



The  
University  
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Sheffield.

J White

Marketing Men, Selling Beer: Challenging Gender in Japanese Advertising Discourse 1950 –

1996

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

September 2018



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School of East Asian Studies

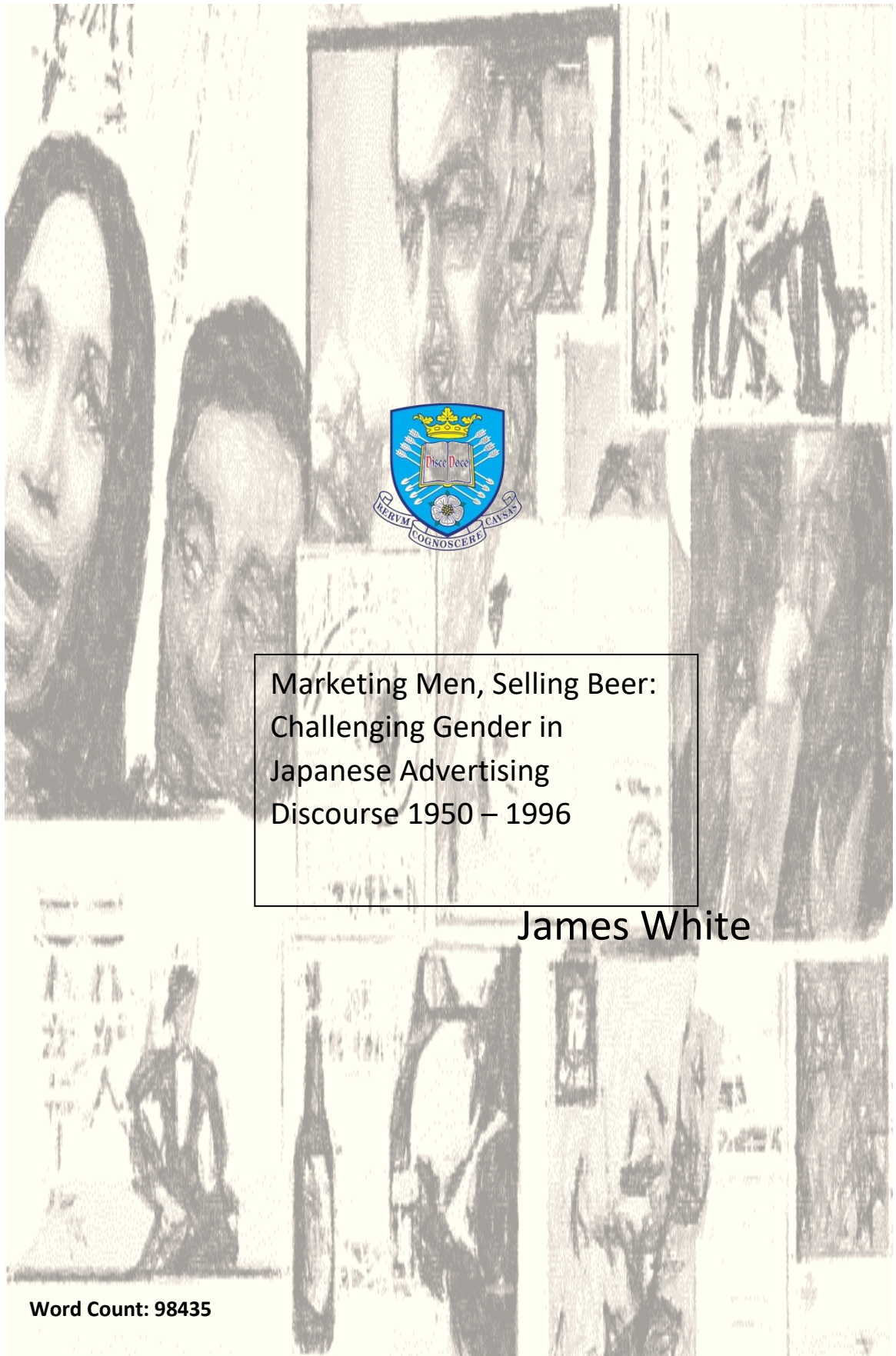
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Marketing Men, Selling Beer:  
Challenging Gender in  
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Abstract

