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**AN ANALYSIS OF WESTERN CONTENT
IN THE ADVERTISEMENTS OF TWO JAPANESE MAGAZINES**

**A Thesis
Presented for the
Master of Science
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville**

**Alex Gordon Mohler
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DEDICATION

To my grandfather, Hiram D. Mohler (1898-1986), a world
traveller who internationalized me through
tales of foreign lands.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to: (1) analyze the popular images of the West and Westerners among the Japanese, using Japanese magazine advertising as an index of cultural stereotypes, and (2) provide an explanation of why the Western image is so prevalent in Japanese advertising and an indication of which product categories are associated with its use.

Content analysis was conducted on a purposeful sample of 160 Japanese magazine advertisements drawn from twenty-three issues of two Japanese monthly periodicals between January 1977 and February 1982. The advertisements were coded for: (1) the magazine, month, and year in which they appeared, (2) the category of product advertised, (3) the category of Western content used to promote the product, and (4) product origin. Each advertisement containing Japanese advertising copy was independently translated by one of three Japanese interpreters.

Findings indicated that Western text is used in Japanese magazine advertisements primarily for aesthetic, contemporary, and international appeal. The majority of Western text is used in advertisements for Japanese and American consumer durable product categories such as household goods, clothing, and jewelry. Western models and

celebrities are used most notably in Japanese magazine advertisements for European alcoholic beverages, as well as other consumer non-durable product categories associated with image, luxury, and status. The images of Western art and literature are used mainly in alcoholic beverage advertisements as an expression of sophistication, value, and exclusivity. Advertisements in which American or European historical figures are used to promote a product reveal many traditionally held Japanese beliefs about Western society. There is evidence that Britain is seen as a country of deeply-rooted traditions, nobility, wealth, and craftsmanship. Japanese magazine advertisements depict France as a nation respected for her sophistication, cultural refinement, and superior judgement. Findings indicate that Americans are portrayed as powerful, heroic, innovative, and rational. Products of Western origin are characterized by their authenticity, tradition, craftsmanship, and technology.

The researcher concluded that Japanese copywriters have used magazine advertising to reinforce a Japanese stereotype of Western cultural superiority.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A WESTERN IMAGE

Until recent times, the Japanese have tended to be more isolated from the rest of the world than any other major nation. Their long period of almost complete seclusion from 1638 until 1853 is unparalleled in modern history (Reischauer, 1978). For over two centuries, Japan had a strict policy against allowing foreigners in the country. From this experience the Japanese derived a strong sense of ethnocentricity.

The Meiji Restoration of the mid-nineteenth century provided Japan with an extensive period of Western contact. The Meiji government made a concerted effort to restructure Japanese national life along Western lines and over the next few decades, Japan borrowed from the West the latest advances in science and medicine, as well as contemporary Western values regarding government, culture, and social progress. England, in particular, as it became the leading imperialist nation of the world, was regarded as the modern symbol of progress.

Prominent intellectuals of the Meiji Restoration expressed great admiration for English political institutions and acclaimed the wealth and power of England.

The works of John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer, Huxley and Darwin were studied extensively as Western superiority became accepted (Gokhale, 1982). In his book, The Improvement of the Japanese Race, Meiji writer Takahashi Yoshio promoted the application of Darwin's theory of natural selection by suggesting that Japanese men should divorce their wives and marry women of superior physique and intellect (Sansom, 1973, p. 37).

Meiji Japan had admired England not only for its economic and political prowess, but because of the fact that it was viewed as another small island country of strong, independent citizens who shared an appreciation for traditional monarchy. The image of Britain today in Japan still persists as that of a powerful nation, although England has, in fact, become less developed among the developed nations.

In much the same way, the image of France in contemporary Japan retains the stereotype developed for it in the early twentieth century. Whereas England was respected for its scientific and economic development, France gradually acquired the status of the leader in fine arts and cultural refinement. In the late nineteenth century, such Japanese artists as Yamamoto Hosui, Goseda Yoshimatsu, Kumei Kelichiro and Kuroda Seiki studied art at schools in Paris (Gokhale, 1982, p. M-58). In addition, such major European literary movements as Romanticism,

Realism, Symbolism and Surrealism made their way into Japan where they were emulated. In the area of poetry, Japanese poets of the twentieth century were deeply influenced by the French Symbolists, and later by the Dadaists and Surrealists (Gokhale, 1982, p. M-58).

The richness of Japan's own heritage ensured that the Japanese would go beyond the mere replication of Western art and literature to create works that reflected their own cultural identity. Nevertheless, the conviction of French cultural superiority remains alive in contemporary Japan as evidenced by the value the Japanese attach to Parisian fashions and the subsequent demise of the kimono and yukata. The widespread acceptance of Western dress in Japan is indicative of a reformation in the Japanese concept of beauty and sophistication. In addition to Western clothes, make-up is used to create the illusion of rounder eyes and lower cheekbones in an effort to Westernize a Japanese woman's features.

Once the stereotype of "the superiority of the West" was developed at the turn of the century, it proved resistant to change. Today, Japan is one of the leading capitalist nations in the world and has regained much of the self-confidence of its past. However, in many ways, Japan continues to assume the role of willing apprentice to the West's teacher. In contemporary Japan, England, France, and the United States remain the focal points for modern

culture. The West is obviously not as influential as it was at the turn of the century, but it evidently plays an important role in helping to make the Japanese modern, sophisticated, and "complete."

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Throughout history, national stereotypes have been held by individual members of a society. Stereotypes are generally assumed to be negative and are visualized as "bad," "unfortunate," "incomplete," "damaging to good will," "harmful," and "biased" (Merrill, 1970, p. 192). Stereotypically, stereotypes are seen as vicious and unrealistic barriers which separate people from reality and mutual understanding. Is this always the case? In spite of the inadequacies of these partial images, Merrill contends that stereotypes are indispensable to both the public and private thought of other nations. Merrill (1970, p. 195) wrote of stereotypes as essential to thinking and communicating about nations and peoples:

We must consider other countries in generalizations; we cannot think about the multi-faceted societies that they are or about each citizen that makes them up. We must think in broad strokes, in vivid colors, in lumps and pieces. Whether or not this is a commendable practice is not the issue; the fact remains that a human being must think about other nations in this way. Otherwise he cannot talk about other countries; or, at least, all he can say is, 'It's too complex and differentiated for me to say anything about it.'

Although Japan developed cultural stereotypes for both England and France at the turn of the century, America's image has been later in evolving and, consequently, less prominent historically. Exactly what role does America play in the "superiority of the West" stereotype? What stereotypes or popular images does Japan have of America? Are these stereotypes positive or negative? Are they realistic?

This study will attempt to analyze the popular images of the West and Westerners among the Japanese, using Japanese magazine advertising as an index of cultural stereotypes. This research will examine the images Japan has of America, Britain, and France by studying the stereotypical characteristics that are emphasized in the advertisements and, by contrast, the characteristics that are omitted.

It is hoped that this study will provide both an explanation of why the Western image is so prevalent in Japanese advertising and an indication of which product categories are associated with its use. Finally, the researcher will try to evaluate the accuracy of these images and ascertain their future role in Japanese advertising.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

ADVERTISING AS AN INDICATOR OF POPULAR IMAGE

In recent years, advertising has been criticized by portraying women in negative stereotyped roles in the mass media. Several studies have used advertising to assess the contemporary popular image of American women. Dominick and Raunch (1972) conducted a content analysis of a series of prime-time television commercials appearing on a variety of network stations in 1971. They concluded that stereotypes of women did exist:

In the world of the television commercial, women are housewives or low-level employees...When she does appear, the typical female is a young housewife, pictured in the home, helping to sell some product found in the kitchen or bathroom. Those women that are shown away from home relate to people in a service role...If we view these results from the perspective of someone in the feminist movement, we find in general their criticisms are well taken. (Culley and Bennett, 1976, p. 161)

Courtney and Lockertz (1970) used seven magazines, published the week of April 18, 1970, in their examination of female stereotypes in magazine advertisements. Ads from Life, Look, Newsweek, The New Yorker, Saturday Review, Time, U.S. News and World Report, and the April 1970 issue of Reader's Digest were coded according to product class and apparent activity of the adult characters. Particularly

noted were the working and non-working roles of the adults portrayed in the ads. The authors concluded that magazine advertising reinforces a number of negative stereotypes concerning women: (1) a woman's place is in the home, (2) women do not make important decisions, (3) women are dependent upon men, and (4) men regard women primarily as sexual objects. (Courtney and Lockertz, 1970, pp. 94-95)

Advertising has also been used in an attempt to examine the popular image and opinion of American blacks. In an early study, Shuey, King, and Griffith (1953) analyzed the occupational status of blacks in advertisements from 292 issues of Life, Saturday Evening Post, Time, The New Yorker, Ladies' Home Journal and Collier's during the period of 1949-1950. They found blacks in less than 1 percent of the advertising material examined, and nearly 80 percent of all the blacks that did appear in ads were cooks, maids and servants for whites. This study was replicated in 1967 and 1968 by Cox, who noted that only 2 percent of all identifiable adults were blacks in the ads that he studied. However, significant occupational role shifts had occurred in the 15 years since the Shuey study. In 1967 over 55 percent of the black adults portrayed entertainer, sportsman, professional, business, student, or clerical roles, compared to a 6 percent level for the same roles in 1958. (Cox, 1970, pp. 603-606) Colfax and Sternberg (1972) qualified black stereotypes when they replicated Cox's study

in 1970. They found: (1) 40 percent of ads containing blacks displayed blacks on record album covers, (2) more than 50 percent of all non-album cover blacks were token blacks, appearing with five or more whites, (3) one-third of non-album cover ads had shown black children only, and (4) 10 percent of the non-record album ads portrayed blacks as "losers," welfare or charity recipients. (Colfax and Sternberg, 1972, pp. 8-18) Kassarian studied black role portrayal in advertisements in 12 general circulation magazines in 1964-65 and replicated the study in 1969. Although the total number of blacks in ads had tripled by 1969, he still found blacks to represent less than 2 percent of all ads. (Kassarian, 1969, pp. 29-39)

It is now apparent that advertising can be successfully used to assess the contemporary images of American women and blacks. Would it not, then, be a logical progression to use advertising as an index of the popular culture of a society? In an attempt to find the contemporary popular image of Italians among Americans, Pittatore (1983) used advertising as an indicator of popular opinion. Pittatore's research examined which characteristics of contemporary Italy and Italians were emphasized by analyzing 265 advertisements with an Italian theme in five U.S. magazines between August 1, 1981 through December 31, 1981. The magazines used were: Vogue, New York Times Magazine, Playboy, Glamour, and Time.

These magazines were selected on the basis of their high circulations and diverse markets.

All advertisements with an Italian theme, and more than half a page in length were considered. In total, 95 percent of the 265 advertisements were full-page. The advertisements were first coded under four categories: (a) Not Evident: Italian products in which their Italian origin is not evident, (b) Explicit: Italian products in which the origin is explicit, (c) Main Appeal: Italian products in which the Italian image is the product's main appeal, and (d) Foreign Products: Foreign products which use an Italian image. The advertisements were then coded on the basis of the following product categories: (a) Clothes, (b) Jewelry, (c) Leather, (d) Liquor, (e) Industrial Products, (f) Cosmetics, (g) Tourism & Culture, and (h) Others. The advertisements were then coded under the following six categories for the Italian image used to promote the product: (a) Art: "Advertisements in which visual and the artistic heritage of Italy constituted the main appeal," (b) Sex: "Advertisements in which sex was the main appeal," (c) Sophistication: "Advertisements in which an appeal was made to the sophistication of the reader," (d) Craftsmanship: "Advertisements which emphasized traditional Italian crafts, craftsmen and the image of craftsmanship being passed down through the generations," (e) Negative images of Italy, usually through omission, (Not Evident) and (f)

Advertisements that do not fall under any of the previous five categories. (Pittatore, 1983, p. 729)

Pittatore concluded that the contemporary image of Italy and Italians in U.S. magazine advertising is one of sophistication, art, craftsmanship and sex, in that order. Foreign products using an Italian theme usually employ the artistic image: "Pavarotti is used to advertise Time-Life records, Verdi is used by Texaco, La Dolce Vita by Fellini is used to promote a French perfume" (Pittatore, 1983, p. 730). Italian products overwhelmingly used the theme of sophistication. These ads emphasized the elegance and exclusivity of the Italian image: "The ultimate in textures, fur and leather with sophisticated styling." Related to the high quality appeal of Italian products is the image of Italians as excellent craftsmen. Italian shoes are advertised as: "Continuing the Italian tradition of fine craftsmanship;" Enny bags are "exquisitely crafted as only the Italians know how" (Pittatore, 1983, p. 730).

Clothes, liquor, and leather products used an Italian theme in their ads the greatest number of times respectively. However, whereas clothes, leather and jewelry most frequently use the sophisticated image, liquors employed primarily artistic and sexual imagery. For example, Amaretto di Saronno is promoted with the slogan, "The Renaissance Spirit Lives On," and an ad for Fazi-Battaglia wines uses the following headline in

reference to a photograph of the bottle's sensuous shape:
"Italy's classics have always had great shapes." (Pittatore, 1983, p. 730)

The Italian product whose Italian origin is not evident reflects a negative image of Italy through the deliberate and consistent omission of the product's origin. Unlike American, Japanese and German automobile ads, none of the Italian manufacturers stressed technology. The most obvious omission of Italian origin was in the Fiat ads. Fiat uses the same words as other Italian products use in their ad copy - classic, tradition, quality, style, design, beauty - however, the Fiat is promoted as "Classic European," "Great European," or "Classically European" (Pittatore, 1983, p. 731). The Fiat is never identified as Italian, or Italian made.

Among the magazines, Vogue employed the sophisticated image most frequently, whereas Time, Glamour and Playboy used the art theme most frequently. The themes present in New York Times Magazine ads were widely distributed between sex, art, craftsmanship, and sophisticated images. Pittatore concluded that in U.S. magazine advertising, Italy is sold for its past.

In an article appearing in the Journal of Popular Culture, Freeman (1975) studied the American image in German periodical advertisements. Freeman's research challenged the assessment that the image of the United States was

steadily deteriorating in West Germany and consequently, the American image was no longer an asset to German sales promotion. Freeman attempted to explicate the "hidden persuaders" and patterns present in German periodical advertising in order to examine the use of English terminology and the references, context, and images of America (Freeman, 1975, p. 83).

Freeman examined over fifty issues of various German periodicals representing a cross section of the German population. The sample included the following periodicals with respect to their reader orientations: Neue Illustrierte Revue (younger women), Bunte Illustrierte (older women), Stern (young and old male liberals), Quick (politically conservative), Der Spiegel (educated), and Wochenend (less-educated). The majority of the examples were found in the upscale Spiegel, a magazine widely-circulated enough to justify using its ads as indicators of popular taste and opinion in West Germany.

