartedly with the determination and sincerity to keep their promise, but when the head of the school foundation did it, he was frightened, trembled, and then fell limp. From these differences, it appears that masculinity has an element of power over the relationship between men. Forms and activities interpreted as masculinity are sometimes interpreted differently, even by fellow men, especially if they are not in a hegemonic group. As Hasyim said (2017:68), masculinity is the power relations between men and women and among men.

In Figure 7 on right side, the blood stamp is used to prove the loyalty of a young Yakuza member when proposing to a woman. From exposure to prominent forms of masculinity, almost all of them refer to the body's performance to show masculinity. The body in the Yakuza group has an important role because it is used as a tool for the formation of masculinity. Concerning masculinity, the body is both an object and an agent in social practice "...that bodies are both objects of social practice and agents in social practice" (Connel, 2005: 851). So are Yakuza always emphasizing body performance as their masculine practices.

Yakuza and Society's Views

Masculinity is an issue circulating in men's circles as an extension of the man role to direct men to do things considered masculine. It is the man role that Pleck calls the dominant concept of masculinity and a source of problems in society and men themselves (Pleck, 1995). Masculinity as an extension of the man role is applied to the family, school, and media environment, such as in films, clans, paintings, sculptures, etc. All participate in constructing men from infancy to adulthood so that men have what is called empirical men. Hegemonic is the dominant group in society as a whole, and the holder of power in society becomes dominant and subordinates those who are different so that in the male group,

there is a hierarchy in society (Connell, 2005: 78). In the hegemonic male group hierarchy, the Yakuza are outside the hierarchy. However, in the hierarchy of male groups synonymous with crime, the Yakuza group is at the top. In the hegemonic relationship with the subordinate and the marginal, intimidation and violence emerge in the male group, as happened to homosexuals by heterosexuals (Connell, 2005: 154-155). The hegemonic relationship with the Yakuza as a marginal group is seen in the hegemonic effort as the dominant power holder to direct Yakuza men not to do things that show their masculinity or existence. Because of this, the Yakuza increasingly exclude themselves from the wider community to protect themselves and their group.

Hegemonic made the Botaiho law. It is an anti-crime organization law aimed at the Yakuza group. Beginning with the Anti-Yakuza Law number 77 of 1991 (May 15, 1991) and promulgated on March 1, 1992, this made the Yakuza's space for movement narrower, and their extreme ritual practices were rarely used. With Botaiho, they are increasingly difficult to socialize in society. They cannot open a bank account, cannot rent a house, cannot rent a car, and they cannot eat in a restaurant. The existence of the societies as hegemonic supporters also provides a narrow space for Yakuza members to move. Such as prohibiting people with tattoos from entering onsen (hot springs). The people will usually step aside if there is a crowd of tattooed people; companies, schools, and other institutions usually reject those who have signs of Yakuza members on their bodies (Kaplan and Dubro, 2012: 15; Susilo, 2013: 221). The stereotypes raised against the Yakuza make the group increasingly marginalized. This manga shows people representing every element of society, namely people on the road, head of the school foundation, police officers, and government members Society as an institution forming social construction also supports the actions taken by the hegemonic.

Figure 8. Fear of people to Yakuza fighting (p. 140)

"Uh, what's wrong?"
"Why!?"
"Someone's fighting over there"
"Really!?"
"Oiiii… let's go. Go! Dont see it!!"
"Watch out for danger. how about if you hit a stray bullet!"
"Because we saw the battle between Yakuza." *(p. 140)*

Figure 9. Fear of people to Yakuza fighting (p. 31)

"No... don't know. I've never seen a high school kid like that."
"Alright."
"What's going on today!? How come there are many criminal gangs in the middle of the city? It's terrible."
 "Let's hurry home." *(p.31)*

People began to fear and panic when they saw a group with a Yakuza identity. When there is a fight (Figure 8) in the corner of the alley and people know that the fight is a Yakuza fight, people avoid it. People prefer not to interfere in Yakuza affairs because it will harm them, and they can be accused of being friends. Especially with the Botaiho. If the one fighting is an ordinary person, then others will be willing to intervene or approach, but not in the case of a Yakuza fight. That is a reality in the real world, where people become paranoid. The slightest sight of a group of people huddled together or doing activities identical to Yakuza, people are immediately frightened and run away. It can be seen how very uncomfortable people are with the existence of the Yakuza in society. Whereas previously, Yakuza members could live together and even help each other with the surrounding community. There has been a generalization of views towards all Yakuza members with negative labels. In this manga, the author asks where the Yakuza with bushi values in ancient times could live side by side with society and want to help the environment without asking for payment. The current Yakuza members are only oriented toward money, money, and money. Their attitude is also terrible. As the former *kumicho*, Ishihara said (in Susilo, 2013: 39), "the change in the character of the Yakuza is now getting a bit "rough," individualistic the materialism of "money" is very thick."

The general public and institutional agents responded with an opposing view (Figure 10). Institutional agents in this manga are educational institutions, the police, and government members. Education agents are represented by the head of the school foundation (SF) and students (S). Police agents are represented by police commissioners named Sawada (SW), and Shibata (SB) is a government members.