**Marketing Men, Selling Beer: Challenging Gender in Japanese Advertising Discourse**

**1950 – 1996**

In the postwar period, beer became integral to, and integrated within, Japanese socialisation practices. Beer was promoted to consumers in increasingly sophisticated and ubiquitous advertising campaigns which played a significant social role, depicting correct practices and sites of consumption with scenes featuring normative models of gender. These “idealised” depictions informed consumers about who was meant to drink, how, and where.

These images were neither static nor uncontested, however. A variety of writers negotiated and challenged their meaning and significance demonstrating an awareness of a range of competing masculinities and femininities. These commentators discussed societal and gender relations, politics, gendered bodies, the beer industry, and relationships to explain how these depictions conflicted with their “reality” and their understanding of “correct” gender models. These critics were not homogenous with those who came of age during the war interpreting campaigns very differently to those born afterwards. Covering the period 1950 – 1996, I trace the influences on, and theoretical backgrounds, of these divergent opinions and criticisms to understand how interpretations of these images evolved, linking them to societal trends, modes of thought, and theories of gender. This reveals a rich and diverse trove of understandings about, and attitudes, towards gender which has been underutilised or neglected by

scholars. Examining these perspectives thus contributes to our understanding of gender throughout this period and affects how we view these images historically.

This study also demonstrates how important this approach is for any examination of advertising in Japan. These discussions reveal interpretations and perspectives which, unavailable through textual analysis alone, allow one to chart divergences in conceptualisations of gender and thus increase researchers' knowledge while decreasing their reliance on individual ability. The importance of this approach thus lies in bringing to light a rich, vibrant, and relatively unexamined discourse around these advertisements which provides multiple subtle viewpoints.

## **Notes**

Following the Japanese convention, Japanese names are given with the family name first and the given name second, except in those cases where the author is known in English as such. Japanese terms are transcribed with macrons except for places and companies which are well established in English, such as Tokyo, Kyoto, etc. The advertising agency, Dentsu appears without a macron as per its name in English usage, but with a macron when referring to its newsletter publication, *Dentsū Hō*



## Chapter 1: Introduction

A slightly overweight, ordinary-seeming man, wearing a sash and crown, raises his mug to toast the newspaper reader.

An actress, famous for her roles in avant-garde films, travels on a steam train and drinks with her real-life husband.

A film star, clad in red and white, walks to the bow of a ship with a bottle of beer, toasts himself and drinks.

A former cosmetics model, sits cross-legged on a white studio floor dressed in a tuxedo, holding her glass.

These four scenes are a small sample of the myriad of efforts to promote beer to the Japanese in the postwar period when beer became integral to, and integrated within, Japanese socialisation practices: it became *the* drink of choice in this period, surpassing sake to occupy an integral role in Japanese drinking practices. Beer was consumed nationwide and its growing importance and function within social relations cannot be understated. Significantly, it was seen as a drink primarily for men and was used to both regulate and define gendered norms. Across the postwar period, this highly symbolic product was promoted to consumers in increasingly sophisticated and ubiquitous advertising campaigns such as those described above. These campaigns featured idealised depictions of femininity and masculinity, which modelled correct practices and sites of consumption for both drinkers and non-imbibers.

While these campaigns were highly varied, they shared one common feature. Rather than being viewed in a vacuum, these gendered images were analysed, discussed, and contested in a range of media. Rather than simple texts, they exist within a discourse shaped by media and advertising industry standards and broader social expectations. These discussions are a rich and valuable resource for examining how gender was understood and conceptualised, and how these understandings evolved and changed in subsequent years. In this study, I complicate the narratives told through previous works focused on advertising images alone by considering the advertising texts in their wider discursive contexts. This illustrates the range and complexity of historical understandings of gender in Japan across the years since 1945.

