To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by John Thomas Worth III entitled "An Exploration into the Role of Women in Japanese Advertising." I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Sciences, with a major in Communications.

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An Exploration into the Role of Women in Japanese Advertising

A Thesis
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Degree
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John Thomas Worth III
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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to those who thought I could never make it this far: to give up on a student is to condemn them to fail. Don't neglect to succeed.

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful for having such a patient thesis comittee: Dr. Taylor, my advisor, kept me steady; Dr. Haley always kept me thinking; Dr. Wilkerson kept me focused and aware

My parents deserve thanks as well; it is because of them that I found out I could do this even when I swore I couldn't.

Finally, my wife gets the most thanks; without her support I could never

have made it this far.

Abstract

This study was an attempt to gain focus on how women are portrayed in Japanese advertising. As the primary movers of culture in society, it is important to understand what images society is being fed about women. This study focused on television commercials.

Japanese advertising shows women in dual roles. Most of the commercials depicted women as independent from their homes and families while still maintaining domestic ties. However, work as a location was hardly ever associated with women; rather, women shown away from home were largely in an outdoor setting.

This study also discovered that a large number of commercials using women had male announcers. Furthermore, women were the spokesperson for the products in many commercials (even if the announcer was male).

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Chapter 1

Introduction

A Mixed Market

For centuries the West has been trying to make inroads into the Japanese market. The Portuguese, Dutch, British and Americans have all had extended periods of influence on the island nation; yet all have had difficulty significantly cracking the shell of Japanese consumers. Japan has a resilience against unwanted outside influence – and a keen sense of what is and is not needed – that has been cultivated for centuries.

In the 50 years since the end of World War Two, Japanese society has experienced drastic change. Though embracing American and European fashions, the nation has retained a lot of its traditional identity. It is still possible to see women dressed in kimonos; the traditional sport of sumo wrestling has been one of the most popular spectator sports per event in Japan for many years. Yet baseball, a distinctly American sport, has popularity that at the very least equals that in its country of origin, and Western musicians and movies are often as well known (or better known, in some cases) than their Japanese counterparts. The result is a unique blend of East and West, old and new.

For Japan, though, it is important to understand how much the culture has changed since the war. It is one thing to postulate that 'things have certainly changed,' quite another to find out the extent to which such change has pervaded society.

One area in all developed countries that has seen change is the role women play in society. According to Oswald Spengler (Lebra et al., 1976), while men make history women *are* history. It is the woman who is responsible for the progression of the family line and the teaching of social values and skills. The changes this role has undergone is one of the more studied aspects of culture since the war, for study of the changes in the woman's role is intertwined with study of the alteration of the family and, ultimately, society.

Almost mirroring these changes, advertising, too, has seen its own dramatic evolution in the past half-century. Scholars have debated whether the mass media (including advertising) are a mirror of society and its norms, or shifts in societal norms are propelled by the images fed through the various media (Hovland and Wilcox, 1990). The common element in these arguments, both pro and con, is that, in some way, media and society interact and, in so doing, have an effect, either positive or negative, on one another.

Assuming, then, that there is a relationship, this study's purpose is to examine how women, as integral participants to any society, particularly Japan, are portrayed by advertising. The role a woman plays in society is complex, too much so to allow concentration on all parts. The focus, then, will be on images of women and their relationship to the home. Does the advertising associate women with working in and for the home and family?

The remainder of this chapter introduces contemporary Japan, beginning with that country's connection with the United States. Next the general economic situation of Japan will be reviewed. The chapter concludes with a look at the advertising climate in Japan and the role of media in Japanese society.

US ties to Japan

The United States has a large interest in Japan for several reasons. The two nations' combined GNP is 40% of the world total, while their populations account for only roughly 10%. Trade between the two countries has been growing steadily for over twenty years (despite attempts to erect barriers), and each country is saturated with images and products from the other.

Somehow American businesses have never quite been able to penetrate the Japanese market. One cause is the loyalty Japanese consumers have to their nation's products and the distrust of other nations'; a recent survey found that 75% of Japanese believe their own country's products are superior to foreign goods, with no respondents feeling Japanese products were poor in quality (Smith, 1996). There is, compared to the U.S., little preference for particular brands; national products are seemingly lumped into one basket. With such a majority of the population loyal to "home-grown" goods, it has been difficult for foreign manufacturers to gain any sizable niche.

The Consumer's Market

Even with such brand loyalty, though, the Japanese market has been experiencing major problems in recent years. The economic 'bubble' that both fascinated and angered the West collapsed in the early 1990s. Since then the nation has been in a recession. 'Lifetime employment,' once the norm for employees of most Japanese companies, is declining in the face of layoffs and cutbacks.

However, Japanese consumers are still actively filling their role, thanks largely to reduced interest rates and the visible end of the recession. A survey by Japan's Economic Planning Agency in 1995 revealed that consumers are increasingly optimistic about their lifestyle, with a higher overall percentage of satisfaction than any year since 1984 (JEPA, 1996). The survey also revealed that

women are more satisfied with their social roles than men. Interestingly, female respondents who worked outside the home had lifestyle satisfaction levels similar to working males. Housewives, it seems, are by and large happier than either males or working females. Increased satisfaction was also found among those with higher incomes and among home owners.

The high levels of lifestyle satisfaction have been tied to lifestyle objectives. The Japanese consumer is typically very family oriented, placing family above material wealth or success.

Japanese Advertising Industry

The origin and growth of mass media advertising in Japan is similar to that of the United States and other developed nations. However, due to the dictatorial government that controlled Japanese industry and media until 1945, it was not until after World War II that advertising as a business saw any substantial growth. The major impetus for this was the rejuvenation of print media and the introduction of commercial radio and television. Also contributing to advertising's growth was the new-found wealth of the nation in the early 1960s, which allowed even the most rural areas to receive television signals, thus creating the outline for the mass media culture.

Total advertising billings in Japan were $35.8 billion in 1995, compared to the United States' $162 billion; 19 of the world's top 50 agencies were from the U.S., and 14 were from Japan (Advertising Age, 1995). The Asian market, in terms of billings, belongs to Dentsu, whose 13 billion in 1996 was more than the next five largest agencies. While the organizational structures and theories of Japanese agencies are based on those in the U.S., evolution has led to some radical differences.

In Japan advertising expenditures are consolidated among a few agencies. In 1994-95, the top five Japanese advertising agencies – Dentsu, Hakuhodo, Tokyu, Daiko and Asatsu – accounted for 41% of total expenditures. (Dentsu is the world leader among single agencies in billings.) Such a situation does not exist in the West. Also, though Western agencies rarely if ever handle competing clients in a product category, it is common for a Japanese agency to operate successfully in this fashion.

Advertising expenditures in Japan have been on the decline in recent years. Television is still the medium of choice, with advertising expenditures of ¥1,755.3 billion. Newspaper follows with ¥1,165 billion in expenditures. There is a marked difference in expenditures between these media and magazines (¥374.3 billion), and radio (¥208.2 billion). Only new media (¥15.8 billion) have seen consistent growth over the past few years; greater accessibility to cable TV is generally credited with the growth of this category.

Conclusion

The need for understanding Japan's advertising climate is vital not just for American businesses who wish to enter or improve their position in the Japanese market, but also for sociologists who are concerned with the interrelationship of media and society. Also, for economic stability between the two nations to prosper, both must continue to have proper understanding of how those economies work. As an essential element to the market economy as it exists in Japan and the United States, the more researchers understand advertising, the greater their awareness the societal and economic forces that support it. This study will be a part of this complex puzzle of knowledge and will, in some small way, bridge the gap that exists in our understanding of the relationship between advertising and society.

Chapter Two will be a review of the literature relevant to this study. The third chapter will present the methodology to be used. Chapter Four will present and discuss the results of the analysis. The final chapter will draw the study to a close and present areas for future studies.

Chapter 2

Literature Review and Definition of Terms

Introduction

Researchers have been investigating how women are portrayed in advertising since the early 1970s, coinciding with the women's movement in the United States. However, only recently has the role of women in Japanese advertising begun to be analyzed.

This chapter reviews the research in two broad categories. The first section will look at Japanese culture with some historical notes, focusing on those elements which 'define' (if such is possible) the role women have played in that society. Concluding this section will be a discussion of the role women play in contemporary Japan.

The second section will cover advertising as it relates to this thesis. A definition of advertising per se will not be given; rather, the focus will be exclusively on first research into Japanese advertising in general followed by a broad look at the research into women in Western advertising, primarily the United States. Finally, studies on the portrayals of women in Eastern advertising will be

examined, concluding with those rare studies on Japanese advertising. The prior research has been summarized in Table 1.[i]

Japan

The Japanese woman is the product of centuries of mixed signals. This section will explain why. There have been many foreign influences on Japan throughout the nation's history. There is also a complex web of rules governing interpersonal contact, both between the sexes and within the sexes. While the explanations of individual concepts related to interpersonal relationships is not relevant to this study, it is important to note the evolution of these relationships over the centuries.