In his study, Freeman observed a frequent and sophisticated use of English in German periodical advertising and justified its use through: (1) the introduction of English terms by British and American troops during the occupation of Germany, (2) German ties with American government and business, (3) the presence of American tourists, and (4) the fact that the study of English has become mandatory in many German schools.

Freeman discovered that certain products and services advertised in German periodicals convey positive images of America to the reader. The "positive ads" are frequently for travel and tourist services, technological products, investment funds, cigarettes, beverages, and clothing. One such positive, recurring image of America is that of the skyscraper and metropolitan skyline. This image of American wealth and power is not uncommon in German periodical advertising. Freeman cites an ad for The United States Investment Plan which states: "Earn more money than most Californians," which presumably is a substantial amount. In a German travel ad, Florida is stereotyped as "the land of the millionaires and the eternal summer." (Freeman, 1975, p. 87)

America appears in the German ads not only as a wealthy and powerful nation, but also as a very exciting, worldly, and sophisticated place. With this association, the image of New York is extensively used. Travel ads refer to New York as "interesting, an exhaustible variety of sights," and praise Manhattan's "terrific museums" and "hot shows" ["hiesse Shows"] (Freeman, 1975, p. 88). New York is presented as a glamorous city with lavish bars, filled with trend-setting Americans who really know what to drink. Paradoxically, the metropolis image also serves as a negative image to German sensibilities in a separate series of travel ads. Here the hectic, fast-paced, and threatening

American image is offset by comforting ad copy that states: "But there is also the other New York, peaceful and dreamy, almost provincial" (Freeman, 1975, p. 91).

Freeman reports that America is portrayed as a leader in the field of technology: "The American astronauts seem to have captured the German popular imagination, for their image is used in many ads to help promote products" (Freeman, 1975, p. 89). For example, an ad for a stereo system tells the reader that "thanks to the Astronauts you hear Beethoven better" (Freeman, 1975, p. 89). Thus, an American technological advance is linked to improving a German cultural advance. The ad continues to extoll the virtues of "integrated circuits" and the unique "crossfield system" (in English) which were derived from space-age research and development. These images of American astronauts reinforce the positive German view of Americans as pioneers and explorers, while reaffirming the stereotype of American wealth and power.

Further evidence supports the German portrayal of Americans as discoverers, inventors and innovators, travellers and explorers. A Lufthansa airline ad encourages the German reader to: "Discover America with your own car...go wherever you want...It is an almost American idea: to discover America" (Freeman, 1975, pp. 89-90). In many instances, the U.S. is referred to as a source of "new things," even in the snack food category. An ad for Carvel

candy bars, proclaims Carvel as "the great new taste from the U.S.A" (Freeman, 1975, p. 90).

This admiration of the American pioneer spirit is also expressed in German periodical advertisements incorporating an appreciation for the American Wild West. Images of cowboys, horses, saloons, and cattle are most frequently used in advertisements for liquor, cigarettes, and men's and women's toiletries. These ads suggest that the cowboy's main appeal lies in his sexuality. (Freeman, 1975, p. 90)

An ad for Jim Beam Whiskey from the "Pictures from the Wild West" campaign contains the following translated text:

James Fennimore Cooper, Friedrich Gerstacker, Karl May, with their novels were the primary creators of the interest in the Wild West throughout the entire world. The prototype for Cooper's Leatherstocking is Daniel Boone, a Kentucky pioneer, who lived until 1800. One of the oldest and most famous brands of whiskey comes from Kentucky. Jim Beam. Boone was surely acquainted with it...

This ad is inaccurate in that it confuses pioneer days with that of the Wild West, however, the appeal of both time periods is essentially the same to the Germans: they were the times, as one Jim Beam ad remarks, of "Upright men, real fellows with a coarse exterior but their hearts in the right place. These were the pioneers of the 'Wild West'" (Freeman, 1975, p. 90).

Freeman also found instances in which specific advertisements inadvertently reveal negative German attitudes towards America. One such example was the

aforementioned ambivalence toward the American metropolis. In addition, German periodical advertisements stereotype America as a young country, with little or no tradition, in one of two ways. These ads either: (1) separate the American image from an American product by misrepresenting the product as part of European tradition, or (2) seek to convince the reader that America is a country rich in cultural tradition. This view of a traditionless America is further apparent once Freeman examined the images of both France and Britain in the German ads: "Instead of the raw, heroic simplicity of the cowboy we have the culture, delicacy, and refinement of the Frenchman. Instead of the innovations of super-technology we have the long-standing traditions [of Britain]" (Freeman, 1975, p. 97).

An additional indication of negative German attitudes toward America is present in the case when an American product's tradename adopts a German pronunciation. "Super Colgate" or "Palmolive" thus become "Zuper Col-ga-teh" and "Pahl-mo-leaf," and Germans hearing these pronunciations tend to disassociate the products from both the English language and America. (Freeman, 1975, p. 94) German periodical ads also neutralize the American image by incorporating English copy to stress the international nature of the product without using any specific references to America or any other English speaking nation.

Although images of America are used to promote products and services in German periodical advertising, these images do not portray America accurately. American images are highly generalized, distorted, and stereotyped; their use primarily confined to that of an attention-getting device. An example of the extent to which German advertisers will use American images for visual impact with little consideration for American cultural and political reality is illustrated by an ad which uses the Black power symbol of the '60s. The ad reads "Color Power" in English and displays the well-known clenched fist clothed in the red sock being advertised.

However inaccurate these images of America, they do reveal what appeals to the German population. Freeman's research revealed America is admired for her wealth, power, and technological prowess. America is also appreciated for both the sophistication of her cities and the simplicity and spirit of her pioneers and cowboys. The German attitude towards America as reflected in periodical advertising is ambivalent, as what is seen as positive about America is also seen as negative. America may be a source of innovation, but it has no tradition. It may have had rugged explorers and heroic cowboys, but it has no cultural refinement. "America, more specifically, appears as a nation which must command the reader's respect but not his affection - a land which the Germans regard with curiosity

and even fascination, tempered by a belief in European cultural superiority" (Freeman, 1975, p. 103).

AMERICAN IMAGES IN JAPANESE POPULAR LITERATURE

The majority of recent Japanese/American cross-cultural studies have examined media content. This research has analyzed American television violence (Iwao, de Sola Pool, and Hagiwara, 1981), American television news (Kitatani, 1985), American television portrayals (Holtzman and Akiyama, 1985), and the social role of the American newspaper (Beniger and Westney, 1981), yet it has not examined the popular image of Americans. Few scholars have studied the image of Americans in Japanese television, music, film, or advertising. However, in his examination of Japanese culture, Kishi (1975) composed a chronological survey of the images of Americans in contemporary Japanese popular literature. The author drew source material from Japanese novels and short stories written since 1926.

Kishi (1975) reports that only recently foreigners, primarily Americans, have appeared either as major or minor characters in Japanese fiction. The increasing frequency with which Americans become heroes or America becomes a focal point for action indicates the impact America has had on Japan since 1945. This sudden interest of Japanese writers in foreign themes has attracted the attention of Japanese literary critics: "A certain critic calls such

fiction the 'tourism novel' seeing it as a social rather than literary phenomenon, while another regards it as a sign of maturity of Japanese writers, who are now able to see foreign customs as objectively as Japanese customs, which they portray in the genre novel" (Kishi, 1975, p. 2).

In describing Americans, Japanese writers frequently use phrases such as "a typical American" and "typical of Americans" as if there is a mutual understanding between them and their readers as to what Americans are like. For example, in Climbing Mt. Mihara (1937), an American executive's wife embarrasses the hero with her casual intimacy "typical of Americans" (Kishi, 1975, p. 3). In general, Americans in Japanese prewar fiction are positively portrayed as innocent, kind, and generous.

Despite the scarce appearance of Americans in Japanese popular fiction of the late 1920s and early 1930s, the impact of America upon Japanese popular culture was expansive during this period. Modernism, a widespread social movement of the times, focused specifically on Americanization as opposed to pure Westernization. Social psychologists support the fact that Americanization existed in various aspects of Japanese urban life. (Minami, 1965, p. 57-93) For example, Primer of a Modern Life (1931) is simply an entire collection of translated American jokes. In A Comic Dictionary of Modern Words (1932), Americanism is defined as "a modernism movement now taking the world by

storm, a phenomenon including advertisement, talkie, technocracy, mass production, nonsense, etc" (Shokodo, 1932, pp. 25-26). Americanization was even seen to permeate the consciousness of Tokyo gang members as evidenced by the selection of gang names such as "Texan" and "Indian" (Ide, 1968, pp. 94-99).

The early 1930s spawned a number of books on the subject of a fictitious war between Japan and America. In Japanese wartime fiction Americans are portrayed as villains and anti-Americanism manifests itself in negative caricaturizations of American political leaders. One such American is described as: "a man with an ugly face, evil incarnate representing the materialistic civilization of America" (Kishi, 1975, p. 4). In Japanese wartime fiction America is portrayed as a land of barbarism and Americans as materialistic, vulgar, and selfish.

From 1945 through 1952, Japan was under the occupation of the predominately American allied forces. Critical references to Americans were prohibited by censorship and only the phrase "a certain tall person" was adopted by newspapers to denote an American involved in a crime (Kishi, 1975, p. 5). Therefore, Americans rarely appeared in immediate postwar Japanese fiction. During the 1960s, Japan's status as an economic power increased and another wave of Americanization developed in many phases of Japanese mass culture, including the rapid growth of comic and men's

magazines during the period. The volume of literature including a title reference to an aspect of America increased dramatically during the 1960s and early 1970s. During this period Americans are positively portrayed as kind, friendly, "good bad persons with a sense of humor" representing the Establishment. American women are seen as "wild and beautiful as any American girl should be." (Kishi, 1975, p. 7)

Barring the exception of wartime literature, American images in Japanese popular literature have not changed dramatically over the years. Rather a stereotyped characterization seems to have evolved: aggressive, innocent, materialistic, and generous. Despite the decreasing popularity of America in Japan, Americans in Japanese popular fiction are portrayed positively. In his article, "The Image of America in Contemporary Japanese Fiction," Adachi (1959) concludes that as far as the contents of Japanese popular fiction are concerned, the image of Americans and American culture is primarily favorable with the exception of two traits: (1) Americans are sensual and (2) Americans are fond of material wealth.

JAPANESE MAGAZINE ADVERTISING CONTENT

A benchmark study of Japanese magazine advertising content, "Analysis of Information Content in U.S. and Japanese Magazine Advertising," was conducted in 1986 by

Madden, Caballero and Matsukubo. The study assessed the content of both Japanese and U.S. magazine advertisements to determine relative levels of informational content based on the magazine category, type of information, product category and the size of the advertisement. The researchers partially replicated a 1981 content analysis of American magazine advertising undertaken by Stern, Krugman and Resnik, in which the established Resnik-Stern classification of information cues was employed.

Six magazine categories were used to represent the primary magazine genres in both the United States and Japan: general interest, sports, entertainment, women's, men's, and professional. The sample of Japanese magazines with their respective categories, selected from May/June 1984 publications, were as follows: General Interest - Shukan Shincho, Reader's Digest; Sports - Shukan Baseball, Asahi Golf; Entertainment - Shukan Mayoujou, T.V. Guide; Women's - Shufu no Tomo, Non-no, Seventeen; Men's - Shukan Playboy and Professional - Economist. The diverse range of magazine categories provided a cross-section of advertisements from each country.

All advertisements in each of the magazines were included with the exception of classifieds. This resulted in a total of 1,440 advertisements, 832 from the American magazines and 608 from the Japanese magazines. Three judges independently noted whether each advertisement was

informative or non-informative, which of the Resnik-Stern criteria were satisfied by the advertisement, and with which product category the advertisement was associated with. The judges also noted the size of the ad.

Madden, Caballero and Matsukubo reported that Japanese magazine advertisements were generally more informative than their American counterparts. 85 percent of the Japanese advertisements satisfied at least one criterion for informative content, as compared with 75 percent of the American advertisements. When the number of cues was increased to two, the Japanese ads declined slightly to a 61 percent level of information content, while the American ads dropped significantly to a 39 percent level of information content. The specific information used most often in Japanese magazine ads is price (59.2%). In contrast, price is the informational cue used least often in U.S. magazine ads (12.9%). Safety and taste were the least frequently used informational cues in both countries, and U.S. advertisements were more than twice as likely to contain special offers (e.g., sweepstakes, coupons or free catalogs).

The specific magazine categories in which information content is greatest differs substantially between the two countries. In Japanese sports and men's magazines, the advertisements tend to provide more information. In the United States, advertisements in professional magazines

provide the most information. In contrast to its Japanese equivalent, the American men's magazine is among the least informative of the categories. The general interest magazines were the least informative of the Japanese categories.

Informational differences were also noted in the ads from varying product categories. In American magazines, electronics, car/car products, and household, lawn/garden were the product categories containing the highest percentages of informational content. For Japanese magazines, these categories included toys, recreational, and entertainment products as well as clothing, car/car products, and household, lawn/garden. For both countries, the magazine advertisements containing the least informational content fell under the food, alcohol, and tobacco category.

Japanese magazine advertising was consistently found to contain more information than U.S. magazine advertising on the basis of the number of criteria applied, the number of cues per ad, and the size of the advertisement. As the authors explain, this may be due to the fact that the Japanese tend to have fairly exacting demands for their consumer products. They set a very high value on cleanliness and are meticulous about packaging, design, and color. The Japanese are also severe in their demands for uniformity among individual units of the same product, and

are critical about differences between a sample and the actual product. The authors suggest that Japanese advertisers may employ more information in their magazine advertising in order to satisfy these rigorous consumer standards.

In an article entitled "Reflections of Culture: An Analysis of Japanese and American Advertising Appeals," Mueller (1987) examined the role of culture in advertising content by analyzing both traditional and modern (Western) values in Japanese magazine advertising. Prevalent Japanese cultural values were operationally defined to form both traditional and Westernized appeals. Mueller theorized that if advertising reflected cultural values, the majority of Japanese advertisements would use the traditional appeals of group consensus, soft sell, veneration of the elderly and traditional, status, and oneness with nature. However, if advertising was attempting to Westernize consumer culture, the majority of Japanese advertisements would use modern (Western) appeals such as the individual and independence, hard sell, youth and modernity, product merit, and manipulation of nature. (Mueller, p. 53)

Two types of magazines were selected from both Japan and the United States on the basis of similar format, readership demographics, and circulation. Only full-page, full-color advertisements were considered. The total sample consisted of 378 advertisements: 146 Japanese

advertisements (66 from Shukan Asahi and 80 from Katei Gaho) and 232 American advertisements (109 from Newsweek and 123 from Good Housekeeping). The appeals for nine product categories were compared, three from each level of involvement (low, medium, and high). Products representing the high-involvement category included automobiles, kitchen appliances, and jewelry. Medium-involvement products consisted of watches, television sets, and cameras. Low-involvement products included hair-care products, wine, and food products.