#### [Signifying Systems, Lacunae, and Influences](#)

Joan Scott, writing in 1986, called for greater attention to be paid to signifying systems, to the ways that societies represent gender (Scott, 1986). One of the most influential ways in which Japanese society represents gender is through advertising. Images of women and men using products provided examples of not only what to buy, but how and where to do so appropriately. As the advertising industry grew in size, these images became increasingly prevalent and inescapable as the noted advertising commentator, Amano Yūkichi (2002, 5) has pointed out.

Scholarly and social interest in these images grew due to their perceived ability to persuade consumers to purchase products and to influence them as to who should consume. I contend, however, that the meaning of these images was neither static nor uncontested, and that the depiction of gender in these advertisements has not been

properly analysed due to an over-reliance on textual examinations. A variety of writers negotiated and challenged their meaning and significance demonstrating an awareness of a range of competing masculinities and femininities across a wide spectrum of media. Paradigms of Japanese femininity and masculinity differed throughout this period and commentators expressed and reflected these changes in their discussions of advertising representations. Advertising critiques were informed by the particular context that critics were writing in, their personal circumstances, and their knowledge of advertising precedents and themes. Assigning greater relevance to campaigns which appeared to depict gender “accurately” and critiquing those campaigns which failed to do so, these critics’ shifting categorisations of gender provide insight into the evolution of gender construction in the postwar through periods of disjuncture and fracture.

I thus argue that the way gender was understood through critics’ voices is an important element of advertisement analysis without which these images can only partially be understood. Existing approaches, while valuable for revealing systematic depictions of gender, are inadequate historically. These evaluations of advertisements have prioritised contemporary lenses while ignoring the specific historical context of advertising campaigns’ production and reception. Both quantitative methods which use focus groups and coders to categorise advertisements according to pre-registered definitions (cf Furnham and Bitar, 1993; Furnham, Abramsky and Gunter, 1997; Arima, 2003; Das, 2011) and qualitative ones which rely on the analyst’s ability and knowledge for a textual analysis (Roberson, 2005) neglect the opinions and perspectives of writers who, coeval with campaigns, found the representations ground-breaking, revolutionary, or

unremarkable. My inclusion of the critical context in which these works were produced and discussed gives us a deeper understanding of the historical context, thus engaging with the material and visual cultures of the past and how those were evaluated both within the context of the advertising industry and in a wider social and cultural context. In adopting this approach, I am incorporating the criticism and guidance of several scholars of media and advertising who have highlighted issues with current methods and knowledge in these fields. My motivation here is to address the demands of scholars in various fields to adopt a multiplicity of perspectives when examining cultural texts. These include Douglas Kellner in relation to cultural studies (2003), Morris Holbrook for advertising in general (1987), and Brian Moeran in relation to advertising in Japan (1996). The lacunae identified by these three scholars in the methods and approaches for studying advertising and wider media continue to be an issue. Moeran in particular (1996, 29–32) has noted the lack of attention paid to Japanese advertising traditions and trends in scholarly analysis with many scholars examining only advertising *images*. My solution to this scholarly demand is to introduce the political economy of media production (Kellner, 2003, 19) into my analysis. I integrate corporate, creative, and critical examinations of the campaigns as key contributions to debates on representation, specifically about gender. In building on the work of scholars like Moeran and Kellner, I thus fill a gap in the academic literature on advertisements and, through this more integrated approach, deepen our understanding of the social and cultural construction of gender in the postwar period. My approach also brings to light a relatively unexamined archive. As noted, scholars have generally focused on the textual elements of campaigns

at the expense of critical commentary. Jeffrey W. Alexander's history of the Japanese beer industry (2013), for instance, included some textual analysis of beer advertisements but failed to incorporate any of the wider commentary on them. Japanese scholars, meanwhile, use various advertising works as references (Nakai, 1991, 568, 709) which Anglophone scholars often fail to do but are not seeking to examine these writings for perspectives and viewpoints on gender. I outline my methodology more fully in the following sections.