Foreign Influences

According to Kumagai (1995), Japan has been influenced by multiple foreign cultures throughout history. First, oriental cultures (chiefly Chinese and Korean) entered Japan over 1200 years ago. From these came a writing system, organized government, Confucianism, and Buddhism. Chinese 'pop culture' – dance, art, clothing, calligraphy – had a particularly strong presence in Japan, much like French and European fashions and art were (and still are, to an extent) considered leaders of American culture, China set the precedent for Japanese culture.

The Europeans (primarily the Portuguese and Dutch) entered Japan progressively up until the country closed itself off from foreign influence in the seventeenth century. From these traders the Japanese learned, among other things, how to make the tools of modern warfare: guns. Even in the period of isolation, the Dutch were allowed to have one trading port in Nagasaki. In the years that followed

[i] All other tables and figures may be found in the appendix

Table 1

Prior Research

Study	Purpose	Sample	Results
Mueller, 1987	Examine the role of culture in advertising content by comparing the United States and Japan	Magazines	Japanese ads: stress individuality, use soft sell, respectful of elderly and traditional, use youth/modernity appeals, employ status appeals, do not stress product merit, emphasize goodness with nature.
Mueller, 1992	Determine the degree of "westernization" in Japanese advertising	Magazines, 1978 and 1988	Usage of soft-sell appeals increased. Food ads employed soft-sell. Relatively few auto ads did so. Only slight increase in number of Western models/celebs; 5.94 Eng. lang. words/ad in '78; 6.61 in '88.
Ramprasad & Hasegawa, 1992	Compare creative strategy across cultures	Television	Japanese ads: average 27/hr (US: 22/hr), usually 15 seconds. 8% for auto/parts, 1% for retail establishments, 12% for alcohol. USP and preemptive strategies prevelant.
Ramprasad & Hasegawa, 1990	Analysis of Japanese television commercials in light of the hierarchy of effects in consumer behavior.	Television	At all product involvement levels, emotional appeals are used more than information appeals. Sometimes the approaches are very indirect. A majority of the commercials used spoken and/or written English.
Hong, Muderrisoglu & Zinkhan	Test whether or not Japanese ads use more emotional appeals, provide fewer information cues, and use less comparative ads than U.S.	Magazines	Japanese ads use more emotional appeals, regardless of product type, and contain more information cues than U.S. ads. Neither country used "explicit comparison" in the ads.

Table 1
Continued

Study	Purpose	Sample	Results
Lin	American commercials will be more informative and use comparison more than Japanese commercials	Television	Japanese ads are less informative than American and contain greater product packaging and availability information. Emphasis is placed on shorter messages, songs to create a mood, use of celebreties, and less animation.
Javalgi, Cutler, & Malhotra	Examined the visual components of US and Japanese advertisements	Magazines	Japan more informative. Descriptive, storytelling, asthetic appeals, status appeal and quality appeal used in Japan. Japan used curiosity headline. Japanese ads more ethnically diverse, not sexually divided, used young adults
Sengupta	Examine how culture influences the portrayal of women in advertising, comparison of Japan and U.S.	Television	The study's content analysis of 507 Japanese and 227 American commercials revealed that advertising is by and large a reflection of society.
Cooper-Chen, Leung & Cho	Study of how sexes are portrayed in Hong Kong, Japan and Korea	Magazines	Women in Japan were associated with cosmetics and were not shown working. However, women were dominant in the ads. Older women not shown so much.
Madden, Caballero, Matsukubo	Levels of informativeness in Japanese and U.S. ads are compared	Magazines	Japanese advertisements are more informative, but the specific types of information conveyed is culturally driven

Admiral Perry's appearance and 'request' that the Japanese open their country to trading – referred to as the Meiji Restoration or Revolution, or just Meiji – the nation's modernization moved at a rapid pace. (Though the country was forced open, evidence suggests that the social and political climate within Japan was ripe for just such a change.) However, as will be explained later, the social advancements were largely reserved for males; the government, at least in early Meiji, went so far as to pass laws preventing women from partaking in 'deviant behavior' such as cutting their hair short (Sievers, 1995).

From this period until the Second World War, Japanese society was more or less able to pick and choose what they wanted to learn and from where. Morton (1984) referred to the early twentieth century as the 'take-off point' for the Japanese economy. Those in government who had originally opposed the Meiji reforms had for the most part died or become too old to exert any real influence. Japan followed most of the developed Western nations and began to seek out countries for colonization, a move backed by a military built largely with foreign technology.

The First World War greatly boosted Japan's economy. Great Britain, Germany and the United States, all strong shipping powers, suffered large losses to their merchant fleets; Japan did not and moved in to take up the slack (Morton).

This pace of economic expansion continued up until the Second World War, interrupted only by the great Tokyo earthquake; though the loss of life was over 100,000, the city was literally wiped clean and new buildings of a more 'Western' style were erected (Morton). After the War, it was the American occupational forces that helped create a constitution for the Japanese (based on the American model), provided the impetus to reorganize government, and, in so doing, within Japan a sense of gratitude was generated towards the United States.

Interpersonal Communication

Di Benedetto et al.. (1992) said that, "In Japanese, what is most important frequently is not what is stated explicitly but rather what is implied by the speaker or writer.... This avoidance of directness in expression is pervasive in all types of communication among the Japanese, including their advertising" (p. 40). In a sense, the Japanese have a strong sense of intuition. Society as a whole is relatively structured, with a complex web of rules which govern action and behavior. While this is true of American society as well, Japan is, relatively speaking, culturally even, and to a large extent the unwritten codes of conduct are adhered to almost uniformly across the country.

This 'group consensus' is a factor in all levels of inter- and intrapersonal communication. Not only does a person know what to expect in certain situations, but there is a society-wide expectation to 'go with the flow.' In Japan, the pressure is to conform. Condon (1984) noted that

> "[e]very person, everywhere, is both an individual, separate from others, and also a member of a group, emotionally tied to others.... In countless ways, both obvious and subtle, the Japanese are encouraged to think first of being part of the group. 'We' always comes before 'I' (9).

Sometimes, as with schoolchildren, the groups are obvious. Other memberships are more subtle. The 'good wife' is one such category.

Women in Japan

Though the evolution of the woman's role in contemporary Japanese society has been widely studied, it is perhaps the least understood. It has been over a thousand years since a woman in Japan held any form of 'real', i.e., political, power. First, Shinto, the native religion of Japan, put women on a somewhat equal footing with

men; in Japanese mythology, even, the leader of the gods, Amaterasu, was a woman, the sun goddess, and women in early Japan were thought to have supernatural power beyond men. (Perhaps fear of this power led the males to want to control women so tightly.) Buddhism, brought from China, taught that women were one of the sources of temptation that could lead men away from the path of enlightenment. The third strong religious influence, Confucianism, spread the belief that women should obey first their fathers, then their husbands, and finally their sons. These influences gradually pushed the woman inside the home. One of the words in Japanese for wife emphasizes this point: a man refers to his wife as *kanai*, which means *inside the house*.

Women and Change

Researchers have noted that women were often affected by changes in Japanese society to a greater extent than men. Most of the great social reforms affecting women, however, were not consciously initiated by women themselves, but were, instead, efforts by the government to appease the Western powers and appear more 'civilized' by the Western definition. Whereas in the United States women have been actively fighting for change for a hundred years, Japanese women were much more passive in their fight for equality.

Iwao (1993), however, notes that the generalization that women were primarily home-bound was for a long time true only among the upper classes. It was not until after the Meiji restoration that an attempt was made to 'integrate' all women into the upper class culture. She notes that while men have superiority in government and companies, all forms of visible power, women have dominated the family and home, including finances (*dansei jooi, josei yuui*). In fact, women's power in society lasted until at least the Muromachi period (1333-1467), when

"commoner women enjoyed freedom (including freedom in such areas as love and marriage), equality, and power as they worked under much the same conditions as men" (p. 5). Like the West, though, the upper classes of this age gave very little direct control to women, but revered and protected women; chivalry dictated that women should not have to worry about the complexities and stresses of governing and holding power; over time, perhaps, society forgot why women were not given power, and simply did not give any. Confucianism dictated the power (or, rather, the lack thereof) given to women.

After Meiji, women were a prominent, though not respected, force in the new nation. According to Skov and Moeran (1995), "at the beginning of the country's industrial development in the Meiji period, in particular between 1890 and 1910, women made up over two thirds of the labour force employed in private companies" (p. 15). Japan's first labor strikes were called by women in the 1880s to protest poor working conditions and low wages. However, though women provided the power and created the foundations upon which the economy would grow, the control still rested in the hands of men. (It was not uncommon for fathers to 'sell' their daughters to factories for periods of time in exchange for money.)

The economic success of Meiji Japan brought about service industries that gave women employment options. "In contrast to those working in the textile industry who had remained hidden in the factories, women who took up these new jobs were very visible in the communication, transportation and consumption of modern urban life" (Skov and Moeran p. 16). This growing service sector created a consumer culture, complete with increasing numbers of 'social' magazines (not concerned with news, politics or academics) as well as celebrity endorsements in advertising. Coinciding, then, with the rise in consumerism was the natural growth of image-oriented advertising to the masses.