Surprisingly, more American advertisements used the group or consensus appeal than did Japanese advertisements. Mueller (p. 54) explained that with the increasing emphasis on consumption and the breakdown of extended-family households, Japanese advertisers have found it more profitable to stress the emerging individuality of the Japanese consumer than the declining group orientation. This shift to individuality in Japanese magazine advertising is reflected in the use of themes such as "be more gorgeous than the others" and "stand out from the rest" (Mueller, p. 55).

As was anticipated, Japanese advertising was found to be less direct than Western advertising, relying much more on emotion and atmospheric mood. A minimal number of Japanese advertisements contained comparative or competitive statements emphasizing the product's superiority over the

competition, clearly demonstrating the Japanese reluctance of having a competitor lose face. Comparative appeals were "softened" in that competitors were not named by brand; the consumer was simply instructed to "please compare" (Mueller, p. 55). Hard-sell appeals were used to a greater extent in American advertisements where there are less restrictions on comparative advertising.

More than one in ten Japanese advertisements examined stressed the value of tradition or respect for the older generation. This appeal is derived from the Japanese social hierarchy system and the role of status in Japanese life (Mueller, p. 55). Very few American advertisements contained this appeal, thus reflecting negative attitudes towards the elderly and things considered "old fashioned" (Mueller, p. 55).

The use of youthful or modernity appeals showed little difference between the two countries. Both the United States and Japan have large youth markets with substantial disposable income, markets which are frequently targeted with modern appeals that glorify the virtues of youth.

Japanese magazine advertisements were almost twice as likely as American advertisements were to feature some form of status appeal. Particularly ubiquitous in Japanese advertisements was the use of Western text and the employment of Western models. Products of Western origin were perceived by Japanese consumers as highly desirable and

more luxurious than a domestic product of comparable quality (Mueller, p. 55).

The use of product-merit appeals was found to be considerably higher in American advertisements than in Japanese advertisements. However, Mueller (p. 55) reported a higher than expected level of product-merit appeals in Japanese advertisements and explained the increase as a result of the expansion of branded products in Japan and, consequently, the necessity to differentiate brands through descriptions of product benefits.

No significant differences were reported in the use of nature-oriented appeals in the advertising copy of the two countries. Themes emphasizing the goodness of nature were found in both countries' advertisements. One distinction was made in that U.S. advertisements in this category focused on natural as opposed to man-made items, whereas Japanese ads emphasized the individual's relationship with nature. The manipulation of nature appeal was used infrequently in the advertising of both countries. The author suggests that the absence of this appeal may be attributed to high levels of ecological consciousness and attempts to "get back to nature" presently popular in both the East and West (Mueller, p. 56).

The status appeal was the most commonly used appeal in Japanese magazine advertisements for high-involvement products, followed by the individual-independence and

product-merit appeals. Soft-sell appeals were used in less than one-fifth of the advertisements for cars, jewelry, and kitchen appliances. In advertising high-involvement products in the U.S., the most frequently used appeal was product-merit, followed by status appeals, and hard-sell appeals. (Mueller, p. 56)

In selling products falling under the medium-level involvement (cameras, televisions, and watches), the product-merit appeal was most commonly used in Japanese advertisements, followed by soft-sell and status appeals. In the United States, the most frequently used form of appeal was also the product-merit appeal. Other appeals, such as hard-sell, modernity and youth, and status were also used, though quite infrequently.

In advertisements for low-level involvement products such as foods, hair-care, and wine, the Japanese focus on product-merit, traditional and elderly appeals, and on soft-sell appeals. U.S. advertisements for these products primarily employ product-merit appeals, and to a lesser extent, oneness with nature, status, and group consensus appeals.

Mueller concluded that advertising reflects cultural values only as long as it is profitable to do so.

CHAPTER III

CREATIVE DIFFERENCES IN JAPANESE ADVERTISING:

A REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Bart Marsh of Young & Rubicam, in a speech at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, once defined three main types of advertising used in Japan: follow-the-leader, the use of celebrities, and the use of mood (Wagenaar, 1978). Obviously, many campaigns fall into multiple categories simultaneously. However, there are also other prominent creative themes unique to Japanese advertising, themes that are increasing in both visibility and importance. This chapter reviews the structure and execution of these creative differences in both Japanese print and broadcast advertisements.

HARD SELL VERSUS SOFT SELL

Although the American "hard sell" approach to advertising works effectively in Europe, Latin America, and even parts of Asia, in Japan, advertising is more intellectually stylized (Konrad, 1984). Japanese advertising executives point out that the typical American hard sell commercial would annoy most Japanese consumers.

Outspoken opinions are unsettling in Japanese society and the communications business reflects this concern for

harmony. The soft sell approach is so prevalent in Japanese advertising that the Western observer is often at a loss in understanding what an advertising message is trying to communicate.

Japanese advertisements are created with a bias for entertainment and little regard for effect on sales. Kobayashi (1982, P. 25) reinforced the Japanese aversion to television hard sell in his discussion of television abuses:

Television is a medium which is able to develop by images and sounds different worlds separated in both place and time from the receiver. It is a waste that this useful function is simply utilized as a substitute for the salesman who cannot complete his rounds of visits to prospective customers. This [technique] is practiced in Japan also in the commercials for sundry goods and others for which economy is stressed. They are, however, strangely awkward and give an impression that they are modified reproductions of American advertisements. There are fewer of them [in Japan] than in America.

Japanese commercials don't emphasize the brand name; the product is generally shown in the ending shot only. Suntory Old, the best-selling scotch whiskey in Japan, is so well known that the bottle does not have to be prominently displayed in the advertisement. The shape of the Suntory Old bottle is deemed distinctive enough to obtain adequate brand recognition. (Ward, 1978)

Product pricing is generally not discussed in Japanese advertising. The consensus among advertisers is that after the consumer becomes interested in their client's product, price awareness will occur at the point of purchase.

COMPARATIVE ADVERTISING

Head-to-head competitive conflicts are usually avoided in Japan. Advertising is created to please the prospect with "kanjo," or feeling, as opposed to making a direct sale ("Madonna in Japan," 1986, p. 9). The more it pleases the consumer, the more likely it is to sell the product. The real competitive battle is fought at the various distribution levels that exist within the country. Aggressiveness is felt mainly at the point of sale, in pricing and promotions; advertising budgets are often misappropriated in order to finance these activities.

Japanese advertising officials predict that there will be an increase in product-oriented advertising in the future, mainly as a reaction to foreign competition (Wagenaar, 1978). It's likely that many more non-Japanese multinationals will be taking advantage of the marketing opportunities that exist in Japan. Aggressive advertising could largely become the domain of several Western marketers with the real competitive struggle continuing along the distribution level.

Comparative advertising is prohibited in Japan. However, the question that should be considered is would the technique be practiced if it were allowed? Kobayashi (1982, p. 27) states that:

In Japan, where a man's worth is largely measured according to the degree of his generosity, comparative advertising gives an impression of the

advertiser's narrower generosity, only resulting in reduced value of his merchandise. If ever it is to be used, comparison should be only alluded to, and any avid expression, verbal or facial, must be wiped away, substituting wit. Such Naked comparative advertising as can be found in America perhaps could not appear in Japan.

Recently, the Japanese Fair Trade Commission has been investigating the possibility of deregulating comparative restrictions in the automobile, cosmetic, fishing gear, and agricultural machinery industries (Cragg, 1986). This action resulted from U.S. corporate complaints to the JFTC that the comparative restrictions prevent them from conducting successful business operations in Japan. JFTC officials also reported the investigation is intended to partially alleviate the growing friction surrounding the U.S.-Japan trade imbalance.

However, Japanese advertising executives say that comparative advertising will be incompatible with the business climate in Japan:

The introduction of the technique here would do more harm than good. We have a habit in Japan of supporting the underdog, so aggressive advertising campaigns which claim that Ford cars are better than, say, Nissan or Honda for this or that reason would have the opposite effect on the average consumer. He'd be more inclined to go for the product being attacked in the campaign. (Cragg, 1986)

Many Japanese advertising industry regulators are still opposed to lifting the comparative restrictions, fearful that the change could lead to unfair or abusive advertising campaigns. In addition, consumer protection societies have

expressed concern that the deregulation could lead to widespread consumer misinformation.

In light of this evidence, it would appear that comparative advertising would be a culturally inappropriate and unproductive advertising technique for acceptance among a sophisticated Japanese audience.

TESTIMONIALS

Television commercials in which an ordinary individual recommends a product or service are common in the United States. We are all too familiar with the commercial that introduces us to Mrs. A of Minneapolis who tells us that dishwashing liquid B was effective on her dishes, yet mild on her hands. Such testimonials are not common in Japan because of a very basic cultural difference. Americans are interested and involved in regional communities, whereas the Japanese focus their energies on the central community. (Kobayashi, 1982)

For many Americans, particularly those outside large metropolitan areas, their entire world revolves around the community in which they live. Most information disseminated by the media is regionally oriented and reinforces this local bias. The independent strength and will of American regional communities have no parallel in Japan. For example, a citizens' movement, such as the boycotting of beef by word of mouth in the Midwest, would probably be

unsuccessful if attempted in Japan (Kobayashi, 1982). In Japan, Tokyo is the only advanced source of information and telecasts are nationally, as opposed to locally, oriented.

PRODUCT DEMONSTRATIONS

Japanese demonstration commercials are similar to their American counterparts and they could probably run effectively in middle America. A case in point is the Matsushita commercial for its supersensitive robot in which the robot constructs a pyramid of eggs without breakage (O'Toole, 1985). Another example is the famous spot for National batteries, where the battery-driven toy fireman climbs his miniature ladder to the top of a skyscraper to extinguish a cigarette. In fact, it would seem that a majority of the spots Duracell has been running recently in the United States have been based on the Japanese campaign for National batteries.

Food advertising uses the same appetite appeals and photographic techniques that are commonly used in the West. A commercial for Nisshin cooking oil interphases shots of the product being used to prepare dishes traditional to Northern Japan, with scenes of the stormy seas that dominate that region (O'Toole, 1985).

Thus, Japanese products that lend themselves well to demonstration, such as food and utilitarian consumer products, are advertised with creative similarity to

comparable Western products. It is once we are exposed to product categories in which brand selection can be regarded as a statement about one's taste or social status, that differences in creative execution are most pronounced. Product categories that rely almost totally on emotion, such as fragrances and cosmetics, frequently employ images highly evocative to those rooted in Japanese culture but rather unclear to the Western observer (O'Toole, 1985).

THE PORTRAYAL OF JAPANESE WOMEN IN ADVERTISING

Five years ago, when the large Japanese liquor firm Suntory decided that it should get women as well as men to purchase its whiskey, it did so using an extremely conservative approach (Englade, 1983a). Hakuhodo was the agency asked to develop the woman-oriented campaign.

According to series creator Hideyuki Kaneko:

Until then, no one else had made an ad targeted specifically at women. We came to the realization that there are as many women as men in Japan, so we decided to target the woman and reach the man at the same time. (Englade, 1983a, p. 64)

The campaign consisted of eight commercials depicting a middle-aged Japanese couple visiting different areas of Japan. Each area was readily identifiable by local landmarks and featured regional cuisine. In each scenario, the couple capped off their meal with a glass of Suntory whiskey. In each commercial the woman was immaculately dressed in a Kimono, a symbol designed to appeal to the

Japanese women's traditional side. By featuring the Suntory woman in a Kimono, the Hakuhodo agency helped alleviate the shock of featuring her at all. (Englade, 1983a)

When Philip Morris chose to market Virginia Slims menthol cigarettes to the female Japanese populace, it was decided to retain the same, occidental model as used in the American ads. The rationale was that the Occidental Virginia Slims woman, "relentlessly modern" without sympathetic ties to the historical past, might not have been held to the same standards as a Japanese woman (Englade, 1983a, p. 64).

Suntory whiskey and Virginia Slims may be two of the more obvious products that have tried to break into Japan's lucrative women's market, but other products have also made tentative efforts. For example, Hakuhodo has produced women-directed advertisements for automobiles that stress power steering and "warm-colored interiors" (Englade, 1983a, p. 64).

USE OF MINORITIES

Although the Japanese may be well versed in global marketing, they still tend to hold stereotyped, perhaps even racist views of their black international business partners. A recent commercial for instant noodles featured a group of cannibals, complete with grass skirts and a bone through the nose (Burton, 1983). Nixau, a bushman from Namibia, came to

Japan in 1983 after starring in a South African movie called "The Gods Must Be Crazy," a film that proved to be extremely popular in Japan. Sony thought it was comical to present Nixau in a commercial dressed only in loincloth and wearing a Walkman. The ad was released even though the Somali ambassador to Tokyo filed a complaint, saying it was a "regrettable" form of entertainment that damaged the image of Africa in Japan. (Burton, 1983, p. M-34)

In other progress, Sammy Davis Jr. has been used extensively by Dentsu to boost sales of Suntory White, an inexpensive domestic whiskey. Apparently, the irony of an American black endorsing a Japanese whiskey named White is not lost on the Japanese. (Ward, 1978)

ATMOSPHERIC MOOD

Sunshine covers a small oriental boy and his spotted puppy as they run down a country road on a beautiful summer's day. The camera lingers as they play together. The scene changes to show a bottle of Suntory Whiskey resting next to a glass. "In the U.S., you would have thought the commercial was for Alpo, but the Japanese believe if you feel good about what you are watching, then it will make you feel good about their product." (Stern, 1985, p. 50)

Some Japanese advertising is extremely visual, symbolic and seemingly disconnected from the product it is

representing. Mood is used very extensively in Japanese advertising, and reflects the Japanese cultural characteristic of avoiding a direct confrontation.

(Wagenaar, 1978)

Western advertising executives might view Japanese mood advertising as art for art's sake, and not particularly effective in accomplishing specific advertising objectives. However, it is the typical American testimonial and hidden-camera advertisements that are confusing and distasteful to Japanese consumers. The Japanese find much American marketing "offensively self-promotional" (Tanzer, 1986, p.88).