#### [Girls, Guys, Blokes, and Ladies: Discussing Gendered Images in Advertising](#)

The overarching focus in this study is the question of how gender has been understood and conceptualised by advertising creators, critics, and commentators in the postwar period and what accounts for the differences in the perspectives of these writers over time. Critics interpreted the images of men and women presented to them in advertising in divergent ways. By looking at the writings of advertising critics and commentators, I position this advertising discourse as a key factor in the process of gender construction and categorisation. Corporate production of gendered imagery perpetuates gender differences and stereotypes, but not uniformly or without debate. In focusing precisely on these moments of critical attention, I demonstrate how gender constructions are contested and can shift in meaning. Specifically, I have examined what actions and qualities are considered to be masculine and feminine and what accounts for situating these characteristics, traits, and practices as such. Commentators had no difficulty enunciating which models embodied appropriately gendered traits or were able to perform them in a way which was considered exemplary. In exploring these elements, I

identify the 'symbols that have authority' (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005, 846) in different historical moments.

To do this, I used a number of texts that responded to depictions within advertising campaigns. This work is not situated within reception studies (Takahashi, 2010), however, as I am not seeking to examine how audiences reacted to, or understood, advertisements. Nor was the goal of this study to match gender representations within beer advertisements to reality (Sudbury and Wilberforce, 2006; Prieler *et al.*, 2010), that is, whether the representations documented the lived experiences of individuals or the material culture of the past (Burke, 2001, 22–23) or to chart changes in representations (Kang, 1997; Rowe and Gilmour, 2009). Instead, my subject is the critics and commentators who discussed advertisements from very different vantage points. This study therefore attests to the existence of multiple, varied, and profound understandings of gender which corroborate its constructed nature, its mutability and the variety used to categorise people as masculine or feminine.

### Constructing Gender

In choosing this focus I have situated this study within a social constructionist position. Scholars of gender, building on the work of feminist scholars who sought to dislocate conceptualisations about women, have shown how masculinity and femininity are socially constructed (Hare-Mustin and Marecek, 1990; Feasey, 2008). That is, the qualities, functions and roles assigned and ascribed to men and women differ by culture, time and place (Fiske, 1987, 204; Ebert, 1988, 33; Connell, 1992, 736; Pflugfelder, 1992, 347; Robertson, 1992, 420–421; Rohlinger, 2002; Lunsing, 2003, 20–21; Nakamura and Matsuo,

2003, 60). The characteristics associated with masculinity and femininity are seen as learned, ascribed qualities, signified by speech and behaviour patterns and modes of dress and other conventional, rather than biological, markers (McNair, 2002, 3–4). There is thus little consistency among civilizations and cultures as to which item of clothing, for example, indicates a particular element or quality associated with gender (Senelick, 2000, 2).

The starting point for this study then is that gender is mutable, and definitions of masculinity and femininity are fluid, flexible, and subject to a number of different interpretations. Here I examine these interpretations and the differences between them to question constructions of masculinity and femininity and make visible their workings. Gender in postwar Japan is not a stable category as demonstrated by the variety and plurality of the perspectives available in the writings of the creatives, commentators, and critics I have explored below. Many of these writers, however, worked to position gender *as* stable and fixed and accordingly focused their writings on perceived deviations from their tethered understandings and agreed notions of masculinity and femininity. In articulating concerns and issues about gender, these critics unintendedly demonstrated this fluidity and flexibility and diversity on gender. What is clear throughout the advertising discourse explored below is that the qualities considered feminine or masculine in one period are not necessarily so in a different period or by a different writer.

There have been, as noted, numerous works which have attested to the variety and diversity of definitions of masculinity and femininity by focusing on the actual experiences

and practices of historical actors. Concern with the discriminatory position of women led to an increase in studies looking at women's lives in Japan, at how institutions gendered women and what their lived experiences were. These studies have

'enriched, diversified and complicated our understandings of the range of cultural, social, economic and political contexts in which these women act, with which they struggle and through which they constitute their identities, inside and outside of the 'traditional' domestic sphere'  
(Roberson and Suzuki, 2003, 6).