However, women, though they made up a sizable percentage of the pre-war workforce, were not being portrayed in the media as part of the working class. In 1933, the Tokyo Asahi Newspaper published its *Changing Japan Seen through the Camera*. "Its photos strike a fine, though even at that time well-tested, balance between the monuments of modernization..., on the one hand, and modest markers of Japaneseness..., on the other" (Skov and Moeran p. 17). However, though commonly seen in society of the day, only one photograph showed women engaged in physical labor. Most common were photos of women as consumers.

The service sector was the transition period that, much like in the United States, created in women an interest in motion pictures, coffee shops, shopping, and other leisure-oriented activities. Yet women were not 'independent' in the Western sense. In fact, there is evidence that, while perhaps they idealized American films and modeled their fashions after Western stars, Japanese women were not overly inclined to be Western. Emulation of physical styles does not imply adoption of values.

Women as Mothers

Perhaps the most important traditional role for a woman was as mother. According to Smith and Schooler (1978), "Japanese society has traditionally placed a high priority on the maternal role and has de-emphasized the conjugal one" (p. 613). To some this was the only role, the woman seen as a womb, an incubator of the preferably male children of the nation. Shand noted that "the Japanese maternal role performance ... is seen as a crucial link in the transmission of the culture group's valued characteristics from generation to generation" (p. 52). Traditionally, then, the woman was in reality more than just a breeding partner; the mother alone had the burden of taking the child and forming it to fit the ideals of society, teaching, to

a point, both male and female children their place in society. The *ie* (home) was her domain.

Research has shown that modern Japanese women still hold onto the concept of 'woman as mother', but not universally. Smith and Schooler found that the better educated a woman was, the more likely she was to shun the traditional maternal role. Moreover, these women strayed from the belief that the good mother must place her child's welfare before her own.

Shand (1985) found that the above changes also varied depending on one's age. Naturally, older women, who were brought up in a period where the 'traditional family' was still intact, felt strongly about the traditional maternal role, while younger women, raised in an age of economic success and assaulted by the mass media and other products of a culture of consumption, tended to be more open to change. She noted, however, that the large majority of women perceive, or at least say they perceive, their role as being more traditional.

Women as Independent

White (1992) postulates that the social fabric within Japan is being forever altered by women in the 1990s. She says "women are bringing many formerly taboo issues out of the closet and changing not only their own lives but those of men, children, [and] society itself" (p. 61). Increasingly women are emerging from behind the scenes and taking a more active role in the process of social change. "They have become the most visible, and audible, agents of change in Japan" (p. 62).

White (1992) says three dominant images of women have emerged (note that these are not the same as the three distinct generations defined by Iwao below; White's concern is with images). From the 1950s to the 1970s "women were to help in the reconstruction of Japan by providing a stable family life for their children and

for their dedicated salary man husbands". White refers to these women as the 'dedicated and dependent' housewives. The images shifted in the 1970s; "the idea of the separation of spheres clarified the distinct turfs of men and women, and women tried to live up to 'professional mother' standards set in the school and community". However, towards the end of the 1980s the options available for women began to expand to allow greater access to the "success ladder formerly reserved for men. The housewife-professional now is joined by the career-professional of the 1990s" (p. 63).

White (1987, 1992) says that Japanese society has relegated its members to predetermined roles. From a young age, the path a child follows is somewhat predetermined. Elementary school children compete for admittance into 'good' schools, a trend which continues until they become employed. "Status and ideology" (White, 1992, p. 68) which have defined different paths for the sexes, in the past "have only occasionally been questioned, though the reality of suppressed ambition and discrimination... has been discussed among women over the past 40 years" (p. 68). These two spheres – one a facade of what the male dominated society thinks, the other the reality of what women think – are now in direct opposition. "Women now see themselves, employment, and the workplace from a different perspective" (p. 68).

Another observation made by White (1992) is that Japanese are "champion shoppers" (p. 71). Anyone who has been to Japan for even a brief period can attest to this. Further, sports are also becoming increasingly popular among females, particularly golf and tennis.

These social changes in the woman's role noted by White are most probably linked to changes in the greater society. The late 1980s, for example, was an era of

economic prosperity, followed by a recession in the 1990s. There have been equal opportunity laws passed to provide a more even playing field for women.

Three Generations

Iwao (1993) said that there are three primary generations of Japanese women in society today, each with a different value set.

Older (born before 1935) – Pre-war Japanese women were raised under the *ie* system. The *ie*, which means *house*, was described by Nakane (1972) as "a corporate residential group and... a managing body.... The *ie* is a social group constructed on the basis of an established frame of residence and of of management organization" (pp. 4-5). In this framwork, the *ie* social unit is the most important; other human relationships are secondary. More than just a simple hierarchy of power, the *ie* is integral to the social function in Japan. Women, then, were taught that men were superior and that the role of the woman was to maintain the home and, to a certain extent, the family ("good wife and wise mother" model; Iwao p. 19). They were content with their "repertoire of sex roles" and strictly adhered to the prescribed role-relevant behavior. "Many women did work to help make ends meet, but no matter how large their contribution, their work had nothing to do with personal actualization or fulfillment; it was simply to support the husband's role as breadwinner" (p. 20).

This generation is the first to grow up in what White (1995) called the "modern consumer society" (p. 258), a result of economic prosperity and increasingly greater urban populations. Production's focus began to shift towards the growing consumer markets. Youth began to spend more time away from the home, creating a youth market. However, this generation knew two different

economic realities: consumerism and mass depression, worsened by war's devastation.

Post War 1 (born between 1946-55) – The first generation to grow up after the war was faced with conflicting ideas. On the one hand, their parents and mentors were of the older generation, enforcing upon women the limited role of the past. On the other hand, these women grew up under a new constitution that, in theory, promised equality for women. (The vagueness of this term was irrelevant; it was, in a real sense, the thought that counted.)

This generation also grew up in the technological age. Indoor plumbing and electricity became more and more widespread, in many cases for the first time. Women who once washed clothes by hand in local streams now used washing machines. Like their Western counterparts, technology increasingly eased the burden of housework, giving the women more free time. (The cost of these household gadgets, moreover, created the need for more income with which to purchase them.) Television slowly filtered out of the cities, sparked by the loosening of the government's grip on the media. Further, the cities began to grow as more and more families began to migrate from the countryside in search of work which paid more than farming. (Here, too, technology decreased the need for manpower in the fields; the migration to the cities fed the need for technology, which in turn fed the migration to the cities, and so on.)

The 1973 'oil shock' profoundly affected women of this generation. The financial crunch forced women to seek work outside the home and subsequently they began to play a larger part in consumption. Marketers began to target this generation, the "new families" (an expression coined by the Public Relations department at Marui Department Store). The focus began to shift from consumption

for the sake of improving household life (where advertising focused on the women as the family representative; further, the aim was to place products in *all* homes) to consumption for enhancing oneself (Skov and Moeran).

Skov and Moeran note that "in this period, there was a major shift in emphasis in the way in which the media represented and addressed women, from 'women in the household' to 'women as individuals'" (p. 28). This generation also experienced the Decade of Women (1975-1985), and the media began to strongly focus on women in the first baby-boom generation.

Post War 2 (born between 1960-69) – The second post war generation was raised in the era of prosperity marked by the Tokyo Olympics in 1964. This generation knew very little of the hardships encountered by their parents and grandparents; this was an age of change, both technological and social, and the youth of this era reaped the financial windfall of their parents' efforts.

Evidence of the effects of social change in this generation became visible in Yoyogi Park in early 1980s Tokyo, where youth groups sporting fashions ranging from 1950s American rock to British punk (and diverse others) began to influence all of Japanese society (Skov and Moeran). Media attention began focusing on this *shinjinrui* (new breed) and marketers quickly began pushing the fashions and styles being imported, at least in concept, from the West.

"What was new about these men and women," Skov and Moeran note, "was that they were *not* willing to sacrifice themselves for their companies without getting anything in return, and that they regarded leisure as almost as important as work" (p. 29) They are more individualistic than their parents and became the nation's principal consumers of leisure goods and travel.

Women and Media

> "Japanese media... are marked by a preponderance of visual images which portray women as sex objects.... The female form has become a consumer icon" (Skov and Moeran p. 44).

This is not out of line with Western advertising. However, Skov and Moeran note that there are conflicting representations of women in other media. "Japanese media have a marked tendency to place women in typical housewife rather than working roles in fiction and drama." Women reporters are "chosen because of [their] looks and youth, rather than... knowledge and skills as a journalist." Society has, perhaps, "loosened [women] from their backstage position at home, and recast them as floating signifiers of the female form. In the process we find an ongoing displacement for women's desire for consumer goods with men's, indeed society's, desire for the female body" (Skov and Moeran p. 44).

Advertising

Advertising is both the black sheep and golden calf of the mass media. Charles Sandage (1990) said that "[U.S.] society holds advertising responsible to *inform* and *persuade* members of society (p. 4)." Advertising is an educator, and often receives more criticism than praise.