Award winning Japanese director, Shigesato Itoi suggests that:

U.S. advertising is based on a misunderstanding of values. People don't know what's important anymore. There is hope only if you can forget the 'this is better than that' syndrome. Japanese advertising started by imitating Western methods, and the people are beginning to realize that something isn't right. Only if the pressure is taken out of advertising can things start to develop; even when there are limits there can be refinement within such limitations. (McLaine, 1982, p. M-10)

Japanese mood advertisements might appear incomprehensible to the Western observer, yet the Japanese will insist that these ads are perfectly understandable in such a cerebral and artistic country. Japanese creatives tend to talk about advertising more as an art than as a sales medium. Expressions such as "neo-sensualism" to

indicate a specific school of advertising are commonly used (Wagenaar, 1978, p. 79-81). Japanese creatives attribute such abandonment of strategic relevance to a transcending obligation to make people feel good about the product. Mood advertisements can be considered as independent dramas, pieces of poetry, and comedies. Their use is most apparent in advertising categories in which brand selection can be regarded as a statement about an individual's taste or social status.

Kobayashi (1982, p. 26) suggests that mood advertising is linked with Japanese economic affluence and that the higher incidence of thrift practiced among Americans discourages the luxury of using such a technique. He indicates that:

The difference that exists between the two nations which is necessary to point out here is that the percentage of Japanese who have some money for luxuries is higher than that of Americans. In addition, some Japanese have the tendency to pretend to love delicate things. They cannot afford to use their money, even when they are somewhat affluent, to purchase such stable items as houses or land. On the contrary, they are more likely to want to spend their extra money on travel abroad, cars, cameras, television sets, etc. Those who have this tendency are appealed to more by commercials which use ploys, tricks, puns, etc., than by commercials which stress the practical values of products.

The popularity of mood advertising in Japan is reflected by living room conversations and behind-the-scene stories of the creative process of these advertisements and the merits of their execution (Kobayashi, 1982). In Japan,

it would seem that mood advertising can serve the function of pure entertainment.

Some Japanese advertising researchers criticize those Japanese advertisements which don't inform consumers of product properties. However, there are research studies that disclose that Japanese consumers are dissatisfied if an advertisement doesn't have an atmospheric mood surrounding it (Ward, 1978).

One such example of an atmospheric mood is exhibited in the following translated copy of a sixty second television commercial for Suntory Royal, a high-quality domestically produced whiskey:

Morning turns to night; today turns to yesterday;
flowers to seeds; songs to echoes; present turns
momentarily to past. So everybody, seek eternity
in an instant. Before wisdom turns to sadness,
stay a little bit. My private bottle Suntory
Royal. From ¥4,500 to ¥5,000. (Ward, 1978, p.
M-1)

This commercial epitomizes Japanese mood advertising in its poetic narration and visually intriguing graphics that are entirely unrelated to the advertised product.

Japanese liquor advertising embodies the essence of mood advertising; rarely are brand names mentioned in the advertising copy. For example, Suntory V.S.O.P. Brandy ran a sixty-second television ad with the following narration: "Saturday. Stone-paved street. Reflection of the light flowing out of a window. A slope in the harbor city. Cheerful laughs echoing from the corner of the street.

Rhythmical rocks. The brandy with many memories." (Ward, 1978, p. M-1)

In Japan, written words have historically been presented graphically, explaining in part the Japanese appreciation of visual imagery (Stern, 1985). The most frequently used images in this physically attractive country are the symbols of nature: the ocean, blue skies, clouded horizons, sunrises, and sunsets. Japanese mood advertising often has a strong emotional appeal tied in with the seasons. For example, a print advertisement for Meri chocolates reads: "In the whisper of the wind you can detect autumn. Time to treat your guests to the refined taste of Meri Bon-Bons" (Link, 1974, p. 61).

Television commercials employing mood advertising consistently show the product at the end of the spot without breaking the preceding atmospheric mood. In these commercials, the appearance of the product at the end of the commercial comes much to the surprise of both Japanese and Western viewers.

The most artistic or avant-garde of the mood advertisements are usually created for the leading brands in Japan. Kirin Beer, which holds sixty-five percent of the Japanese beer market, is known for bizarre commercials that use few words or voice-overs (Konrad, 1984). Thus, companies that have comfortable market shares can afford to use commercials that have no product relevance.

In one instance, Japan's TDK tapes used the late Andy Warhol as its spokesman. In the commercial, Warhol holds up a television set tuned to a test pattern and speaks in what one assumes is Japanese about the product in question. However, when one Western observer asked his Japanese friends what Warhol had said, they didn't know either. (Konrad, 1984)

Therefore, Mood advertising in Japan is intended to contribute more to the corporate image of the advertiser, than to the promotion of a specific product. The advertiser is convinced that these ads, in conjunction with highly competitive distribution strengths, will sell the product.

PRODUCT AS HERO

Fujio Iwasaki, winner of the grand prize at the 1983 International Advertising Film Festival in Cannes and creative director of Hakuhodo Inc., has established a trend in Japanese advertising by dramatizing products, rather than people, as heroes for the television audience (Chase, 1982).

Iwasaki, has accomplished this product-as-hero approach by lining up tape cassettes, in a domino sequence, and letting them cascade into each other through the commercial's entirety. His award-winning work for the Matsushita Electric Corporation (Panasonic in the U.S.) featured pieces of fruit revealed as light bulbs, to convey the variety of products offered by Matsushita Electric. For

ninety seconds grapes, apples, oranges, and other kinds of fruit are peeled open with a knife or by hand to reveal, not a juicy fruit core, but illuminated light bulbs of different shapes and sizes. (Chase, 1982)

According to Iwasaki:

The client wanted his product to be the talent. I believe a commercial should sell the best dramatic elements of the product...This commercial was shown in the fall, when people are improving the interiors of their homes. The commercial was also meant to build up the image of the company. (Chase, 1982, p. M-10)

GROUP ASSOCIATIONS

The Japanese, particularly the men, have a strong need to feel they are a part of a group. Therefore, numerous advertisements are directed toward a group of people, rather than to the individual within the group. "We" and "us," are popular pronouns in Japanese ad copy (Wagenaar, 1978). This phenomenon may be explained by the homogeneity that exists within the Japanese culture.

Examples of the use of such collectivism in ads would include: "Let us, simple men, use a modern convenience" (National Air-Con); "Let's do everything ourselves" (Tokyo Shibaura Electric Co.); and "We know that we all need exercise" (Kirin Brewery fitness program promotion) (Wagenaar, 1978, p. 79-81).

USE OF THE HISTORICAL FOLK-TALE

Another way Japanese advertising executives indirectly incorporate soft-sell advertising messages in business publications is through their use of historical folk-tales.

Many advertisements in Japan's Nihon Keizai (their equivalent of the Wall Street Journal) exemplify the use of this technique. For example, a Xerox ad targeted to middle and top management used eight percent of its expensive full-page space to describe the works of Japanese novelists, poets, and historical characters.

Instead of providing detailed product descriptions of its computer, calculator, and copying machines, as would be the case in the U.S., Sharp Electronics opts to present the problems confronting the Japanese people through the use of historical characters.

Apparently, these historical characters are related to contemporary Japanese business practices and the Tokyo executive often identifies with his favorite historical hero when considering flex-time, European trade, appointing successors, or delegating authority to competent subordinates ("Bone up on history," 1977).

Sharp's ad recalls that General Hideyoshi discovered talent in a young lieutenant who did not offer him hot tea immediately, yet instead started off by serving a luke-warm cup to the General. The lieutenant continued with additional cups, containing slightly warmer tea, until the

General's mouth had become accustomed to scalding tea. After this incident, the young man's advancement was assured. (Bone up on history," 1977)

It's difficult to say exactly what this anecdote has to do with Sharp's products, except that it represents additional evidence of the tendency of Japanese advertisers to avoid substance, reality, and hard-sell advertising. In the historical folk-tale advertisement, the emphasis is placed on tradition, imagination, and consumer emotion. Once again, the prospective buyer is entertained and smothered with feeling, or "kanjo."

THE USE OF ANIMAL IMAGES

Aside from Western and Japanese celebrities, animals such as penguins, koala bears, beavers and lizards seem to be the most predominant images in Japanese television commercials.

The Shueisha Publishing Company uses animals in Nihon Keizai to promote its magazine holdings. Animals have an actual as well as symbolic significance in Japan ("Bone up on history," 1977). The dolphin, symbolic of intelligence, is used in a corporate prestige advertisement, while the company chose to use an aggressive tiger to attract the liberated male reader to their affiliated version of Playboy. The young feminine readers of Nonno and More will be attracted, according to a survey conducted by the Nikkie

Advertising Research Institute, by images of magpies and siamese cats ("Bone up on history," 1977).

One of the most popular campaigns in Japan features penguins cavorting around in situations to which the linkage with the product, Suntory beer, is obscure at best.

The White Horse scotch label has a singular advantage in its product category because of the mystical symbolism associated with white horses in Japan. The Emperor and Shinto priests ride white horses, and major temples in Japan keep a white horse in a special stall. (Ward, 1978) A television commercial for the product opens with one man explaining why he and his partner are drinking White Horse: "Not because we were the top team in the golf competition. We simply wanted to drink a truly satisfying scotch. White Horse" (Ward, 1978, p. M-1). While he is speaking, a white horse appears in the background, unnoticed by the two men.

A highly popular series of commercials for the Mitsubishi Mirage automobile features an Australian Neckpiece Lizard running across the landscape on its hind legs. Its distinctive feature is a flap of skin around the neck which flares up whenever the reptile becomes excited or is provoked. If this tactic fails to scare off the threat, the lizard then runs for safety, lurching from side to side.

It is the combination of courage and flight that seems to appeal to the Japanese television audience. The agency

responsible for the ad explains that the lizard symbolizes "youth breaking free from the rules" (O'Toole, 1985, p. 59).

The lizard, voted the most popular animal species of 1983, has become a cult figure in Japan. Japanese youngsters emulate the lizard's staggering run in their street games. A fan club has been established and lizard dolls have begun to appear on the market, along with plans for t-shirts, picture books, photographs, and an animated film. (Murray, 1984)

The majority of the Mitsubishi commercial features the lizard flaring up its neckpiece and then running to safety across the desert. The car being promoted makes only a brief appearance at the very end of the spot. At no time is there any attempt made to link the lizard with the product.

THE USE OF JAPANESE CELEBRITIES

It would be an exhausting task to list the leading Japanese athletes, entertainers, poets, and musicians who identify themselves with Japanese products ranging from dusting cloths and mosquito coils to whiskies and nondairy creamers. These personalities are not necessarily related to the usage or benefits of a product (just as it's not clear why many American celebrities are associated with particular products) but by using celebrities, the advertising is more likely to be favorable to the client. (Wagenaar, 1978)

Foremost of the Japanese endorsers, appropriately enough in baseball obsessed Japan, is homerun hitting champion Sadaharu Oh. Oh, who broke Hank Aaron's previous record of home runs, endorses at least a dozen products, including Pepsi Cola, Sogo department stores, Toshiba watches and flashlight batteries, Nichiban plastic bandage strips, and Kyo-Komachi rice cakes. (Thompson, 1978)

There is a very high turnover rate among Japanese endorsers supporting a multitude of products, perhaps accommodating the Japanese public's tendency to become interested with new and different things. Clearly, the use of Japanese celebrities by so many marketers is based on the firm belief that "Japanese consumers are strongly susceptible to peer influence and that they impute value to a product or service endorsed by a respected, well-known personality" (Thompson, 1978, p. 77-78).

The Japanese advertiser is pragmatic in the sense that if a certain type of advertising works for someone else, he rationalizes that it should work for him as well, provided he has the right product and distribution network. When one Japanese marketer introduces endorsement advertising in a product category, there is a tendency for the competition to follow. (Thompson, 1978) Often, the advertiser has no intention to differentiate his product and positioning from his competition, which remains the major emphasis of the Western marketer. At no time will the Japanese marketer be

held in contempt when partially imitating a competitor or another advertiser (Thompson, 1978). This follow-the-leader technique is not foreign to Western marketers; the American advertising industry followed a similar approach in the middle 1970s, following the collapse of the creative revolution of the 1960s.

THE USE OF WESTERN IMAGES IN JAPANESE ADVERTISING

Although the Japanese market may preclude the entry of numerous Western products, the importation of Westerners and Western images into the Japanese advertising industry has been on the increase since the late 1960's.

The presence of Westerners appear in almost every form of Japanese advertising media and is thought to lend products an international appeal. The occidental image is usually linked with "glamor" products once associated with the west, products such as automobiles, fashion, food, and beverages. (Trucco, 1982, p. F4) Japanese market research shows that consumers are far more likely to recall commercials that feature Western film personalities. Consequently, more than half of all television commercials in Japan use spokespersons immediately recognizable to the public, a much higher ratio than exists in the U.S. (Tanzer, 1986)

Since the standard Japanese television commercial is fifteen seconds in length, many Japanese advertising

executives feel an instantly recognizable face is clearly worth the expense. Their reasoning is that it's more cost-effective to spend money on notoriety than on additional broadcast time.

Japanese companies are reluctant to link their sales increases directly to ads (Tanzer, 1986). However, in many cases, foreign personalities have undoubtedly increased product sales and recognition.

Mitsubishi Electric paid a reported \$650,000 for the right to use excerpts of Madonna's virgin tour rock video in a Japanese television advertisement for videocassette recorders. Mitsubishi's VCR sales doubled in the three months after the ad premiered, while sales of competing products increased by only fifteen percent. ("Madonna in Japan," 1986)

As far as recognition is concerned, Jack Nicklaus' highly regarded American Express commercial is without parallel. The pro golfer became an overnight sensation by struggling through the commercial's well known tag line, "don't leave home without it" in incomprehensible, yet charming Japanese. His pronunciation is now mimicked on television game shows and by thousands of Japanese school children. (Tanzer, 1986, p. 88)

Although Sony chairman Akio Morita appears in the "Do you know me?" American Express commercials in the United States, Morita is exceptional in that Japanese entertainment

stars and business executives are not in demand in American advertising. By contrast, Victor Kiam, president of Remington products, became a celebrity in Japan when he decided to ignore the conventional wisdom about advertising in that country. Kiam simply memorized his lines from the American commercial ("I liked it so much I bought the company") in Japanese, taped it in his Bridgeport, Connecticut, office, and put it on the air in Japan. (Konrad, 1984, p. 47)

Since Kiam introduced the razors with this ad, Remington has captured five percent of the upper end of the electric shaver market. According to Kiam, when his salesman walk into a department store and announce that they are associated with Remington, the Japanese buyers often break out laughing and start reciting part of the commercial. (Konrad, 1984)

Actress Faye Dunaway recently became the world's highest paid commercial spokesperson. Representing Parco, a Tokyo department store, Dunaway spoke six words in English for and estimated \$900,000. The words were: "This is an ad for Parco." (Madonna in Japan, 1986)

In many cases Japanese advertisements reflect a local popularity preference. Hence, musicians Miles Davis and Ron Carter, both of whom who do Japanese liquor ads, may well be better known in Japan than in the United States.