One of the most influential works on this subject was Gail Lee Bernstein's edited collection *Recreating Japanese Women* (1991) which explored the diversity in women's lives and the meaning of womanhood with studies on the division of household labour (Walthall, 1991) through to state articulations of women's role (Nolte and Hastings, 1991). This interest in turn led to a growing interest in men as men with practices, stereotypes, and models of masculinity under renewed scrutiny. Japanese scholars such as Itō Kimio and Taga Futoshi have examined men's lives in Japanese (Itō, 1996, 2003; Taga, 2003) while scholars writing in English have revisited homogenous hegemonic universal models of masculinity by exploring the experiences and practices of men who have been marginalised or neglected in some form (Gill, 2003; Ishii-Kuntz, 2003; Nakamura and Matsuo, 2003).

While these works examined the actual lived experiences and practices of men and women, other scholars revisited and re-examined popularly-held conceptions of masculinity by studying what Richard Light calls 'discourse' - representations and texts (Light, 2003, 101). This included idealised and unrealistic versions of gay men in the media (McLelland, 2003), masculinist ideologies in representations of the military during the Second World War (Low, 2003) and constructions of salarymen masculinity (Dasgupta,



2003a). These works are characterised by their focus on representation in film, print, or other media. I extend this work through a focus not just on representations of gender in advertising, but also by exploring critics' relatively unexamined writings to locate my work in the imaginary and representational sphere, rather than the lived reality, of gender. Scholars have explored writings, images and various other cultural ephemera to reveal disparities and differences of interpretation between these written or visual accounts and people's lived experience. These include the evolution of the idea of manhood and its idealised forms in theatre plays and fathers' letters to sons (Kimmel, 2012), the meaning of gender through the writings of socialist women in Japan (Mackie, 1997) and the shape of sexuality in Occupied Japan through numerous texts, newspapers, and magazines to examine 'how sexual relations were constructed and discussed anew' (McLelland, 2012, 6–7). I use similar written sources and documents to examine the constructedness of masculinity and femininity and to explore how gender and gender relations constructed in the images that these critics and commentators saw in their homes, newspapers, and other media stimulated them to describe gender in their own words.

While I thus accept gender as 'a social and cultural construct' (Green, 2008, 64–65), it is clear from examining the vast outpourings of these writers on advertising that this is not what these critics themselves believed or understood. Instead, many of these writers approach these images from an essentialist understanding of what a man or woman is or should be with these definitions thought to be unchanging. Despite this essentialism, the terms and language used to discuss gender in these depictions varies markedly, both in relation to other texts in my archive and to the language deployed by scholars, activists,

and academics. In general, there are issues with discussing terminology across language and finding accurate or appropriate matches (Lunsing, 2003, 22; Dasgupta, 2009, 122). However, here I explore different writers' terminology from the viewpoint that this is dependent on their consciousness and identity (Abe, 2004, 209) and that this language is accurate *for these writers*. The use of particular terms, despite the lack of consistency, is therefore a valuable component that indicates speakers' positions and perspectives and the ongoing instability of gender in Japanese public discourse, including advertising.

#### [Examining the Advertising Industry](#)

Advertising is ubiquitous, both in the “West” where ‘no other form of society in history has there been such a concentration of images, such a density of visual messages...’ (Berger *et al.*, 1977, 129–130) and in Japan with visual images ever-present both within and without the home (Amano, 2002, 4–5). Advertising played an increasingly significant role in Japanese society across the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, becoming a key part of the fabric of Japanese people’s daily lives. This was due to the phenomenal growth of the advertising industry in this period.

Advertising expenditure increased year-on-year between 1957 and 1986, paralleling the economy as a whole (Dentsu Inc, 1987, 94–95) (Graph 1) and reaching over three trillion yen annually by 1986 (£16.5 billion). While advertising initially informed and educated consumers about both the availability of certain brands and methods of consuming certain goods (Yamaki, 1992; Francks, 2009, 162–163), it subsequently became integral to the consumption which drove the development of the economy (Francks, 2009, 2, 7).