As "a formative influence within our culture" (Richard Pollay, 1990, p. 438), advertising has been under the microscopes of researchers from across the social science spectrum (and, perhaps, beyond). This section will first look at literature about Japanese advertising and then work on women in advertising.

Japanese Advertising

Advertising in Japan is not as apt to use the logical argument as American advertising; rather, instead of appealing to the "reason of the audience" Japanese ads are more image oriented and appeal to the sentiment of the audience (di Benedetto et al. p. 40). The ads are more abstract; it is the implied meaning that is important.

Research has noted that advertising practitioners use several promotional techniques in television advertising. One is to promote the product based on the image of the originating country, or, often the country that the *style* of the product comes from: Scotland with whisky (including that made in Japan), France or Germany with wine. Other countries have a particular reputation or positive image that can be associated with a product: Swiss mechanical precision and watches, chic fashions and France, Italy and romance. Still other countries have unique cultural icons, and those images are used in the expression to give the products the 'flavor' of the country of origin: American cowboys, British Beefeaters, a Scotsman in traditional attire (Nishina, 1990).

Messages can also be constructed to reflect the history of the product in Japan. The ad campaign falls back on product reputation. There are even instances where a foreign product (or company, in the case of Proctor and Gamble) is actually perceived to be Japanese simply because it has settled comfortably into the market.

The Japanese "Soft-sell"

Mueller (1987) noted that magazine advertising in Japan was 'less direct' than Western-style advertising. "[Japanese] advertisements appeal much more to the emotional level of the consumer and rely on building atmosphere within the confines of the printed page" (p. 55). One way comparative appeals are made softer

is by not directly mentioning the competitors. The implication is that the consumer should make his own comparison.

An examination of television commercials (Ramaprasad and Hasegawa, 1992) confirmed that the soft style is not confined to the print media. The researchers found that "the Japanese make less use of the hyperbole strategy" than America (p. 65). They attributed this to the preference for softer strategies. Kishii (1988) noted that "Japanese advertising creates a happy, friendly atmosphere, invites the recipients of the message to share it, and seeks to raise their awareness of and familiarity with the product" (p. 53). The purpose of advertising within these parameters is not to push a product, it would seem, but designed, like a television program, to entertain the audience.

One distinction between the hard- and soft-sell techniques is the amount of information presented. Both Hong et al. (1987) and Madden et al. (1986) found the level of information in Japanese magazine advertisements to be higher than in American advertisements. Ramaprasad and Hasegawa (1990), however, discovered that Japanese television commercials were less informative than American ads, and used transformational strategies over informational. Furthermore, the informational strategies were very rarely comparative, instead relying largely on Preemptive or USP (unique selling proposition). Kishii (1988) said that Japanese advertising has lower language content than American ads, a fact attributable to the aforementioned social expectations placed on people. Related is the tendency toward short commercials. It is common knowledge among researchers of Japanese television advertising that the majority of commercials are 15 seconds long (Lin, 1993; Ramaprasad & Hasegawa, 1992, 1990; Sengupta, 1996).

Yet another element of the soft-sell is the types and degree of emotional appeal employed. In a comparison with American magazine advertisements, Hong

et al. (1987) discovered that "Japanese ads were... more emotionally oriented than American ads" (p. 60). This finding is true regardless of product type. Ramaprasad and Hasegawa (1992) found that this was also true of television advertising. The researchers went one step further and said that the physical appearance of the commercials was conducive to promoting an emotional atmosphere. "Japanese commercials use mood-creating nature symbols which are serene. It is possible that the fewer camera shots in Japanese informational commercials might be a manifestation of [using] emotional execution strategies" (p. 65).

Reverent Society

This veneration of nature extends to members of society as well. Mueller (1992) and di Benedetto, et al. (1992) indicated that in advertising, as in society as a whole, the older members of the population are highly respected, even if the age difference is as little as a year. A younger person (*koohai*) will interact with their elders (*sempai*) by asking for – and going by – their advice, deferring to their opinions, etc. Likewise, traditional symbols are also used in respectful ways. This can be seen in the traditional home, where an altar existed for the family's ancestors, and offerings of food were periodically made out of respect.

Mueller (1992) found that the Japanese place an emphasis on status (perhaps an extension of the feudal class system). Thus, while everyone wants to be a part of a group, they want to be part of the best group possible.

However, di Benedetto et al. noted that one of the 'unique' characteristics of Japanese advertising defined by Kishii is that advertising will often show a celebrity as 'one of the people.' Since the Japanese are very careful not to stand out in any way (Barnlund, 1975; Condon, John, 1984), portraying the celebrity as a normal citizen is in line with this element of Japanese culture.

Japanese consumers are especially brand conscious and loyal. This and the desire for status leads to a strong emphasis on the company in advertising. Because of this strong belief, for example, Motorola, a company which had been doing business for several years with Japanese businesses, associated itself with those customers in its advertising so the general public would associate Motorola with reputable Japanese companies, and thus give them more trust (Kishii). (Consult Table 1 for a synopsis of the prior research on Japanese advertising.)

Women in Advertising

The role of the woman in society has seen dramatic change over the past century. However, much of the research illustrates that advertising has not kept up with this evolution. This section will divide the research up into that of print and television dealing exclusively with Western advertising, with a separate section dedicated to research into the Asian market.

Print

Contemporary research (regardless of country of origin or focus) into the portrayal of women in print advertising has its roots in a 1971 study by Courtney and Lockeretz. This analysis of 729 advertisements found that men were shown working in 45% of the advertisements, while women were only shown working in 9%. Women were never shown in executive positions but, instead, were shown with the family (23%), in a recreational setting (46%), or in a decorative role (31%). Courtney and Lockeretz identified four advertising stereotypes of women: women belong in the home; women are not decision makers and do not do 'important things;' women need men for protection, etc.; women are regarded as sexual objects.

This study has been frequently replicated. Two years later Wagner and Banos discovered that women were shown working outside the home in 21% of the advertisements, and were portrayed as holding jobs with greater responsibility (Courtney and Whipple, 1983). Those women shown in non-working roles were shown less and less in family situations and more often as decoration. However, dependence on men was still a common theme. The authors believed that the results indicate a cautious reaction to changes in society. However, they concluded that a significant number of women in American society were still primarily homemakers, thus accounting for their depiction as such in advertisements.

The first criticism of these studies came from Belkaoui and Belkaoui in 1976 (Courtney and Whipple, 1983). The researchers felt that because a historical perspective was lacking, there was no sense of how the situation had changed over time. Their sample included the same general interest magazines as the previous studies, but from 1958. They then compared their results to their predecessors, finding similar results to their colleagues. The only major shift was in how women were shown overall. In 1958, a family-oriented image was presented; in 1970 and 1972 a decorative image had become dominant.

Television

Courtney and Whipple (1983) noted that "a world of complexity can be packed into a thirty-second commercial.... Complexities of meaning are not easily categorized" (p. 15). Since the current study deals with television advertising, this section will look at how previous researchers have handled the problems of interpretation posed by television advertising.

Bardwick and Schumann in 1967 (Courtney and Whipple, 1983) painted a bleak and contradictory picture of how women had been portrayed in television

commercials. While they are shown to be master of the home, they need the authoritative male; they clean to the point of futility a pristine home. This study's qualitative findings have been repeatedly supported through quantitative analysis.

In 1972 Hennessee and Nicholson (Courtney and Whipple, 1983), under the guidance and support of The National Organization for Women (NOW) in New York City, did the first major content analysis of television commercials. They examined 1,241 commercials taken from New York City over a period of one and a half years. The majority of the commercials showed women in the home. Household chores were the primary activity of women (42.6%); a minority (.3%) were shown as 'autonomous individuals.' Men were found to be literally the voices of authority: males dominated voice-overs (89.3%).

Another 1972 study by Dominick and Rauch (Courtney and Whipple, 1983) found that women were overwhelmingly associated with kitchen or bathroom products (75%) and were never shown in ads for automobiles or other products which are typically high-responsibility purchases. More than half of the women were shown as housewives, and 38% were shown inside the home. Women pictured as employed were in jobs inferior to men.

In 1981, Pesch designed a study to compare data from the early to mid-1970s to the early 1980s, with an additional comparison of daytime to prime-time commercials (Courtney and Whipple, 1983). The research discovered that male voice-overs had actually increased, up to 92% for daytime and 90% for prime-time. Women in daytime commercials were still shown in the home or with the family. In this time segment, the majority of product representatives were women (72%), while during prime time both sexes were equally likely to have that role. However, the product-sex relationships found in previous studies still predominated. It was

concluded that the 'traditional-woman' image was shown in afternoon television; this image still dominated prime-time commercials, but to a lesser degree.