The advantages of using Western celebrities are many. Japanese celebrities are fewer in number and typically endorse more than one product at a time. Their success is measured by the frequency of appearance in ad campaigns, a practice that invariably weakens product identification. In addition, Japanese celebrities are only hired after consultation with a number of middlemen that associate with Japanese stars.

In contrast, Westerners usually promote only one product and can be hired by simply contacting a talent agency. Japanese advertisers also consider foreigners "safer," far less likely to tarnish the company's image, their personal lives are not common knowledge to the general Japanese audience. (Trucco, 1982, p. F5)

American celebrities benefit both by the large financial offers and the security that the ads are being exposed in a market where the celebrities seldom appear personally, thus preventing a possible career conflict.

Aside from the famous Western face, but equally evident, are the numbers of nameless Western models, usually blue-eyed blondes. This image is so prevalent that even department store mannequins modeling bathing suits and kimonos are fashioned with Western faces and light-colored hair. (Trucco, 1982)

Sex is a big selling point in Japan as it is almost everywhere. However, in an attempt to preserve the purity

of Japanese womanhood, advertisers frequently employ Western models who tend to have blonder hair, bluer eyes, longer legs, and bigger busts. Such representation reinforces the belief common among Japanese males that foreign women are more sexually liberated than their Japanese counterparts. (Burton, 1983)

Japanese models still dominate the Japanese advertising industry as only an estimated fifteen percent of modeling jobs are open to foreigners (Trucco, 1982). However, Western models continue to dominate the promotion of most luxury goods.

"A Japanese housewife won't identify with a Western woman selling laundry detergent, but with a product like coffee, which is still expensive here [in Tokyo], an ad with a foreigner says you're part of the world community if you drink this." (Trucco, 1982, p. F4)

One half of Tokyo's top ten modeling agencies specialize in foreigners. The field is becoming saturated and many models without celebrity status can't find work. Those that do work can make \$5,000 to \$8,000 a month after agency fees and taxes, substantially more than the average Japanese model. According to the Hakuhodo advertising agency, more than two hundred Western celebrities have appeared in Japanese commercials in the last ten years. (Trucco, 1982)

With the number of international actors and singers already depleted, Japanese advertisers are quickly turning to athletes and "cultural" figures (Trucco, 1982, p. F4). Musicians, composers, artists, newscasters, and even politicians are now in demand.

Considering the xenophobic nature of the Japanese people, this fascination with the foreign face represents a cultural paradox. A recent poll released by the Prime Minister's office disclosed that only twenty-five percent of the Japanese surveyed wanted to have any casual association with Westerners (Trucco, 1982). A majority disapproved of the thought of a relative marrying one.

This ambivalent interest may be traced back to the Meiji restoration of 1868, when Japan was reopened to the west. During that period, Japan was encouraged to adopt Western advancements and culture. Though often rejected, this philosophy has remained intact since the end of the second World War. (Trucco, 1982)

Such use of Western images in Japanese advertising has begun to provoke some criticism in Japan. Many Japanese were disgusted that Toyota and Nissan, which together shared 70.5 percent of the domestic auto market in 1981, did not "have the confidence" to refrain from using occidentals in their advertising campaigns (Trucco, 1982, p. F5). It was especially insulting to some that Westerners were used to help sell cars at a time when Japanese auto manufacturers

were no longer relying on foreign technology to produce their product.

However, in most instances, the average Japanese is likely to overlook race and simply view the foreign personality as evidence that the company is financially sound and solvent. If a company does not advertise, the typical Japanese housewife will view them as small and inferior. If they can afford to hire a Western spokesperson, they then gain instant prestige and are considered to be a first-rate operation.

After ten years of exposure, the market for Western faces is far from fading. However, as trade frictions mount again and Japan becomes even more accustomed to the west, Westerners may lose some of their prominence in Japanese advertising. The Western image may remain as an attention getter, but its use could change dramatically.

A recently tested ad for an Asahi soft drink showed a sloppy, overweight blonde in a bathing suit surrounded by slender, smiling Japanese women. All were drinking the product; the Western image was used to provoke laughter where it wouldn't hurt national sensibilities (Trucco, p. F5). The ad was a success.

THE USE OF ENGLISH WORDS AND PHRASES

The use of English words and phrases in Japanese advertising has evolved into a chic shorthand for many new

or progressive products. Many English-language words appear in ads or on packages solely for decorative appeal. (This technique is not unique to Japanese advertising, as it is also evident in contemporary German advertising.) For example, the headline of a print advertisement for Avon Products consisted of the words "Avon! Yes!" According to Nagamochi, Avon corporate communications director, "Only about half of our customers understand what this says. But, it creates a certain idea in their minds. They associate it with Western culture, which for many has a better image than Japanese." (Trucco, 1982, p. F4)

McCann-Erickson Hakuhodo's ESSO television commercials are flashy, quickly edited spots aimed at young male drivers. The lead and concept is "groovy guy," a phrase that perhaps not one Japanese out of a thousand could be expected to understand. However, this hasn't stopped the agency which hopes that ESSO and "groovy guy" become synonymous. (Link, 1971, p. 186) The campaign is the first stage in establishing brand loyalty among younger drivers by appealing to their life style: "For sharp, modern guys, it's ESSO" is the Japanese sentence that accompanies the groovy guy lead and the driving action (Link, 1971, p. 186).

In addition, a variety of Japanese consumer products, ranging from whiskey to snow tires, have English-language brand names. This is attributed purely to a form of "snob appeal" (Passell, 1985). However, cultural differences do

not explain why some product names are so often inappropriate. "Casual translation may be behind Oily shampoo or Blue and Mountains coffee. But whence the inspiration for Dessert Rhythm toothpaste or Love Burger ice cream or the bar in downtown Kyoto called Cafe Selfish?" (Passell, 1985)

Incidentally, Americans marketing their products in Asia have not been exempt from inappropriate translations. In fact, a poor translation from Pepsi-Cola resulted in the demise of its Taiwanese ad campaign.

Pepsi's "Come alive with the Pepsi generation" slogan appeared on billboards across Taiwan as: "Pepsi will bring your ancestors back from the dead" ("American Advertisers Face Problems," 1983, p. 23B). Pepsi stopped the campaign and started studying Chinese.

MARKETING THE WESTERN IMAGE

The marketing strategy of many foreign companies in Japan is to try desperately to get away from the Western images that are associated with their foreign products. In fact, most Western marketers do not want to be associated with Prime Minister Nakasone's "Buy foreign" campaign, a measure taken to increase the sales of foreign, particularly American, products in Japan. (Burton, 1985b, p. 122) The advertising campaign resulted from growing friction between the U.S. and Japan over a trade imbalance that has prompted

the U.S. to threaten Japan with trade restrictions if the balance is not restored.

Most Japanese prefer domestic products to foreign ones. As Burton (1985b, p. 122) points out, "Japanese consumer panels display extraordinary awareness of what product is Japanese and what isn't. They automatically assume that the Japanese product is superior and one bad experience with a foreign product can destroy things for a lifetime."

Many foreign products that have succeeded in Japan have done so by hiding their origins through localized advertising. Ads for Coca-Cola, Apple computers, and Johnson & Johnson's baby lotion concentrate solely on Japanese imagery. (Burton, 1985b) McDonald's is promoted as a Japanese company, reflecting the belief of McDonald's Japan president Den Fujita that "The Japanese have two psychologies. On the surface we have a great inferiority complex about foreign things. But on a deeper level, Japanese hate the foreigner" (Burton, 1985b, p. 122).

Informal newspaper surveys taken at Tokyo department stores revealed that Japanese consumers felt that foreign products were all right if you wanted to impress the neighbors, but domestic products were superior for everyday, utilitarian items (Burton, 1985b).

According to Miyazawa, long-term advertising can change this "made in Japan" mindset and one way to gain the trust of the Japanese consumer is through a joint venture between

foreign and Japanese companies (Burton, 1985, p. 122). Fields reports that "Joint ventures are perceived as combining Western technology with Japanese reliability. Foreign products made by Japanese joint-venture partners are accepted as Japanese" (Burton, 1985, p. 122). Joint ventures can also solve two obstacles that confront the Western marketer. These deterrents are Japan's complex distribution system and the reluctance of capable and experienced Japanese to work for a foreign employer.

Although the Japanese prefer domestic products for everyday items, consumer goods that are associated with image, status, luxury, and fashion are readily imported from the West. Japanese consumers seek exclusively Western or American products whose characteristics are not found or cannot be produced in Japan. Many U.S. products have become popular because of their trendy image, most notably Levi's jeans, Budweiser beer, and Avon cosmetics (Burton, 1985). Advertisements for these products employ Western imagery to stress their connection with the West and tap into Japan's deep interest in American culture. Japanese buying patterns are very influenced by factors such as the prestige of a product, or the environment in which it appears (McLaine, 1982).

Other consumer products such as Nescafe instant coffee, Pampers disposable diapers, and Schick single-edge razors, have gained a sizable market share because these product

categories were previously unknown in Japan (Burton, 1985b). Japanese consumers take an interest in new products and welcome change, therefore the foreignness of these products were stressed in their respective advertising campaigns. If only the functions and quality of a product are advertised without the use of Western imagery, the product will not be understood as being distinctly foreign. Nakamura reports that the easiest way to transmit the Western style of life is through the use of foreign personalities (Tanzer, 1986). Levi Strauss provides an excellent case study of how the effective use of American images can successfully market a product in Japan.

In the early 1960s, several Japanese manufacturers had seen the financial potential in outfitting the country's postwar baby population in blue jeans. The Japanese jean manufacturers positioned their products as real American jeans, branding them with such Westernized names as "Big John, Bob-san, and Edwin" (Arroyo, 1982, p. M-24). Western models, motifs, and backdrops were used in their advertising; English words and phrases were scattered throughout the copy. The approach worked because the local brands experienced immediate success.

When Levi Strauss arrived on the scene in 1977, they realized that they would have to use a marketing strategy that would legitimize their claim to being authentically American. Levi's idea was to capitalize on the Japanese

propensity for hero worship by using some of America's most famous film stars to "endorse" the Levi's brand (Arroyo, 1982, p. M-25).

In a campaign called "Heroes wear Levi's," John Wayne, Marilyn Monroe, and James Dean, all of whom ranked among the favorite movie stars of the fifteen to twenty-year-old target group, appeared in film outtakes in which each had appeared in a pair of Levi's (Arroyo, 1982, p. M-26).

By using clips of Dean as he appeared in "East of Eden," Levi Strauss created an especially responsive image. The movie appeals to the Japanese because it stresses alienation of father from son, a popular theme in Japanese folklore. (Englade, 1983) According to Fields, Dean died a tragic death, and "the Japanese are suckers for tragedy" (Englade, 1983, p. 63).

After three and one-half years, the "Heroes wear Levi's" campaign increased brand awareness from six percent to seventy-five percent and advertising awareness to a sixty-five percent level (Arroyo, 1982, p. M-26). Levi Strauss now holds the highest brand preference scores in the market.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

HYPOTHESES

Previous research has indicated that both Western models and Western celebrities appear in almost every form of Japanese advertising media and that their presence is thought to lend international appeal to a product. Other evidence suggests that Japanese magazine advertising reinforces a Japanese stereotype of Western cultural superiority. The Western image is primarily used to promote luxury goods associated with the West, consumer non-durable products such as alcoholic beverages, tobacco, cologne, and food.

It was hypothesized that consumer non-durable product advertisements would include a higher incidence of mood, image, and status appeals. Consequently, it was expected that these advertisements would include a greater percentage of Western models and Western celebrities.

It was hypothesized that consumer durable product advertisements for household goods would contain more detailed text and descriptions of product-merit information. Consequently, it was expected that these product advertisements would include a greater percentage of Western words and phrases.

On the basis of background research, the following hypotheses were formed:

H₁: Western models and Western celebrities will be featured in a greater percentage of consumer non-durable product advertisements than consumer durable product advertisements.

H₂: Western text will be used in a greater percentage of consumer durable product advertisements than consumer non-durable product advertisements.

H₃: Japanese magazine advertisements will stereotype France as a country of sophistication and cultural refinement.

H₄: Japanese magazine advertisements will stereotype Britain as a country of long-standing traditions and quality craftsmanship.

H₅: Japanese magazine advertisements will stereotype America as a country of innovation and power.

SAMPLE SELECTION

This study analyzed 160 Japanese magazine advertisements containing one of seven designations of Western content in an attempt to examine the use of Western images and assess Japanese stereotypes of America, France and Great Britain. The purposeful sample was drawn from twenty-three issues of two Japanese monthly periodicals between January 1977 and February 1982. The following

magazines were used in the analysis: Chuo Koron - January, February and March 1977-79; January and February 1980-81, and Bungei Shunju - January and February 1978-79, 1981-82; March and April 1980. The magazines were chosen for their high circulations, diverse readership, and the propensity of their advertisements to contain Western content. All full-page or double-page spread advertisements were considered. In all, 99% of the advertisements analyzed were full-color. Of the 160 advertisements examined, 84.3% of the sample, representing 135 of the ads, appeared in Bungei Shunju. Chuo Koron accounted for 25, or 15.6% of the total ads.

Bungei Shunju, established in 1923, is a monthly periodical containing collections of contemporary Japanese fiction. According to Benn's 1987 international media directory, its circulation is 580,378. Bungei Shunju is targeted to educated adults. Chuo Koron (translated as The Central Review) was established in 1899 and is a monthly periodical of public opinion. Chuo Koron features political essays on various social issues; its readers tend to be sophisticated and politically active.

CONTENT ANALYSIS CODING

Coding is the process of transforming and classifying raw data into units which precisely describe relevant content characteristics (Holsti, 1969, p. 94). There is no

standardized method of coding which may be applied to all research questions; decisions regarding coding methodology should be directed by the researcher's data, theory, and hypotheses. The analyst must define the research problem in terms of categories, content units, and systems of enumeration.

A difficulty involved in any content analysis methodology is the selection and definition of the categories. As Berelson (1952, p. 147) wrote: "Content analysis stands or falls by its categories. Particular studies have been productive to the extent that the categories were clearly formulated and well adapted to the problem and to the content." According to Holsti (1969, p. 95), categories should "reflect the purposes of the research, be exhaustive, be mutually exclusive, independent, and be derived from a single classification principle."

In order to adequately reflect the purposes of the research, the analyst must strike a proper balance between the generality and specificity of all content categories. Further subdivisions of existing categories allow the analyst more comparisons, however, reliability may also decrease as the number of categories increase and as coders are required to make finer distinctions between categories. Thus, any advantages of constructing narrower content categories may be outweighed by a resulting drop in reliability.