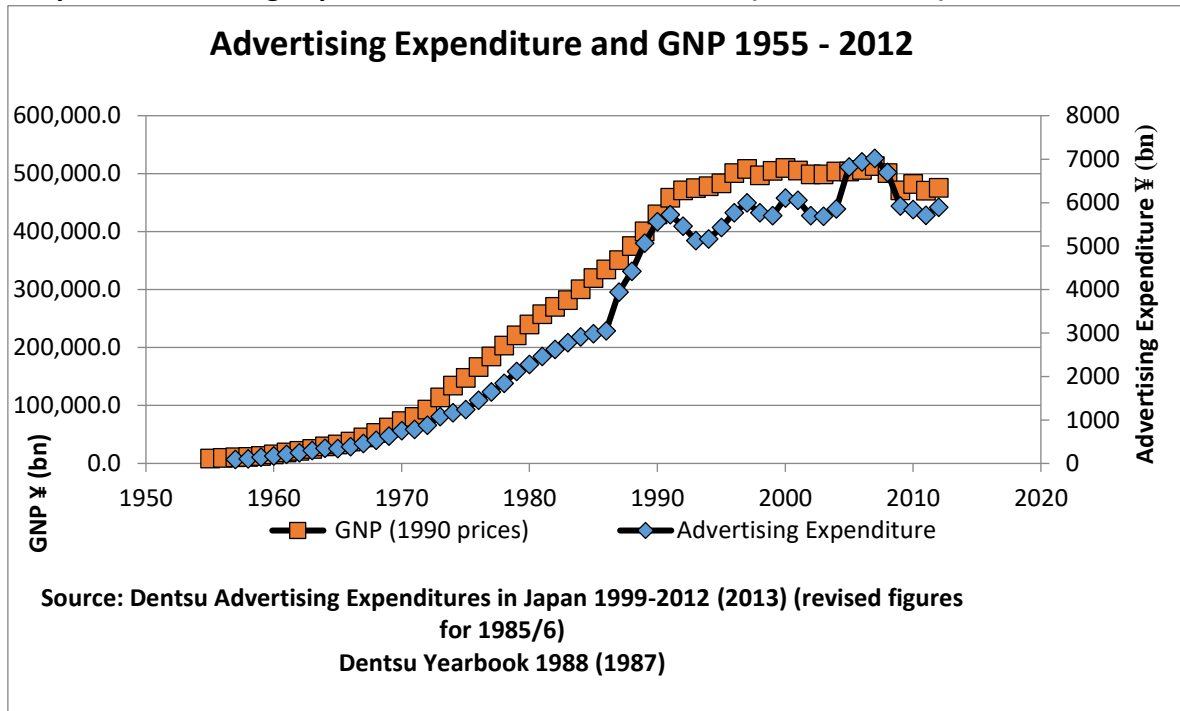
Consumers used the information in advertisements to differentiate seemingly identical or

similar products and thus help establish and present aspects of their own identities (Francks, 2009, 180).

Central to this integration of advertising within daily life was the early adoption of new broadcast media, such as radio and television. Non-commercial radio began broadcasting in 1923, with advertising being introduced to the medium from 1951. For television, the move towards commercialization happened more quickly, with the first television advertisement (for Seiko watches) airing on 1st October 1953 shortly after the national broadcaster, Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai (NHK - Japan Broadcasting Corporation), and the first commercial broadcaster, NTV, began broadcasting in August of that year (Yamaki, 1992, 72–74; Nippon Hōsō Kyōkai, 2013).

Television soon became the major medium for advertising (Yamaki, 1992, 336) (see Graph 2), although visual image revenue would not overtake print until 1975 (Moeran, 1996, 14) . Television's coming of age was accompanied by an increase in the number of stations - from five in 1957 to seventeen the following year and thirty-eight by 1959 (Uchigawa, 1976, 238–240).