Women in Japanese Advertising

Studies of women in Japanese advertising have largely been limited to portions of broad studies on women in East Asian advertising. Moreover, these studies have been conducted largely in the past decade, indicating an increasing interest in this area. The Cooper-Chen (1995) study examined 1,972 advertisements from 12 women's, men's and general interest magazines in Japan, Hong Kong and Korea. The study discovered that women were the primary model in a majority of the advertisements. Very few of the advertisements showed the subjects (male or female) in occupational roles. In Japan, women were primarily associated with cosmetics, while clothes prevailed in Korea and Hong Kong. The ads promoted a youth culture, rarely showing elderly women.

While the Cooper-Chen study examined a large sample (664 in Japan), the study focused exclusively on magazine advertising. Furthermore, only three magazines were used in the study.

In 1994, Sengupta performed a content analysis of television commercials in Japan and compared them with American commercials. Sengupta's study examined 18 hours of television shows from Japan (507 commercials) and 15 from the United States (227 commercials). Women in Japanese advertisements were rarely shown in a working role; if they were, they were primarily depicted as entertainers. The women shown in the home were depicted as good housewives, performing household tasks (cleaning, cooking, etc.). Women were more likely to be depicted in a decorative fashion than shown relaxing. The researcher also found that males were dominant in voice-overs.

Conclusion

While there has been quite a lot of research into Japanese advertising, the bulk of this research used relatively small samples primarily of magazine advertisements. Due to the nature of advertising expenditures among the four major media (Chap. 1, p. 5), Japanese magazines make a poor choice for in-depth study. Most magazines are highly specialized, catering to individual groups, not mass audiences; advertising in this medium, then, is geared towards a specialized audience. Television, on the other hand, does target a particular audience, but it is harder to predict who watches than a magazine can predict who reads.

Research concerning women in Japanese advertising is a new frontier. The studies which have thus far been published present strong support for expanded efforts in this area.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Research Questions

Prior research has established very little about how women are portrayed in advertising. Studies into Japanese culture have shown that women perceive themselves as tied to the home and family. However, White (1992) noted that the image of the Japanese woman in the 1990s is "career-professional," a logical progression, she said, from the "housewife-professional" that began to emerge in the 1980s. This seems to represent a confused identity within Japanese society; there are currently two roles that, some suggest, are coexisting.

Mass media and advertising are pervasive forces in the expression of values in society. In a heavy consumer culture such as exists in Japan, examination of television advertising can provide insight into the portrayal of women's roles. Based on these premises, this study will seek to answer one research question.

What roles for women are portrayed in
Japanese television advertising?

Categories

To answer this question, the possible social roles women can play have been divided into three categories (based loosely on Pingree, et al.'s 1976 "Scale of

Sexism"). First there is the role of 'woman as dedicated housewife/mother'. There are eight values which define this category: home, shopping for the family, caring for the family, eating with the family, products for the home and for the family, and food for preparation at home. ('Products for the home' refers to cleaning supplies, home-appliances, etc., i.e. those products used primarily to care for the home; products for the family include houses, bathtubs/toilets, and insurance/financial planning services.)

The second category is woman as independent, with the subject never shown in a home setting. The values defining this category are: work (location variable for woman at work), woman at a department store, woman at a convenience store, outdoors, school, other locations, images of a woman shopping for herself, eating alone, relaxing because the product eases her work load, relaxing because the product helps her relax after work, sports, and product categories for fast/instant food, personal use/beauty and other.

The third category is a mixture of the first two. There are no values that can be used to exclusively define this category; Category Three is any combination of Categories One and Two. This category is also referred to as 'women in dual roles'. This study is looking for the presence of the dual roles, not necessarily the way a woman plays those roles.

White's business professional would be categorized as 'woman as independent'. This study hopes to find out if there is evidence of such a role attributed to women in contemporary Japanese advertising. There is one major category that will define this: work. If the advertising does not physically show a woman in a workplace (the coders were instructed to note the type of workplace), then the woman is not being portrayed as a worker. Though business professionals might be shown outdoors or even in the home, the viewer must have some clue that

the woman is such a person. One indicator is dress; however, attire is something difficult to exhaustively code. Thus, in the debriefing of the coders, they were asked their opinion on this and whether, in their opinion, they saw any evidence of a 'business professional' in the advertising.

Other Variables

The study has three variables that are necessary to define the sample. These are the presence or absence of people, presence or absence of women, and the role the women play. There are also two descriptor variables: the sex of the announcer (if one is present) and whether women are shown using the product, including consumption of food products. This last variable can not be forced into any of the above three categories; rather, the category combined with using the product can provide insight on the role of the woman.

Description of Sample

The sample for the study was Japanese television commercials taped during prime-time. Through correspondence with a Dentsu manager it was learned that prime-time in Japan is from 7:00 p.m. until 11:00 p.m. and the existence of four major advertising dependent (not government) networks was confirmed. Each of the four major networks were recorded for two nights in a ten day period. Of these two nights, one for each network was randomly chosen for coding.

Since the study is not designed to measure total exposure but, rather, the content of the individual commercials, repeat commercials were removed from the final sample. The final sample size was 411 advertisements.

Quantitative Analysis

This study uses quantitative content analysis. Content analysis allows the researcher to identify advertising's individual elements. A chi-square test is used to determine if there is a relationship between variables which make rows and columns of a data table. If the rows and columns are independent, then the null hypothesis is supported. Independence can be tested by comparing the observed cell frequencies to the expected cell frequencies. The significance level for this study is .10.

Coders

The coders for this study are native Japanese students enrolled at the University of Tennessee. After training, each student was given a tape of the commercials to code. They were compensated financially for assisting in the study.

Reliability

Singletary (1994) noted that "reliability is near the heart of content analysis; if the coding is not reliable, the analysis cannot be trusted." To test intercoder reliability, Scott's Pi was used. This test was chosen because it takes into account chance agreement among the coders. The formula for Scott's Pi is:

$$pi=P_O - P_E/1-P_E$$

where P_O = percent agreement observed and P_E =percent agreement expected. Reliability was tested on 205 commercials (roughly half the sample).

Instrument

Each coder was given a two page coding sheet (Figure 1). The first questions were designed to establish if there are any announcers, the sex of the announcers, presence of people in the commercial, and role of the women. Presence

and sex of announcers is particularly important as the announcer is the 'voice in the wilderness' that lends credence and stability to the product claims. (Length of the ads will not be measured because previous studies in Japanese advertising have consistently shown that the majority of Japanese television commercials are 15 seconds in length. See di Benedetto et al., 1992; Lin, 1993; Ramaprasad and Hasegawa, 1992 & 1990; Sengupta, 1995)

The coding then focused on three areas. The first area was the location of the woman. This is important to establish where women are portrayed. What the woman is doing was the second area of focus. Finally, the product categories associated with the women were defined. This study did not use the product categories as defined in prior studies. It is not in line with the purpose of the study to determine how many commercials for appliances a woman appears in. What is important are the general categories. The products are defined as those for the home (cleaning supplies, home appliances, etc., i.e. those products used almost exclusively by one person for the benefit of the rest of the family); those for family (houses, toilets, bathtubs, insurance, etc., i.e. products designed to be beneficial equally to all members of the family); food for preparation at home (including mixes, seasoning, etc.); fast food/restaurants and other food for outside the home (including canned drinks, instant noodles, and other "ready to eat" products that "take away" from the woman's traditional role as cook); and products for the woman (such as hair-sprays, bath oils, cosmetics, clothing, etc.). An 'other' category was included in all three areas.

Limitations

This study does not provide any historical tracking of how the portrayal of women has changed. The logistics of undertaking such a study are very complex

and difficult to arrange without direct connection with a Japanese advertising or mass media organization.

There is also no coverage of advertising from different day parts, and the days chosen for recording were not randomly selected over a long period of time, but represent four days out of just over one week of programming. A further complication that results from this is that, from the researchers own experience, there seems, logically, to be significant seasonal variation in the advertising; this study did not account for such variation. Another area not covered in this study is age of the woman.

Conclusion

This study, like all others, has its flaws. However, these blemishes do not distract from the overall shape or effectiveness of the study. The structure is designed to work around the logistical problems and get to the core of the study with as little fat as possible. The end result is a start towards defining the relationship between culture and advertising.

Chapter 4

Results

Summary of Findings

The raw sample size was 430 commercials. Of these, 19 were program notes, movie or video advertisements or CD/music ads which were not coded. After removal of these commercials, the sample was reduced to 411 commercials. There were 205 commercials that did not have a woman in a major role, the minimum criteria to complete the remainder of the coding sheet. This left 206 codable commercials.

Frequencies

There were three general and two descriptor variables . First coded was the presence or absence of an announcer and the sex of the announcer; the rest of the study was not dependent on these variables, but the sex of the announcer is important as an indicator of the woman's role as a source of authority. The second descriptor was whether women were shown using the product. The three general categories were the presence of people, the presence of women, and the role (major or minor) of the woman.

Announcer – At least one announcer was present in 88.8% (N= 348) of the commercials, leaving 11.2% (N= 44) with no announcer. The announcer was male in 70.7% (N= 246) of the commercials with announcers; less than one third as many

(20.7%, N= 72) had a female announcer. The remaining 8.6% (N= 30) had both a male and female announcer (Table 2).