Figure 10. Institutional agents who have a negative point of view (p. 10, 33, 48, 70, 94)

"*...with this the **Yakuza female teacher will be finished!! ..., they will definitely make a fuss and will simultaneously fire her!! ... She will be forced to submit a letter of resignation** and...!!*" (p. 10)

"*... I see.... I understand...*"
" *...You can understand!!* ***Great! This is how it should be!***" (p. 33)

"*No matter how bad Shirokin's reputation is, **she shouldn't be able to accept a teacher who is related to the Yakuza right!?***" (p. 70)

"*Ooii Yakuza teacher!!*"
"***Stop. You can be kill by her***"
"***Horrible.***" (p. 94)

Figure 10 depicts agents who see the existence of the Yakuza in an unfavorable view. Nevertheless, some view the Yakuza as a respected and even admired group. The group is the chairman of POMG and the chairman of an alumnus. They support the existence of the Yakuza in educational institutions. It was confirmed with a blood stamp (Figure 7) on the approval letter and made the head of the foundation limp due to shock and fear of their blood stamping action. The head of POMG, chairman of alumnus, chairman of the foundation, Commissioner Sawada, Mrs. Shibata, and Yankumi (Yakuza family) are connected in a hegemonic-marginal and dominant-subordinate relationship. Commissioner Sawada, the head of the foundation, and Mrs. Shibata are in the hegemonic group,

which has a dominant position, while the head of POMG and the chairman of the alumnus are in a marginal group because both are in the Yakuza circle with a subordinate position. There will always be inclusion and inclusion practices in the hegemonic-marginal and dominant-subordinate relationship. Connell (2005:37) emphasizes it as a relation of alliance, dominance, and subordination. These relationships are constructed through practice exclude and include, that intimidate, exploit, and so on". In relationships of dominant-subordinate, there will always be inclusion and inclusion practices. As part of the hegemonic, society makes efforts to eliminate groups that are not following applicable norms. Nevertheless, more precisely, as Connell (2005: 84) said, the effort is nothing but to repair the masculine structure damaged by the emergence of other masculinities. Violence or intimidation carried out by the hegemonic as a "privileged" group against the Yakuza group emphasizes that violence is a form of the dominant group and is important for the gender order between men.

The election of police commissioners and members of gonvernment as Hegemonic representatives reject the existence of the Yakuza may not be a coincidence because they are the ones who indirectly provide support for the government in formulating regulations. When this manga was written, the anti-Yakuza law was being revised. The existence of a law that regulates the Yakuza has existed since 1991 with 34 revisions which have made the space for Yakuza members in a society increasingly narrow (Susilo, 2013:33). Then, in 1999 and 2000, the Japanese parliament further strengthened the anti-yakuza law with the issuance of other laws to support it. Not only the rules that limit the movement of Yakuza members but the negative stereotypes that are formed in a society increasingly marginalize the Yakuza group.

Concering the hegemonic, the marginal group is the right or authority of the hegemonic as the dominant group (Connell, 2005: 80-81). Likewise, the negative stereotypes that are carried out by the hegemonic against the Yakuza group are also the right or authority of the hegemonic to continue to suppress the existence of this masculinity. The authority possessed by hegemonic makes the existence of subordination to other masculinities increasingly exist. Subordination to this group is not only the person, but everything related to the Yakuza is something that must be avoided, shunned, and even eliminated. The position of subordinate groups will be vulnerable to discrimination, violence, and boycotts of their existence (Connell, 2005:78). The same thing happened to the Yakuza group. Laws, regulations, restraints, and negative stereotypes are all used to thwart the existence of these groups.

CONCLUSION

The results showed that the relationship between the masculinity shown by the Yakuza group and the masculinity of the samurai was due to historical factors that constructed it. To show a legitimate identity that the Yakuza represents in the world of men, a collection of masculine men, they show a very extreme of masculinity different from hegemonic masculinity. However, this form of masculinity creates problems and separates them from society other than as a means of legitimating a Yakuza man. The process of time made the masculinity of

the samurai in the Yakuza group of masculinity that is scary and uncomfortable to people outside the Yakuza group. The extreme form of masculinity synonymous with the Yakuza makes them even more excluded in society, especially with laws that limit their movements. Community agents also participate in hegemonic construction. The masculinities featured in this manga are *irezumi*, *yubitsume*, toppamono, blood stamp, and fighting. In Yakuza, one cannot see masculinity only in the body's performance, but in the body's performance, there is a giri-ninjo cultural meaning through the oyabun-konbun relationship, in which there is courage, strength, and loyalty.

The relationship between Yakuza and non-Yakuza people is a practice of hegemonic-marginal and dominant-subordinate relations. Indirectly what is experienced by the Yakuza group explains that masculinity does not always provide benefits for men. The benefits obtained are accompanied by burdens of problems too. If men pursue the perfection of ideal masculinity according to hegemonic construction, it is not certain that they will also be accepted in a hegemonic society. That is because the discourse of masculinity is constantly changing and oriented towards certain groups' benefits. That means the form of masculinity has a dual identity, namely as a tool of legitimacy and means of subordination to individuals and groups. In other discourses of masculinity, the complex forms caused by gender identity will be different, providing opportunities for further comprehensive research.

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