**Graph 1: Advertising Expenditure and GNP 1955 – 2012 (Annual Prices)**



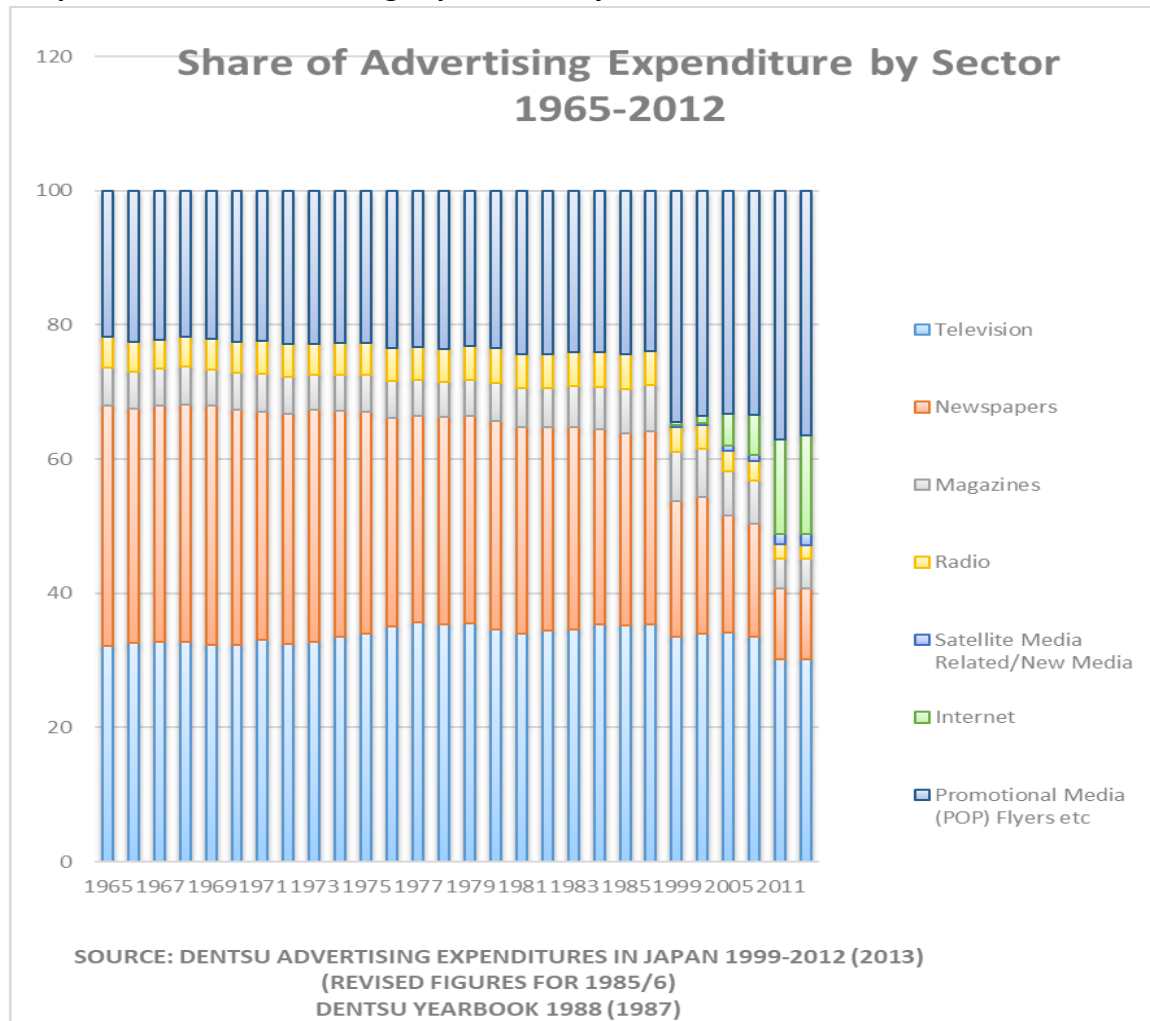
(Dentsu Incorporated, 1987; Dentsu Inc, 2005, 2008).