People – People appeared in 88.8% (N= 348) of the commercials. Women were present in 72.4% (N= 252) of the sample. Of those ads containing a female, 81.7% (N= 206) put her in a major role. It is on these 206 commercials that the following analyses were run (Table 2).

Using the product – Commercials showing women using the product accounted for 12.6% (N= 26) of the commercials (Table 2).

Category 1

Location – Women were shown in the home in 35.9% (N= 74) of the commercials. This was the only Category 1 location value (Table 2).

Activities – Women were depicted as shopping for their families in 2.4% (N= 5) of the commercials (Table 2).

Commercials with women shown caring for their family accounted for 2.4% (N= 5) of the sample (Table 2).

Women were shown eating with the family in eight (3.9%) commercials (Table 2).

Product – Products for the home were shown in 6.3% (N= 13) of the sample, while those for the family were in 10.2% (N= 21). Food prepared at home was in 6.8% (N= 14; Table 3).

Category 2

Location – Only 7.8% (N= 16) of the commercials showed women at work (Table 2).

The frequency analysis showed that women were never shown in department stores. This variable was not included in the chi-square analyses (Table 2).

Only five commercials (2.4%) showed women in a convenience store (Table 2).

At 72 (35%) commercials, outdoors was the second most frequent location (besides home Table; 2).

Nine commercials (4.4%) showed women in school (Table 2). The woman was depicted as both a teacher and student (the coding sheet did not distinguish between these roles).

Women were in other locations in 31.1% (N= 64) of the sample (Table 2).

Activities – Only 1 (.5%) commercial showed a woman shopping for herself (Table 2).

No commercials showed the woman relaxing because the product eases her work load. This variable was also excluded from the chi-square analyses (Table 2).

Two (1%) commercials showed women relaxing because the commercial relaxing because the product helps her relax after working (Table 2).

Women were shown eating alone in 19 (9.2%) commercials (Table 2).

Women were shown playing sports in 3.9% (N= 8) of the sample (Table 2).

This value for other actions was present in 73.8% (152) of the sample (Table 2).

Product – Fast/instant food or restaurants were in 25.7% (N= 53). Personal use products made up a further 18.4% (N= 38). Other product categories made up the remaining 32.5% (N= 67). There was no dominant "other" product category noted by the coders (Table 3).

Chi-square Analyses

The results of the chi-square will be reported according to category and can be found in Tables 6 to 12 in the appendix. There were ten commercials in Category 1, 106 in Category 2, and 90 in Category 3. The chi-square analysis showed that there was a significant relationship between Categories 1 and 2 (p= .026) and 1 and 3 (p= .0). Significance was also reached between Category 2 and 3 (p= 0; Table 15).

Profile of Category 1

There were only ten commercials that fit exclusively in Category 1. This number was reached after analyzing women at home by all other possible variables. Unfortunately, there were no significant chi-square relationships between home and other values. This resulted either from insufficient cell sizes or a p-value that was over the .10 level of significance

Women at home were most often associated with a male announcer (N= 39; 74% of all commercials with this value), but a large number of the commercials had a female announcer (N= 19; 36%); only five (.9%) had both a male and female announcer (Table 5).

Profile of Category 2

There were five Category 2 location values and six action variables. In total, there were 66 commercials exclusively in Category 2.

There were only three significant relationships within this category. There were 58 commercials that had *outdoors* as a location and other actions (p= .085; df= 1; Table 6); 14 commercials with the woman shown outdoors were for personal use products and 27 for 'other' products (p= .0; df= 5; Table 6).

Women shown in other locations were associated 14 times with fast/instant food products, 16 times with personal use products, and 24 with 'other' products (p= .071; df= 5; Table 6).

The chi-square analysis revealed that women in Category 2 were most often associated with male announcers, but, again, female announcers were fairly common. In the 66 commercials that showed a woman only in this category, five had no announcer; of the remaining 61, 40 had a male announcer, 17 a female and four had both (Table 5).

Profile of Category 3

Those values that are part of both Categories 1 and 2 comprise Category 3. The analysis revealed that there were 130 commercials in this category. There were 25 commercials with both *home* and another location; 128 commercials had both Category 1 and 2 action variables. There were no Category 3 product variables. Chi-square analysis was run on variables within and across location and action.

The analysis between Category 1 action and Category 2 locations yielded no significant differences (Table 7).

Women at home were doing other activities in 42 commercials (p= .0; df= 1; Table 8).

Analyzing Category 1 location by Category 2 location produced two significant differences. Women were shown outdoors in ten commercials (p= .0; df= 1) .and in 'other' locations in nine (p= .0; df= 1; Table 9).

Using the Product

Women shown at home were using the product in 17 commercials (p= .002; df= 1). Two commercials associated the woman using a product for the home, four with a product for the family and three with a food product for preparation at home (p= .0; df= 5; Table 11).

As for Category 2 values, six commercials showed a woman using the product and some 'other' action (p= .0; df= 1). Women were using fast/instant food products in two commercials, personal use products in 13, and other products in four (p= .0; df= 5; Table 12).

Three-way Analyses

A three way analysis was done between the three main location values (home, outdoors, and other locations) and using the product and product categories. This determined the products women used in those locations.

In two instances a woman at home was shown using a product for the home, in four commercials using a product for the family, in one commercial using an instant/fast food product, in eight commercials using a personal-use product, and in two commercials using an 'other' product (p= .009; df= 5; Table 13).

Women shown in other locations were twice shown using products for the family, once with food prepared at home, and four times with personal-use products (p= .115; df= 5; Table 13).

Once a woman shown outdoors was using a product for the family, once a food product for preparation at home, once a fast/instant food product, four times a personal-use product, and once an 'other' product (p= .061; df= 5; Table 13).

Intercoder Reliability

The reliability of the coders was tested on 50% of the sample (205 commercials). Agreement was 77% (Figure 2). There were only two areas where coders consistently disagreed. Whether women played a major or minor role in the commercial, a major question in the coding scheme, was one area of contention; if this variable was coded as minor, then the remaining variables would not be coded for that commercial, greatly skewing the reliability. The second area was product category, specifically whether products such as shampoo or soap were for the woman or for the family. In cases where the coders disagreed, the researcher was the tie-breaker.

Analysis

This section will demystify the numerical analysis and try to extrapolate the meaning behind the numbers. Also discussed will be the comments made by the coders both on the coding sheets and in their debriefing.

Three Categories

The first category (Chapter Three), 'woman as dedicated housewife' was not supported. As mentioned, women were shown in the home, but not shown with their family. A substantial percentage of the commercials showed women with products for the home or family, just not exclusively within Category 1.

A 'housewife,' it can be assumed, is not simply in the home, but is concerned with the house and family. The sample showed that, in location and, to a certain extent, product categories, women were 'dedicated housewives;' but their actions did not fit the mold. Action, perhaps, is the most important indicator of the person's role; just because the woman is in the home does not mean she is a 'good

mother/housewife;' without the supporting action that role cannot be adequately fulfilled.

The second category, 'woman as independent,' was not supported; less than 25% of the sample could be defined as belonging to this category. Though woman were portrayed 'outdoors' in a large number of commercials and were often acting according to the parameters of this category, the data suggests that images of independence did not stand alone.

More closely aligned with the image presented was the third category. 'Woman in dual roles' was supported. Specifically, 'woman as housewife and independent' was dominant. Other dual roles – 'housewife and professional' and 'housewife and worker' – were not at all evident. This was true within location, with women shown both at home and other locations, and between location and action (in some commercials women were shown eating alone at home and some commercials also showed women playing sports). However, the dominant value for both location and action varialbes was the 'other' category; this represents a problem with the coding sheet in not adequately anticipating the possibilities in those areas.

The products shown in the commercials yielded perhaps the most interesting results. While products for the home and family (including food for preparation at home) made up almost a quarter of the commercials, products for the woman's use alone made up almost a fifth. Most interesting, however, was that food products for consumption outside of the home made up a quarter. These products can be seen as products of independence from the home, products that free the woman from the various burdens associated with preparing food. When combined, though, with actions and locations from Category 1, the message is defined as belonging to Category 3.

The majority of announcers, it was found, were male, even in commercials where a woman played a major role. This is important because it is the announcer that provides what Bretl and Cantor (1988) called "the voice of authority" in the commercial. Even if the woman is the only character in the commercial and is shown superior to men (as the coders noted sometimes occurs), the presence of the male announcer places her in a subordinate position.

Women shown at home were more likely to be shown using a product for the home than a product for the family (Table 12). In fact, in the three major locations in general women were shown with food products for preparation at home. This can be attributed in part to the products in Category 1. Products for the home, for example, could be an appliance, such as a rice cooker, which is easy to show someone using; however, the product could also be (and, the coders noted, often was) a toilet or bath tub (a product for the family). It is unlikely, and certainly not prudent, that a commercial will show someone using the toilet, though bathtubs were often shown in use. Also, products for the family included insurance and savings programs; usage of these products is not easy to represent. Often the advertisement would show the woman enjoying the *benefits* of the insurance or savings plan; but this is not *using* in the traditional sense.