The requirement that categories be exhaustive simply means that all relevant data in the sample of magazine advertisements under analysis must be capable of falling under a specific content category. The researcher accomplishes this by precisely defining each category with respect to its main characteristics. These operational definitions serve as the guidelines by which the coders categorize the content units. As Holsti (1969, p. 95) wrote: "A good operational definition satisfies two requirements: it is a valid representation of the analyst's concepts, and it is sufficiently precise that it guides coders to produce reliable judgments." Well-formulated category definitions are more likely to satisfy the requirement of exhaustiveness.

Mutual exclusiveness requires that no unit of content data can fall under more than one content category. Once again, this requirement stresses the need for precise and unambiguous operational definitions. The analyst must also be aware that when any unit of content data is placed in a content category, it affects the placement of those that follow. This requirement of independence of categories is especially important to follow when ranking is used to assign values to data. Finally, conceptually different categories must be analyzed separately. The single classification requirement is relevant when a complex set of categories is being utilized.

CODING PROCESS

(See APPENDIX A)

(I) The advertisements were first coded for the magazine, month, and year in which they appeared.

(II) The advertisements were then coded for the category of product advertised. The following list operationally defines the product categories used in this analysis: (1) CLOTHING: Men's and women's clothing and shoes.

(2) JEWELRY: Watches, writing instruments (pen & pencil sets), cigarette lighters, and cuff links.

(3) TRANSPORTATION: Airlines, automobiles, bicycles, and tires.

(4) ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES: Cognac, brandy, whiskey, and wine.

(5) FOOD: Coffee, tea, candy, and preserves.

(6) TOBACCO: Cigarettes and pipe tobacco.

(7) PERSONAL CARE: Cologne

(8) HOUSEHOLD GOODS: Televisions, cameras, stereo equipment, VCR's, furniture, and musical instruments.

(9) SERVICES: Travel/tourism, entertainment clubs, and credit cards.

(10) OTHER: Shoe polish, cassette tapes, eyeglasses, and corporate/institutional ads.

(III) The advertisements were then coded under the following seven categories of Western content used to promote the product:

(11) WESTERN MODELS: Advertisements in which anonymous American or European, models were used to promote the product (APPENDIX B). Included in this category were male, female and child models; excluded were cartoons and ads which featured only the backside or body parts (aside from the face) of a model.

(12) WESTERN CELEBRITIES: Advertisements in which American or European celebrities were used to promote the product (APPENDIX C). In this study, a celebrity is defined as either a performing or fine artist, entertainer, professional athlete, member of royalty, or an identified Western spokesperson such as a wine-taster, restaurant owner, or master blender.

(13) WESTERN TEXT: Advertisements in which English or French text was used in either headline, body copy or tagline (APPENDIX D). Exclusions to this category include brand names, product or industry logos, wording on the product, photo captions or credits, numerals, and alcoholic proof. Any Western text appearing on book covers, book spines, or periodicals within the advertisement was deferred to the Art & Literature category.

(14) ART & LITERATURE: Advertisements in which the artistic or literary heritage of America or Europe was

used to promote the product (APPENDIXES E & F). Any evidence of either classic or contemporary Western art or literature was placed under this category.

(15) HISTORICAL FIGURES: Advertisements in which American or European historical figures were used to promote the product (APPENDIX G). This category included a series of ads for Knight shoe polish in which the portraits of Napoleon, Charles I, and Sir Walter Raleigh were featured. Although these figures were represented in paintings, the analyst decided their historical prominence warranted a place in this category and thus excluded them from the Art & Literature content category.

(16) WESTERN MODELS AND WESTERN TEXT: Advertisements in which the use of both a Western model and Western text were used to promote the product (APPENDIX H). Any combination of categories (11) & (13).

(17) WESTERN CELEBRITIES AND WESTERN TEXT: Advertisements in which the use of both a Western celebrity and Western text were used to promote the product (APPENDIX I). Any combination of categories (12) & (13).

(IV) The advertisements were then coded for product origin:

(18) NOT EVIDENT: An advertisement for a product or service in which the origin is not evident.

(19) JAPANESE: An advertisement for a Japanese product or service in which the origin is evident.

(20) AMERICAN: An advertisement for an American product or service in which the origin is evident.

(21) EUROPEAN: An advertisement for a European product or service in which the origin is evident.

(22) OTHER: An advertisement for another country's product or service in which the origin is evident.

(V) Finally, each advertisement containing Japanese advertising copy was independently translated by one of three Japanese natives attending the University of Tennessee.

PILOT STUDY

Wimmer and Dominick (1983, p. 154) recommend that a subsample of data be analyzed by independent coders in order to assess intercoder reliability. Two coders were trained to use the coding instrument and category system. A practice session was held in which each coder coded sample material from each of the content categories. After the analyst was satisfied that the coders fully understood the coding procedure, the pilot study began. Each coder independently examined 10 percent of the sample in order to calculate an overall intercoder reliability coefficient.

Using Holsti's (1969, p. 140) formula for determining the reliability of nominal data in terms of percentage of agreement, the product category reliability coefficient was calculated at 93.75%, Western content category reliability at 75%, and the product origin category reliability at 62.5%. Most published content analyses generally report a minimum reliability coefficient of approximately 90% or above when using Holsti's formula, however, if a certain amount of interpretation is involved, reliability estimates are typically lower (Wimmer and Dominick, p. 156).

The Western content category reliability coefficient was lower than anticipated as a result of the consistent deviation of a dissenting coder. Although each category was operationally defined and explained in detail prior to coding, coder B consistently coded Western text appearing on book covers or spines as Western text and not as Art & Literature as was outlined in the coding manual. Since coder A had no problem making this distinction, it appeared that the existing category definitions and coding instructions were sound. The researcher feels that a higher reliability coefficient could be obtained for this category by reexplaining to coder B the rules used in this categorization.

As was expected, the intercoder reliability coefficient for the product origin category did not reach acceptable levels. The coders reported an unusually high percentage of

"Not Evident" responses in this category. In many cases, product origin could not be determined without the benefit of a Japanese interpreter's translation and knowledge of multinational corporations. In order to achieve acceptable levels of reliability in the replication of the product origin category, the researcher feels that the use of a translator is imperative.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The analyst acknowledges three limitations of the study pertaining specifically to the sample of advertisements used:

(1) The readership orientations of both Bungei Shunju and Chuo Koron represent a similar cross section of the Japanese population - educated, upscale, and socially conscious.

(2) The majority of advertisements were taken from Bungei Shunju, thereby limiting the results primarily to one magazine.

(3) The year 1977 was represented only by a small percentage of advertisements from Chuo Koron. This factor must be considered particularly when examining the distribution of Western content by year. Although 1982 was represented solely by Bungei Shunju, it was the year that contained the greatest percentage of the sample and therefore, was not considered a serious limitation.

As with most content analyses, this study relied on face validity which "assumes that an instrument adequately measures what it purports to if the categories are rigidly and satisfactorily defined and if the procedures of the analysis have been adequately conducted" (Wimmer & Dominick, 1983, p. 156-7). Despite its limitations, most content analyses rely upon this particular validation technique.

Finally, because independent translators were used to interpret the literal translation of Japanese advertising copy, a degree of subjective interpretation bias existed. However, the researcher wishes to acknowledge the fact that it was this bias that made the study both possible and rewarding.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

HYPOTHESES TESTING

Since many of the cells in the original coding scheme did not contain sufficient data to test the first two hypotheses for statistical significance and determine the relationship between product type and Western content, **FIGURE 1** was collapsed into a 3x3 contingency table (see **FIGURE 2**).

The original ten product categories were reduced to three and classified as Consumer Durables, Consumer Non-Durables, and Transportation & Travel. The Consumer Durables category combined household goods, jewelry, clothing, and part of the other category (eyeglasses, videocassette tapes, and a navigational computer). The Consumer Non-Durables category was formed from the union of alcoholic beverages, food, tobacco, personal care, and the remainder of the other category (shoe polish and corporate ads). The original transportation and services categories were combined to form a single Transportation and Travel category.

These three categories were formed to test H_1 : Western models and Western celebrities will be featured in a greater

	WM	WC	WT	A&L	HF	WM&T	WC&T	TOTAL
Clothing	6	4	5	0	1	0	0	16
Jewelry	2	0	10	2	0	0	1	15
Transportation	5	1	21	0	0	3	0	29
Alcoholic Beverages	14	12	10	15	0	1	0	52
Food	0	2	1	0	2	1	0	6
Tobacco	1	0	4	0	0	1	0	6
Personal Care	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
Household Goods	1	0	11	0	2	0	0	14
Services	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	6
Other	4	0	1	1	4	0	2	13
TOTAL	37	21	63	20	10	6	3	160

LEGEND: WM=Western Models WC=Western Celebrities WT=Western Text
A&L=Art & Literature HF=Historical Figures WM&T=Western Models & Text
WC&T=Western Celebrities & Text

FIGURE 1
Distribution Of Content Category
By Product Category

	Western Models & Celebrities	Western Text *	Western Art & History	
Consumer Durables	14	30	6	50
	18	23	9	
Consumer Non-Durables	35	18	21	74
	27	33	14	
Transportation & Travel	9	24	3	36
	13	16	7	
	58	72	30	

* This category also contained 8% Western Models and 4% Western Celebrities

FIGURE 2
Collapse of Content Category By Product Category

percentage of consumer non-durable product advertisements than consumer durable product advertisements, and H_2 : Western text will be used in a greater percentage of consumer durable product advertisements than consumer non-durable product advertisements.

Products such as alcoholic beverages, tobacco, cologne, and food were classified under one category and characterized as Consumer Non-Durables. It was contended that consumer non-durable product advertisements would include a higher incidence of mood, image, and status appeals and consequently, a greater number of Western models and celebrity endorsers. Advertisements using these appeals often suggest that the use of the product will improve the user's image among his peers. If it was implied that the product was somehow accepted by Westerners, the product would be considered that much more prestigious.

Products such as those falling under household goods, clothing and jewelry were classified under one category and characterized as Consumer Durables. Because of the technical nature of many of the electronic products, it was expected that the majority of consumer durable product advertisements would concentrate on product-merit appeals where detailed descriptions of product information would constitute the advertisement's main appeal. The researcher contended that advertisements for consumer durable products would include a greater use of Western words and phrases.

In these advertisements, western text would be used in association with Western technology and contemporary design.

The original seven categories of Western content were also restructured to form three new categories. The individual content categories of Western Models and Western Celebrities were combined to form one category of Western Models and Celebrities. Similarly, the Art & Literature category merged with Historical Figures to form a single category of Western Art and History. Both the Western Models and Text, and Western Celebrities and Text categories joined the existing Western Text category to form the third category of Western content. A notation was made in **FIGURE 2** stating that 8% of the Western Text category also contained Western models and that Western celebrities also appeared in 4% of the ads.

DETERMINING STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE

The expected frequencies were calculated for each cell and placed in a small square in the upper right-hand corner (see **FIGURE 2**) of the appropriate cell (Wimmer and Dominick, 1983, p. 209). Using the formula outlined by Wimmer and Dominick (1983, p. 210), the chi-square value was computed as 24.22. With four degrees of freedom, the value is significant at the $p \leq .01$ level. This test indicates that there is a significant relationship between the product type and Western content category.

FIGURE 2 indicates that Western models and celebrities were featured in a greater percentage of consumer non-durable product advertisements than consumer durable product advertisements. This data tends to support H_1 : Western models and Western celebrities will be featured in a greater percentage of consumer non-durable product advertisements than consumer durable product advertisements. **FIGURE 2** also indicates that Western text was used in a greater percentage of consumer durable product advertisements than consumer non-durable product advertisements, data which tends to support H_2 : Western text will be used in a greater percentage of consumer durable product advertisements than consumer non-durable product advertisements.

WESTERN TEXT

FIGURE 2 indicates that Western Text was found to be the most prominent content category, representing 45% of the total advertisements analyzed. Of those ads featuring Western text, 41.6% were for Consumer Durables, 33.3% promoted Transportation & Travel, and 25% comprised Consumer Non-Durables. Within Consumer Durables, 36.6% of the ads were for both jewelry and household goods, 16.6% represented clothing, and 10% fell under the other category (2 cassette tape ads and one ad for eyeglasses). Within Consumer

Non-Durables, 61.1% of the ads were for alcoholic beverages, 27.7% for tobacco, and 11.1% of the ads were for food.

The following list represents just a few of the headlines and taglines used in the advertisements of the various product categories examined:

The Continental Size (Nissan), Success Through Engineering (Audi), Sheer Driving Pleasure (BMW), Quality & Elegance (Honda), Super Sedan, '79 Car of the Year (Subaru), Super Jumbo (All Nippon Airways), The Customer is King. Oh, King! Be Wise! (Bridgestone Bicycles), We Love Sound (Audio Technica), The Big Screen 26 (National TV), Nice Day, Nice Smoking (Mild Seven Cigarettes), Triple Charcoal Filter (Cabin Cigarettes), One For You, One For Me, One For The Pot (Twinings Tea), Happy Gift Dimple (Dimple Scotch), Wine Making is an Art (Manns Wines), The Great Tennessee Sipping Whiskey (Jack Daniel's), The Most Celebrated Writer in the World (Cross Pens), Parmis Les Elegantes Loyal (Loyal Watches), Les Sentimentales De Longines (Longines), Time Can Be Beautiful (Longines), European Chic (Hoscal Pens).

From a Japanese perspective, there are many reasons why Western text is used in Japanese print advertisements. One of the translators involved in this study had the following to offer:

Many young people feel old-fashioned using Japanese characters. We can still express these words in Japanese characters, but it sounds very stiff, very hard. It sounds fashionable and neat in English. We use the Western alphabet as a design to match the advertisement. It is more artistic. We are educated in English and most of the people can read English well, even the more difficult words. Although, sometimes the English meaning is not accurate in Japanese.

The translator makes an interesting point. The Japanese character may be considered unsuitable for many

advertisements simply by virtue of its shape. Many layouts require a sharp visual image that the rounder, traditional (Hiragana) character may not provide.

Considered chic, Western text may also be used to reposition a traditional Japanese product as a progressive or fashionable item that will appeal to a younger market segment. There is also evidence that Japanese-English words are finding acceptance in Japanese ad copy. For example, an advertisement for a camera with a built in strobe light used the word "NIGHTER," spelled out in scoreboard lights, as a headline. Nighter is, in fact, a Japanese-English word for an all-night baseball game.

WESTERN MODELS AND CELEBRITIES

The Western Models & Celebrities category comprised 36.3% of the sample of 160 advertisements; 60.3% of the advertisements employing Western models and celebrities were for Consumer Non-Durables, 24.1% were for Consumer Durables, and 15.5% for Transportation & Travel. Within Consumer Non-Durables, 74.3% of the advertisements were for alcoholic beverages, 8.5% for both personal care and other (1 corporate ad and 2 shoe polish ads), 5.7% for food, and 2.8% for tobacco. Within Consumer Durables, 71.4% of the advertisements were for clothing, 14.3% for jewelry, and 7.1% for both household goods and the other category (1 ad for eyeglasses).