On those occasions where a woman was shown at work, the coders noted that she was never an executive type, but either an office lady or worker in a restaurant or store. This is in line with the position women currently hold in Japanese society. Beasley (1995) found that, while women make up 38.6% of the work force, 30% of those working are part-time laborers. Further comment on the position women have in society was provided by Reischauer (1988), who said that "the wife may be the dominant member of the family, but women still have an overwhelmingly subservient position in the broader society."

Women were shown outdoors almost as frequently as they were shown in the home, with only ten commercials showing women in both settings. Since commercials primarily showed women in these settings (remember, 'other' locations also made up a sizable percentage of the sample), it seems advertisers are intent on showing women anywhere but at work. Because the woman is not at work, she is free to enjoy a lifestyle of freedom and choice.

This hearkens back to Iwao (1993), who noted that 'women as bound to the home' was largely an upper-class ideal that, while sought by the rest of society, was not actively or uniformly adhered to. Perhaps, then, advertisers are reflecting that society has become less fashioned after the samurai (upper-class) precedent of the silent, obedient wife and moved towards an expectation of women to maintain the home and yet at the same time enjoy a life outside the home.

What White (1992) called the 'career professional' has not appeared in Japanese advertising. In fact, quite the opposite is true. Women were never shown as career professionals, but home-makers and individuals free to choose their own life. Importantly, the life 'chosen' by the women in the commercials was by and large not a career or work of any nature, but often leisure activities or association with other women.

This is supported further by the actions with which women are associated. Very few commercials showed the women shopping (either for their selves or the families), and only five showed the woman caring for the family. More commercials showed the woman eating alone than eating with the family. Women were, it seems, almost exclusively using the product or doing some "other" action which, as mentioned earlier, was often acting as a spokesperson for the product or company.

This puts the woman, again, in a role that is not quite traditional – as in 'tied' to the home – but also not exactly non-traditional. On the one hand, women were shown at home a large percentage of the time. However, women were not doing 'home' activities. It can be assumed, if the images in the advertising are representative of society as a whole, that women in Japan have created their own definition of what a "contemporary" woman should be.

The products also show that women in Japan are not associated with home life. Fast food, instant food, and restaurants accounted for a quarter of the sample. These products exist to ease the burden of preparing the food at home, where, as we have seen, women are not shown. Products for the home, family or preparation at home, moreover, far exceeded the actions associated with them. For example, while these three product categories combined accounted for nearly one fourth of the commercials, their action equivalents (eating with the family, caring for the family, shopping for the family) were in less than eight percent.

Remember, too, that women shown in the home were not dominantly associated with a particular product category; rather, if the woman is shown in the home, she was shown with the gamut. Does this indicate that advertisers are leery of showing one dominant role? Or, perhaps more likely, they are choosing to display the contemporary woman as encompassing all products within what White loosely called 'the woman's domain.' The home is, it seems, becoming more than ever a universal location, not one of toil and labor. Technology, of course, has created the means of freeing the woman from the home; in America this helped lead to the gradually increasing pressure on equality for women in the labor force. Japan, though, is showing the woman free from the chores of the home, but still in the home.

Conclusion

The most important finding, perhaps, is not the presence of certain relationships but, rather, the absence of others. Perhaps it could have been expected that women would be shown in the home or as enjoying their 'free' life. However, the total lack of a significant presence of women in work situations was unexpected, especially considering White's (1992) analysis.

Chapter 5

Conclusions

Summary of Analysis

Women were shown to be in the home or, rather, were not shown to be at work. The three locations where women were predominantly shown were home, outdoors, and other. (The other category, as the coders noted, was predominantly a studio setting with a blank background.) It can be said, then, that women were shown tied to the home; part of the research question has been answered. However, the data also suggests that women are not tied solely to the home; rather, a certain independence is also shown, signified by the presence of women outdoors in a fairly large percentage of the sample.

The second part of the research question said women would be tied to their families. There is a careful distinction to be found here. Just because a woman is shown in the home does not preclude that she is shown with her family. This study found that women were not shown as tied to the family; only a small number of commercials even put the woman with her family. However, 'woman as independent' was also unsupported, as women were rarely shown eating alone or playing sports (though twice as many women were shown eating alone as eating with their family). There is no role for women, then, when their actions are examined. Most, as the coders noted, were simply spokespersons for the product and were either using or explaining it to the greater viewing audience.

Suggestions for Future Study

What is needed in the future are qualitative studies that investigate the role women play beyond quantifiable elements. The connection with programming, in particular, could provide interesting data that will enable researchers to further understand the way programming and advertising combine to affect society and culture. Research is also needed into the history of television advertising in Japan. Without some concept of how things have changed it is difficult to determine exactly where things are going.

One area this study did not focus on was language. Communication occurs on at least two interactive planes. One involves the physical; how a person looks, stands, or acts. The other is verbal; the words a person uses, the inflection, the dialect. This study was exclusively concerned with the former. The reason for this is simple: visual images are easier to code. However, in choosing to limit the study in this way only half of the picture has been painted. Interpretation of language, however, requires specialized training and time so as to accurately catch and interpret the individual nuances that naturally exist in verbal communication.

This study deleted commercials for television shows, movies and music. The primary reason for this was that, particularly in the case of television shows and movies, the images of the woman are not manufactured solely for the sale of the product; further, in the case of movies, simple visual analysis shows that many of those ads are for non-Japanese movies. Also, such products do not fit into the product categories designed for this study.

Finally, in the future researchers need to distinguish between the literal and interpretive roles given to women. An office lady, for example, might be shown at work; however, the fact that she is an office lady (usually this means secretary) does not in any way indicate a deviation from the 'traditional' role. In fact, the opposite is

true. Also, age is important to this interpretation. This study was only concerned with the woman's role as defined by visual images. Future research can build upon this and test the results against a broader spectrum of advertising and the greater possibilities of roles that are possible in Japanese society.

Conclusion

It remains to be seen how the Japanese woman has been affected by the constant assault of images and ideals about who she should be and the role she should take. This belongs in the arena of scholarly speculation, where the results of studies such as this are tossed into the teeth of society to be either swallowed or spat out. The end result is that the Japanese woman has changed; research can measure how and where and maybe even why, but is not capable of give precise predictions on the future of such change.

This much can be said about the Japanese woman. In the past century, perhaps she, more than her male counterpart, has evolved the furthest, because she had the longest road to travel. She is still not portrayed as the equal of a man, not shown as a working woman. Having no historical precedent, it is impossible to know if these images have changed in any way. Most likely, they have; this is an area where future research should focus.

Is advertising a catalyst for social change, or does it merely react to the trends that exist in society? If the former is accepted, then Japanese women are not being pushed too hard to change; commercials show women in the home. If the latter opinion is true, then Japanese society (which, remember, in terms of business and government is male dominated), holds to the values that put the woman in non-working situations.

In *The Japanese Today*, Edwin Reischauer noted that culture is readily absorbed in Japanese society. An essential reason for this is the "extraordinary uniformity" Japanese society had when 'opened' to the West. Societal institutions support this; schools, for example, offer almost the same education across the nation.

The mass media, too, play an important role in the shaping of a uniform Japanese society. All media, print or broadcast, contain uniform content, show similar types of shows. Though not an objective of this study, it did show a relative uniformity within the advertising.

The study showed, above all else, that Japanese society has created two roles for women. Yet this has always, to a certain extent, been true. In pre-Meiji Japan the country had multiple roles for women, especially women who were not members of the upper classes. The farmer's wife, while perhaps wanting to be like the samurai-class women, had to care for the family, a full-time occupation in itself, but also the home. So the modern woman, too, has the same dual role. In many respects she has changed little in a hundred years. Yet, in one important way, she has changed. The two roles are no longer housewife and house laborer; the former still appears to be present, at least in the advertising. The latter is somewhat diminished. More important is the second role of independent person, especially among younger women.

However, as noted in Chapter One, recent surveys have indicated that housewives have a great deal of satisfaction with their lives. If advertising is even to a small degree a mirror of society, then this study has supported the prior surveys. But women were not shown as blindly dedicated to their families. Perhaps a future study could determine if there is a connection between the lifestyle satisfaction and relative independence.

Advertising and society are intertwined. This study has, hopefully, added to the growing body of research which helps explain this relationship, particularly in Japan..

Women in Japan are portrayed in dual roles. These roles seem to mirror the general position of women in society. How society has changed over time, though, has not been found; future study is needed in this area.

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Appendix

COMMERCIAL # _____

PRODUCT (name and purpose [cleaning, clothes, etc.])

_____

Was there an announcer?

_____ Yes _____ No

Was the announcer:

_____ Male _____ Female _____ Both

Are there people in the commercial?

_____ Yes _____ No

IF YES PROCEED

Are there women in the commercial?

_____ Yes _____ No

IF YES, PROCEED

Are the women in a _____ Major role _____ Minor role

(Major role: woman appears for more than 5 seconds or speaks)

IF MAJOR, PROCEED

(Code for most prominent female)Where is the woman shown? (check all that apply)

_____ Home

_____ Work

_____ Department store

_____ Convenience store

_____ Outdoors (on street, in a park, etc.)

_____ School

_____ Other

Specify: _____

Figure 1: Coding Sheet

What is the woman doing? (Check all that apply)

_____ Shopping for self
_____ Shopping for family
_____ Taking care of family children, husband, parent, etc.
_____ Relaxing 1 (because the product eases her work load)
_____ Relaxing 2 (because the product helps her relax after work)
_____ Eating alone
_____ Eating with family
_____ Sports
_____ Using the product
_____ Other

Is the product:

_____ For the home (cleaning supplies, bedding, home appliances [including vacuum])
_____ For the family (house, toilets, bathtubs, etc.)
_____ Food (for preparation at home, i.e. miso, soy sauce, curry etc.)
_____ Fast food/restaurant, outside home
_____ For herself
_____ Other

Figure 1: Coding Sheet, continued

Table 2

Frequencies

Variable	Frequency		Percent	
	Yes	**No**	**Yes**	**No**
Anoun	348	44	88.8	11.2
People	348	44	88.8	11.2
Women	252	96	72.4	27.6
Role	206	46	81.7	18.3
Home	74	132	35.9	64.1
Work	16	190	7.8	92.2
Depart	0	206	0	100
Conven	5	201	2.4	97.6
Outdoors	72	134	35	65
School	9	197	4.4	95.6
Othershow	64	142	31.1	68.9
Shopself	1	201	.5	99.5
Shopfam	3	203	1.5	98.5
Care	5	201	2.4	97.6
RelaxA	0	206	0	100
RelaxB	2	204	1	99
Eatalone	19	187	9.2	90.8
Eatfam	8	198	3.9	96.1
Sports	8	198	3.9	96.1
Useprod	26	180	12.6	87.4
Otherdo	152	54	73.8	26.2

Anonsex	Male	Female	Both	Male	Female	Both
	246	72	30	71	21	8

Table 3

Product

Product	Frequency	Percent
For the home	13	6.3%
For the family	21	10.2%
Food (home)	14	6.8%
Fast food/restaurant	53	25.7%
For self	38	18.4%
Oher	67	32.5%

Scott's Pi= $P_O - P_E / 1 - P_E$

= .945 - .766/1-.766

= .179/.234

= .765

= 77%

Figure 2: Intercoder reliability

Table 4

Category 1

	Shopfam	Care	Eatfam	Prod. 1	Prod. 2	Prod. 3
Home	2	4	7	10	13	10
Significance	.264	038	.002	.001		
df	1	1	1	5		

	Care	Eatfam	Prod. 1	Prod. 2	Prod. 3
Shopfam	0	1	0	0	1
Significance	.778	005	.668		
df	1	1	5		

	Eatfam	Prod. 1	Prod. 2	Prod. 3
Care	0	1	3	0
Significance	.663	010		
df	1	5		

	Prod. 1	Prod. 2	Prod. 3
Eatfam	0	0	3
Significance	.002		
df	5		

Table 5

Categories by Annonsex

	Male	%	Female	%	Both	%
Category 1	39	62%	19	30%	5	8%
Category 2	40	66%	17	28%	4	7%
Category 3	74	57%	44	34%	12	9%

Table 6

Category 2

	Conven	Outdoors	School	Othershow	Shopself	Eatalone	Relax B	Sports	Otherdo	Prod. 4	Prod. 5	Prod. 6
Work	2	4	0	4	2	4	0	0	13	3	1	9
Significance	.007	.385	.373	.585	.771	.637	.680	.403	.454	.143		
df	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	df=1	df=1		

	Outdoors	School	Othershow	Shopself	Eatalone	Relax B	Sports	Otherdo	Prod. 4	Prod. 5	Prod. 6
Conven	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	3	0	1
Significance	.097	.629	.129	.0	.471	.823	.649	.732	.337		
df	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5		

	School	Othershow	Shopself	Eatalone	Relax B	Sports	Otherdo	Prod. 4	Prod. 5	Prod. 6
Outdoors	0	5	0	6	0	6	58	20	14	27
Significance	.328	0	.749	.746	.651	.358	.085	.0		
df	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5		

	Shopself	Eatalone	Relax B	Sports	Otherdo	Prod. 4	Prod. 5	Prod.6
Othershow	0	7	0	1	51	14	16	24
Significance	.501	.568	.340	.247	.646	.071		
df	1	1	1	1	1	5		

	Shopself	Eatalone	Relax B	Sports	Otherdo	Prod. 4	Prod. 5	Prod. 6
School	0	0	0	1	6	2	2	5
Significance	.830	.328	.761	.251	.646	.572		
df	1	1	1	1	1	5		

Table 6

continued

	Eatalone	Relax B	Sports	Otherdo	Prod. 4	Prod. 5	Prod. 6
Shopself	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Significance	.749	.921	.840	.837	.837		
df	1	1	1	1	5		

	Relax B	Sports	Otherdo	Prod. 4	Prod. 5	Prod. 6
Eatalone	0	0	5	14	1	2
Significance	.651	.358	.0	.0		
df	1	1	1	5		

	Sports	Otherdo	Prod. 4	Prod. 5	Prod. 6
Relax B	0	0	1	1	0
Significance	.775	.019	.749		
df	1	1	5		

	Otherdo	Prod. 4	Prod. 5	Prod. 6
Sports	0	2	1	4
Significance	.0	.721		
df	1	5		

	Prod. 4	Prod. 5	Prod. 6
Otherdo	34	27	57
Significance	.143		
df	5		

Table 7

Category 1 action by category 2 location

	Conven	Othershow	Outdoors	School	Work
Care	0	1	0	0	1
significance	.721	.588	.478	.629	.301
df	1	1	1	1	1

	Conven	Othershow	Outdoors	School	Work
Eatfam	0	1	1	0	0
significance	.649	.247	.174	.538	.403
df	1	1	1	1	1

	Conven	Othershow	Outdoors	School	Work
Shopfam	1	1	0	0	0
significance	.001	.115	.201	.709	.613
df	1	1	1	1	1

Table 8

category 1 location by category 2 action

	Shopself	Eatalone	Relax B	Sports	Otherdo
Home	0	7	2	1	42
Significance	.453	.008	.058	.159	.000
df	1	1	1	1	1

Table 9

Category 1 location by Category 2 location

	Work	Conven	Outdoors	School	Othershow
Home	4	0	10	2	9
Significance	.343	.09	.0	.381	.0
df	1	1	1	1	1

Table 10

Category 1 action by Category 2 action

	Shopself	Eatalone	Relax B	Sports	Otherdo
Care	0	0	0	0	3
Significance	.874	.471	.823	.649	.496
df	1	1	1	1	1

	Shopself	Eatalone	Relax B	Sports	Otherdo
Eatfam	0	0	0	0	2
Significance	.840	.358	.775	.562	.002
df	1	1	1	1	1

	Shopself	Eatalone	Relax B	Sports	Otherdo
Shopfam	0	0	0	0	1
Significance	.903	.578	.863	.726	.115
df	1	1	1	1	1

Table 11

Category 1 by useprod

	Shopfam	Home	Eatfam	Care	Product1	Product 2	Product 3
Useprod	0	17	1	0	2	4	2
Significance	.498	.002	.959	.379	.000		
df	1	1	1	1	5		

Table 12

Category 2 by useprod

	Useprod	Significance	df
Work	3	.486	1
Sports	0	.263	1
Shopself	0	.697	1
School	3	.066	1
Relax B	0	.581	1
Outdoors	8	.534	1
Othershow	7	.536	1
Otherdo	6	.0	1
Eatalone	0	.076	1
Conven	0	.379	1
Product 4	2	.0	5
Product 5	13		
Product 6	4		

Table 13

Three way analyses by useprod and product

Controlling for Home

	Product 1	Product 2	Product 3	Product 4	Product 5	Product 6
Useprod	2	4	1	0	8	2
significance	.089					
df	5					

Controlling for othershow

	Product 1	Product 2	Product 3	Product 4	Product 5	Product 6
Outdoors	0	2	0	1	4	0
othershow	.115					
df	5					

Controlling for outdoors

	Product 1	Product 2	Product 3	Product 4	Product 5	Product 6
Outdoors	0	1	1	1	4	1
significance	.061					
df	5					

Table 14

Category membership

	N=	Chi sq by cat. 2	Chi-sq by cat. 3
Category 1	10	.026	.0
Category 2	66		.0
Category 3	130	.0	

Vitae

John Worth is a native of East Tennessee. Having suffered through the rigors of a rural East Tennessee education, he went on to receive a Bachelors degree in English from Maryville College. After graduation, he lived in Korea for seven months and Japan for two years. While overseas, John taught English and worked in various odd jobs, including a year as an assistant magazine editor in Japan. His return to America was prompted by a desire to gain understanding of the culture and society of Japan.