Apparently, a notable difference exists in Japanese print advertisements between the physical presence of Western and Japanese models. As one translator explained:

European or American models, unlike Japanese models, do not show any affect or emotion on their face. They do not smile; their faces are stiff. We use the European as an object, not a human being. This way we can pay more attention to the product. We have an image about Europeans being very elegant and fashionable in the advertisements.

As mentioned previously, the Western celebrity was defined as either a performing or fine artist, entertainer, professional athlete, member of royalty, or an identified Western spokesperson. Western celebrities falling under the designation of artist included author Frederick Forsyth who, in an ad for Rolex watches, assures the reader with an English headline that: "Rolex has my trust." In the Japanese copy that follows, Forsyth makes an analogy between the detail of his writing and the detail and precision of a Rolex watch. An example of the performing artist included a New York City dance company who endorsed TDK video-cassettes through the use of the English headline: "Take TDK!"

Western entertainers were represented by several actors, among them, Anthony Perkins and Sean Connery. Perkins, a favorite in Japan, who is regarded as having a "youthful spirit," appeared in an endorsement for 9 o'clock cologne. In an ad for Bridgestone tires, Sean Connery is credited with the following line: "To be beautiful or not

be beautiful, that is the standard of the action." As is the case with many Japanese print ads, it is not apparent what relationship this statement has with the product. References to Western pop music stars were also discovered as evidenced by the following translated copy for a shoe polish ad: "Let's shine the shoes while listening to the music of Carly Simon." Professional athletes were primarily represented by American golfers Mac McLendon and Don January, who promoted Grand Slam Munsingwear sportswear.

The Japanese cherish the tradition of monarchy and such a belief is reflected in advertisements using members of royalty. In an ad for Nescafe President coffee, we are introduced to the coffee-drinking, Belgian Prince Rudolph, a man who looks remarkably like the late David Niven. The Prince, we are informed, traces his noble lineage back a thousand years and explains that: "With the prestige of the Belgian dynasty behind me, I want the best in everything."

In another variation on the royal theme, a bicycle manufacturer used an illustration of three traditional, European playing card kings below an English headline that read, "The Customer is King. Oh, King! Be Wise! The ad continued with the following translated text:

The kings are of different kinds. There are wise kings, stupid kings, laughing kings, and crying kings. But today's kings are the consumers and the good consumer should choose only the quality product and therefore must have a good eye for quality. If you are choosing a bicycle, you should choose a good brand from a shop with

after-purchase service. This is the wise king's way of choosing.

One of the more prolific of the Western celebrity images appearing in the sample was that which the researcher termed the identified Western spokesperson. A hybrid of the anonymous Western model and the recognizable Western celebrity, this celebrity assumed the roles of the French wine-taster, American shoe craftsman, Swiss watchmaker, and Scottish master blender. In every case, the Western spokesperson is identified by name or signature and authoritatively exercises superior Western judgement, usually in the selection of a specific Western product.

WESTERN ART AND HISTORY

The Western Art & History category represented 18.7% of the total advertisements; 70% of the advertisements within the Western Art & History category were for Consumer Non-Durables, Consumer Durables represented 20%, while 10% of the ads fell under the Transportation & Travel category. Within Consumer Non-Durables, 71.4% of the advertisements were for alcoholic beverages, 19% fell under the other category (4 shoe polish ads employing historical figures), and food comprised 9.5% of the ads. Within Consumer Durables, 33.3% of the advertisements were for both household goods and jewelry, while both clothing and the

other category (1 ad for a nautical computer) represented 16.6% of the ads.

Evidence of classical or contemporary Western art existed primarily in the advertisements for alcoholic beverages. In a series of ads for Suntory Japanese Whiskey, a narrator describes how he enjoys collecting art during his trips around the world and exhibiting it proudly in his study. Included in his collection is a replica of a Romanesque stone sculpture of Joseph, Mary, and the infant Christ. In another ad, a statue of Don Quixote is displayed on his study bookshelf. Here the Western art image is used as an expression of international sophistication, exclusivity, and personal value. Often, the implied relationship between cultural superiority and French alcohol is presented through artistic means. A series of advertisements for Remy Martin Cognac uses a background of illustrations based loosely on the works of Toulouse-Lautrec with the headline: "Things left behind in the current of time - Remy Martin." Although there is no obvious connection between product and illustration, these ads suggest the Cognac as coming from an artistic lineage of French tradition and quality.

Western literature is incorporated in Japanese magazine advertising in a variety of ways. In an ad for Raynal French Brandy, a photograph of an arm carrying a bottle of Raynal, a snifter of brandy, and a copy of Stendhal's

Scarlet and Black is positioned above a headline that reads: "Good books exist for Raynal." The copy continues by emphasizing that Raynal has a taste of "novel people," with a particular reference to elitists. In an ad for Lamy writing instruments, several volumes of a book entitled This Fabulous Century are stacked on a table in the background. The product is displayed in the foreground of the ad on the English text of an open page of one such volume. Once again, there is no specific relationship between the product and the Western literature. In this case, the books simply serve as a symbol of the West and of quality writing.

An ad for Scotia Royale 12-year-old Scotch Whiskey features the product in the foreground accompanied by a worn copy of The New Crown English-Japanese Dictionary. The translated ad copy reads: "I was always said to be a mature person. I cared about what to drink. Being a mature person naturally meant choosing a mature scotch." Here, the dictionary symbolizes a level of maturity achieved through years of hard study - command of the English language. Maturity is equated with becoming Westernized and in the process, more complete.

Popular Western literature has also found a place in Japanese magazine advertising. In an attempt to create an international appeal, an advertisement for JAL includes a copy of Frederick Forsyth's The Day of the Jackal on a passenger's tray. Even the most blatant symbol of American

capitalism, The Wall Street Journal, finds its place in the background of an ad for Chivas Regal. The translated headline reads appropriately enough: "Can you think of a more valuable investment than this?"

The most obvious use of the Western historical theme was observed in a series of advertisements for Knight shoe polish, advertisements that employed the portraits of Charles I, Napoleon, Francois I, and Sir Walter Raleigh. For example, Sir Walter was described in one such ad as "a famous Elizabethan knight, an explorer who made an expedition to South America, and a man of letters who authored a 'History of the World.'" Below the portrait the headline proclaims: "Be a Knight." In a similar vein, references to Voltaire, Ben Franklin, important decision-making, and coffee-drinking were made in an advertisement for Lordos coffee.

In total, advertisements for Consumer Non-Durables represented 46.2% of the sample, Consumer Durables 31.2%, and Transportation & Travel accounted for 22.5% of the sample. Within Consumer Non-Durables, alcoholic beverages represented 32.5% of the total advertisements, other 4.4%, both food and tobacco 3.7%, and personal care accounted for 1.8% of the sample. Within Consumer Durables, clothing represented 10% of the sample, Jewelry 9.4%, household goods 8.7%, and 3.1% fell under the other category.

WESTERN STEREOTYPES

Products or services of European origin comprised 45% of the total number of advertisements analyzed. France represented 45.8% of these advertisements, Great Britain 29.2%, Switzerland 15.3%, West Germany 6.9%, and both Greece and Italy represented 1.4% of the advertisements for products or services of European origin. Japanese products or services comprised 36.2% of the sample and American products or services represented 11.2% of the advertisements. Products or services in which the origin was not evident accounted for 5% of the advertisements, while 2.5% of the advertisements were for a product or service of another country.

Unfortunately, the sample of advertisements did not provide enough stereotypical references of the West to obtain a reasonable level of confidence in support of H_3 : Japanese magazine advertisements will stereotype France as a country of sophistication and cultural refinement, H_4 : Japanese magazine advertisements will stereotype Britain as a country of long-standing traditions and quality craftsmanship, or H_5 : Japanese magazine advertisements will stereotype America as a country of innovation and power. However, many of the advertisements examined did contain references to the West that, in part, reinforced these hypotheses and revealed many traditionally held beliefs about Western society.

A variety of advertisements for products of Western origin were characterized by appeals of tradition, authenticity, and quality craftsmanship. Translated advertising copy that emphasized the tradition of the product included:

Born in 1715, the Cognac that conquered Paris; A drop of it is the flavor of time; They call cognac the water of life...three centuries have passed to establish the quality of Camus; and European traditional technology with a touch of modern taste.

Authenticity was expressed in copy that stressed the "true," "authentic," or "orthodox" scotch and the numerous "all-American" brands. "Born from the tradition of 18th century Geneva watch craftsmen" and "Regal hand-makes only ten pairs of shoes for one person each day" are but two examples of headlines incorporating the theme of craftsmanship.

Advertisements for products of German origin made references to quality and technology: "Born in Germany where German-made means quality" and "Audi - the leader of the highest technology."

British products were portrayed as having "long-lasting, tasteful quality" and a traditional heritage. One translator explained that: "The (Japanese) image of the British gentleman is the combination of the past, present, and future." This image was reinforced by an ad for Queen Elizabeth scotch that carried the following headline in

Japanese: "The mind that loves the true scotch." Pictured above the copy is a man in British tweeds leading a horse and wagon. The Japanese ad copy reads: "One of the conditions to be a gentleman in England is to have a country house. They enjoy the country life during the weekend. This tradition has been continued throughout generations. They don't rush forward, they enjoy the past." The preceding findings suggest that Britain is portrayed as a country of long-standing traditions and quality craftsmanship.

In addition to the aforementioned cognac appeal of tradition, advertisements for French alcoholic beverages usually employed an identified Western spokesperson to exercise refined French judgement in the selection of a superior French product. An advertisement for Hennessy Cognac which included such an individual contained the following translated text:

G. Lateau holds the highest status in French wine-tasting and is renowned throughout France as the president of the wine-tasting association. A man with 19 years experience and a very sensitive nose, Lateau endorses Hennessy and serves it with pride.

Hennessy ran a series of similar ads featuring French wine stewards, restaurateurs, and hotel owners. In each of these advertisements, there was an implied relationship between French cognac and cultural superiority. These advertisements and others making references to French style,

tradition , history, and spirit reinforced the stereotype of France as a country of sophistication and cultural refinement.

Many American historical figures are popular in Japan and were so reflected in Japanese magazine advertising. Brooks Brothers, who "made a history of executive styles," included a portrait of Abe Lincoln in one of their advertisements with the explanation that "their product has been used by many American Presidents including Lincoln."

American historical figures are often portrayed as heroes. In an advertisement for a Japanese VCR, an illustration of a U.S. cavalryman, a personification of the American West, is pictured riding off into the sunset on horseback. Below, the headline reads: "They call back the hero forever." The copy that follows translates to: "Let's keep their image in our memory...It's (the product) so easy to operate, you can meet with this Western hero anytime you want." Here, the images kept in their memories are those of strength, courage, and "star" appeal. American historical figures are also seen as inventors. A photograph of Thomas Edison and his early phonograph appeared above the following translated ad copy for a Japanese video-disc player: "In 1877 Edison invented the record player. Now, in 1977 we can generate the picture out from the record player."

Other advertisements also reinforced themes of American intelligence and rationality. A Freedman shoe advertisement

for a penny loafer contained the following translated copy:
"The style that has always been supported by the young American spirit...Not to change something good is an American rational way of thinking." From the power of Lincoln to the innovation of Edison, these findings tend to reinforce the stereotype of America as a country of innovation and power.

DISTRIBUTION OF CONTENT CATEGORY BY PRODUCT ORIGIN

(See FIGURE 3)

Western text appeared in 58.6% of the advertisements for a Japanese product or service, Western models in 15.5% of the ads, Western historical figures in 12% of the ads, the Art & Literature category in 5.1% of the ads, both Western celebrities and Western celebrities and text were used in 3.4% of the ads, and Western models and text appeared in 1.7% of the ads promoting a Japanese product or service.

Of the advertisements promoting an American product or service, Western text appeared in 38.8% of the ads, both Western models and Western celebrities appeared in 22.2% of the ads, while the Art & Literature, Historical Figures, and Western models and text categories each represented 5.5% of the ads for an American product or service.

	Not Evident	Japanese	American	European	Other	TOTAL
Western Models	2	9	4	20	2	37
Western Celebrities	0	2	4	15	0	21
Western Text	6	34	7	15	1	63
Art & Literature	0	3	1	16	0	20
Historical Figures	0	7	1	1	1	10
Models & Text	0	1	1	4	0	6
Celebrities & Text	0	2	0	1	0	3
TOTAL	8	58	18	72	4	160

FIGURE 3
Distribution Of Content Category
By Product Origin

Advertisements for European products or services contained the following percentages of category content: Western Models 27.7%, Art & Literature 22.2%, both Western Celebrities and Western Text 20.8%, Western Models & Text 5.5%, and Historical Figures and Western Celebrities & Text each contained 1.3%.

These findings suggest that while Western text is the predominant content category in the advertisements of both Japanese and American products or services, advertisements for European products or services exhibit a more even distribution of Western content and feature a greater percentage of Western models.

DISTRIBUTION OF CONTENT CATEGORY BY YEAR

(See FIGURE 4)

Western models appeared in 29% of the 1978 advertisements, 9% of the 1979 ads, 33.3% of 1980, 15.1% of 1981, and 26.3% of the 1982 advertisements. Western celebrities were featured in 3.2% of the 1978 advertisements, 18.1% of the 1979 and 1980 ads, 12.1% of 1981, and 15.7% of the 1982 advertisements. Western text was present in 51.6% of the 1978 ads, 54.5% of 1979, 24.2% of 1980, 39.3% of 1981, and 28.9% of the 1982 advertisements.

	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	TOTAL
Western Models	0	9	2	11	5	10	37
Western Celebrities	0	1	4	6	4	6	21
Western Text	3	16	12	8	13	11	63
Art & Literature	0	3	2	6	6	3	20
Historical Figures	0	1	1	0	4	4	10
Models & Text	0	1	1	2	1	1	6
Celebrities & Text	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
TOTAL	3	31	22	33	33	38	160

FIGURE 4
Distribution Of Content Category By Year

The Art & Literature category was employed in 9.6% of the 1978 advertisements, 9% of the 1979 ads, 18.1% of 1980 and 1981, and 7.8% of the 1982 advertisements. Western historical figures were represented in 3.2% of the 1978 advertisements, 4.5% of the 1979 ads, 12.1% of 1981, and 10.5% of the 1982 advertisements.

Advertisements containing both Western models and Western text comprised 3.2% of the 1978 advertisements, 4.5% of the 1979 ads, 6% of 1980, 3% of 1981, and 2.6% of the 1982 advertisements. Advertisements containing both Western celebrities and Western text comprised 7.8% of the 1982 advertisements.

Since this data was obtained from a purposeful sample of advertisements, there is no valid way of determining whether there was an increase in the use of Western images in total Japanese magazine advertisements over the period of the study. However, this data indicates that there was no single category of Western content that consistently experienced growth over the period of the study.

CONCLUSION

Western text is used in Japanese magazine advertisements primarily for aesthetic, contemporary, and international appeal. The majority of Western text is used in advertisements for Japanese and American consumer durable

product categories such as household goods, clothing, and jewelry.

Western models and celebrities are used most notably in Japanese magazine advertisements for European alcoholic beverages, as well as other consumer non-durable product categories associated with image, luxury, and status.

The images of Western art and literature are used mainly in alcoholic beverage advertisements as an expression of sophistication, value, and exclusivity. Advertisements in which American or European historical figures are used to promote a product reveal many traditionally held Japanese beliefs about Western society. The use of images such as knights, kings, presidents, explorers, philosophers, soldiers, and pioneers reinforce Japanese stereotypes of the West that were formed at the turn of the century.

There is evidence that Britain is seen as a country of deeply-rooted traditions, nobility, wealth, and craftsmanship. France is revered for her sophistication, cultural refinement, and superior judgement. Findings indicate that Americans are portrayed as powerful, heroic, innovative, and rational. Products of Western origin are characterized by their authenticity, tradition, craftsmanship, and technology.

Despite Japan's economic and technological advancements, a feeling of cultural inferiority persists within the country. Although Japan's gross national product

is relatively high, the average citizen works long hours, lives in crowded quarters, and is not necessarily satisfied with his or her standard of living. The West is still regarded as the ideal for many Japanese. The researcher contends that Japanese copywriters have used magazine advertising to reinforce this stereotype of Western cultural superiority.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

(I) MAGAZINE ISSUE

<u>Bungei Shunju</u>		<u>Chuo Koron</u>			
Jan.-Feb.		Jan.-March		March-April	
1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982

(II) PRODUCT CATEGORY (List and/or describe)

(1) Clothing	(6) Tobacco
_____	_____
(2) Jewelry	(7) Personal Care
_____	_____
(3) Transportation	(8) Household Goods
_____	_____
(4) Alcoholic Beverages	(9) Services
_____	_____
(5) Food	(10) Other
_____	_____

(III) CONTENT CATEGORY (List and/or describe)

(11) Western Models _____	(12) Western Celebrities _____
(13) Western Text _____	(14) Art & Literature _____
(15) Historical Figures _____	(16) Western Models & Text _____
(17) Western Celebrities & Text _____	

(IV) PRODUCT ORIGIN (List European country)

(18) Not Evident	(19) Japanese
(20) American	
(21) European _____	(22) Other



5つボタンでテレビをあやつる新リモコン登場

ソニーのリモコンです。余裕のリモコンです。テレビに触れないで操作できる「ジェットコマンダー」。あの触れるチャンネルの「ジェットセンサー」とのコンビで実現した、まさにソニーの離れワザです。電源のON/OFF

からはじまって、チャンネルチェンジも座ったままOK。音量調節もあらかじめセットしておく必要なし。軽く押すだけで、なめらかに変えられます。しかも操作信号の射程距離は約7m。角度60°、幅8m。広範囲に届きます。

「ジェットコマンダー」のテレビ本新開発の「新ストライプ蛍光面」って、さらに鮮明度を向上させた。独自の「プラス・トリニオン」のディテールまで見事に再現します。

KV-1877R (18型) 新発売 ¥165,000
(※ ¥158,000 送料 ¥7,000) アンテナ2U 工事費別

KV-2077R (20型) 新発売 ¥186,000
(※ ¥179,000 送料 ¥7,000) アンテナ2U 工事費別

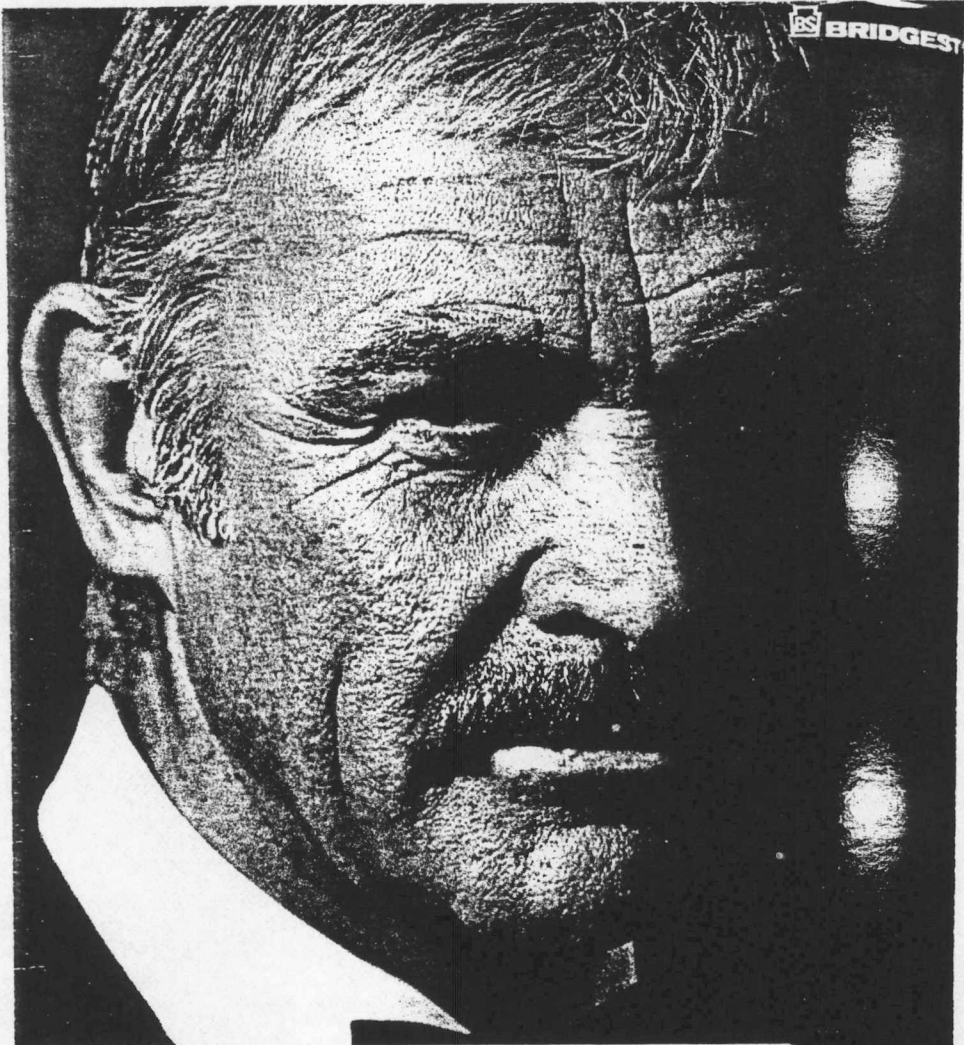
KV-2277R (22型) 新発売 ¥214,000
(※ ¥207,000 送料 ¥7,000) アンテナ2U 工事費別

●3機種とも広角114°ブラウン管採用。●写真は18型です。

●あのジェットセンサーシリーズに新リモコン搭載

**ジェット
コマンダー**
プラス・トリニオン





美しいか美しくないか、それが行動の基準だ。ショーン・コネリー

レグノ。行動の美学。

居住性と高運動性能をここまで高い次元で結晶させたラジアルが、今まであっただろうか。アラミド・ホールド・ベルトの採用が、甘さのない、シャキッとした乗り心地をもたらした。ワイヤー・インサートの採用がシャープなステアリング応答性と、グリップ限界の驚くべき高さを与えた。それが、一瞬の美しい身のこなしを生む。行動に余力を与える。そしてサイド部に刻まれた、男の翼＝レグノの紋章とメッシュのレタリング。機能と機能美をきわめて、レグノは、いま行動の美学を語りだす。

新 登



The Touch of Dandyism
REGNO

APPENDIX D

世界で最高の信頼を受けつづける…クロス



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APPENDIX E

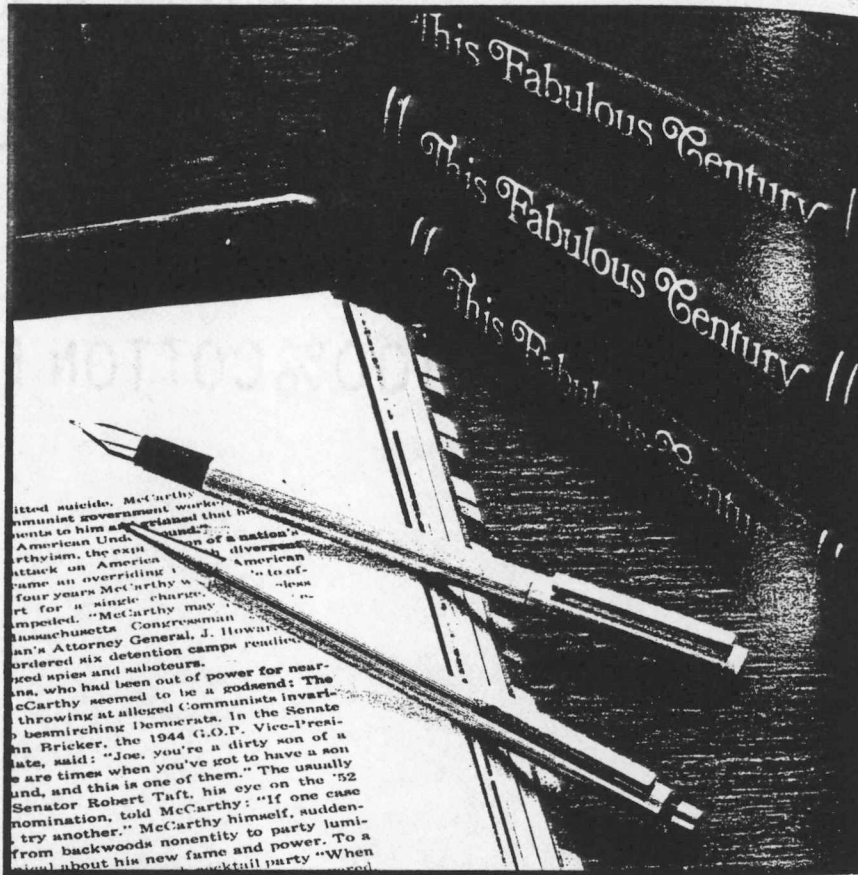
時の流れの忘れもの。レミーマタン

1724年創

レミーマタン家が創業7年にして
COGNACの王様のお墨付をもらって
以来、その名は世界中に知られ
てきました。その歴史は、
フランスの歴史そのものです。
そして、その名は、
世界中に知られ、
愛されています。

APPENDIX F

ストレートラインが生む品格
持つ喜びを感じさせるペン、ラミー



ドイツが生んだ名品ラミー

彫りの深いストライプ加工のボディは

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APPENDIX G



チャールズ I 世 Charles I (1600-49年)

ジェームズ I 世の次男に生まれ1625年に国王となった。議会抜きで専制政治を行なった。清教徒革命が起き、議会によって「暴君、反逆者、虐政者、公民の敵」として死刑に処された。



ナイト
貴族でありたい 靴をよそおう...

- 男の靴を光らせる ●ペン入り靴クリーム 500円
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株式会社 **JOYFS**

APPENDIX H

One for you 一杯は、あなたのために
 One for me 一杯は、わたしのために
 One for the pot
 そして、ポットのためにもう一杯。

紅茶をおいしく飲んでいますか。

紅茶の葉は人数分より一杯多く。

ポットのためにもう一杯…が紅茶をおいしく飲むヒケツ。そしてやさしく3分ほど待つ。

ポットのなかでゆるやかにひろがる味と香り。

くつろぎを誘うトワイニング・タイムの始まりです。

TWININGS
 トワイニング[®]紅茶

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APPENDIX I



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Take TDK

肉体が舞い、人間が踊る。華麗に、鮮烈に、色彩が交差する。動きは刻々と変わり、絶えまなく「今」を表現する。そして、「今」をキャッチできなかったら、映像とは呼べ

ない。感動を呼びおこすこともない。あゝ、映像だって鮮度なんだ、と思う。●スーパーアビリン・ビデオカセット

は、TDKが独自に開発したアビリン磁性材の採用により、その微妙な色彩と映像のディティールを忠実に再現してくれる。やはり、すぐれた映像はすぐれたテープに記録したい。Take TDK! ●赤・青・黄・緑・白…そして微妙な中間色を美しく鮮明に再現 ●ミクロン単位の精度をもつカセットハーフを採用 ●高度なテープ化技術により、すぐれた走行性で安定した画像が得られる ●繰り返

し見ても、美しく質の高い映像が楽しめる

解像力のすぐれた スーパーアビリン・ビデオカセット

●VHS規格タイプ=T-20 ¥2,500・T-30 ¥2,800・T-60 ¥3,500・T-90 ¥4,300・T-120 ¥4,800 ●VHS用HGタイプ=T-20HG ¥2,900・T-30HG ¥3,200・T-60HG ¥3,900・T-120HG ¥5,300 ●ベータ用標準タイプ=L-125 ¥2,400・L-165 ¥2,500・L-250 ¥2,700・L-330 ¥3,000・L-370 ¥3,200・L-500 ¥3,700・L-750 ¥4,500 ●ベータ用HGタイプ=L-125HG ¥2,700・L-165HG ¥2,800・L-250HG ¥3,000・L-330HG ¥3,300・L-370HG ¥3,500・L-500HG ¥4,100 ●VHS用はVHSマークで、ベータ用はBマークのついたビデオでご利用ください。●ビデオテープでテレビ放送などから録画したものは、個人として楽しむなどの場合は、著作権法上、権利者に無断で使用できません。



VITA

Alex Gordon Mohler was born in Memphis, Tennessee, on April 21, 1961 and was raised in Ontario, Canada where he received his secondary school education. Returning to the United States in 1978, he graduated from Germantown High School in 1979 and entered The University of Tennessee, Martin in the fall of that year. In 1980, Mohler transferred to The University of Tennessee, Knoxville where he received a Bachelor of Science degree in Communications, with a major in advertising, in March, 1984. Mohler worked as an account executive for WKGN-AM before returning to The University of Tennessee, Knoxville in the fall of 1985 to pursue a Master of Science degree in Communications, with a concentration in advertising.

While attending graduate school, Alex was a 1986 Bickel Journalism Scholarship recipient, a research assistant for the College of Communications Research Center, and an account executive intern for The Knoxville News-Sentinel Company. In 1987, he accepted a graduate assistantship with the Department of Advertising.

Upon receiving his degree, Alex intends to work in the field of account services in this country before returning to Canada to pursue a career in international business communication.