The corresponding increase in the distribution of television sets (Graphs 3-6) was such that by 1973 the television industry had ‘spread to every corner of the nation and beyond...[and] a relatively diverse society became a uniform nation of television watchers’ (Chun, 2007, 4). This spread of televisions also brought with it easy domestic access to advertisements. Television became the most heavily reported activity after working and sleeping (Tanaka and Ogawa, 2005, 3) with viewers, on average, watching some three to four hours of television per day from the 1970s through to 2010 (NHK Research, 2011, 8–9). Viewers thus becoming increasingly exposed to the same advertisements and the images within them despite being spatially separated.

While the advertising industry played a central role in the development of television, it was also influential in the programming watched between advertisements (Yamaki, 1992; Prieler and Kohlbacher, 2016, 38). Advertisers’ sponsorship actively shaped programming

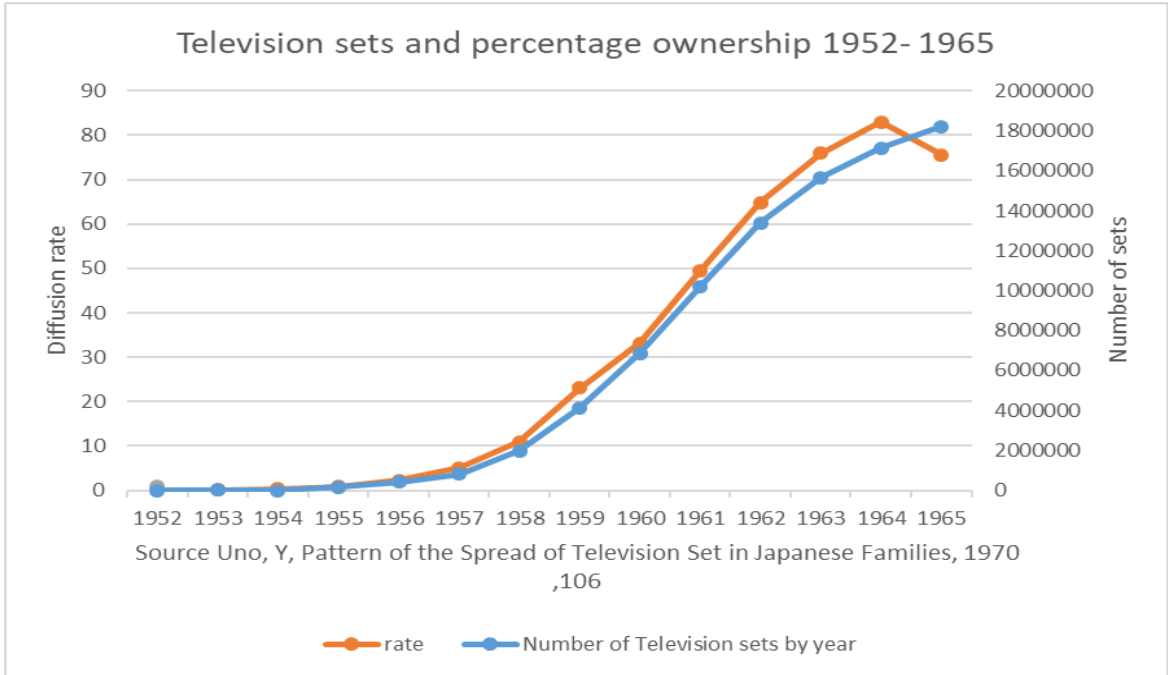
with their needs defining storylines, the actors chosen, and even the visual symmetry of the show itself (Galbraith and Karlin, 2012b, 5–12) while appearances in television dramas determined whether a performer was chosen for a particular campaign (Moeran, 1996, 155-160).

**Graph 2: Share of Advertising Expenditure by Sector 1965 - 2012**



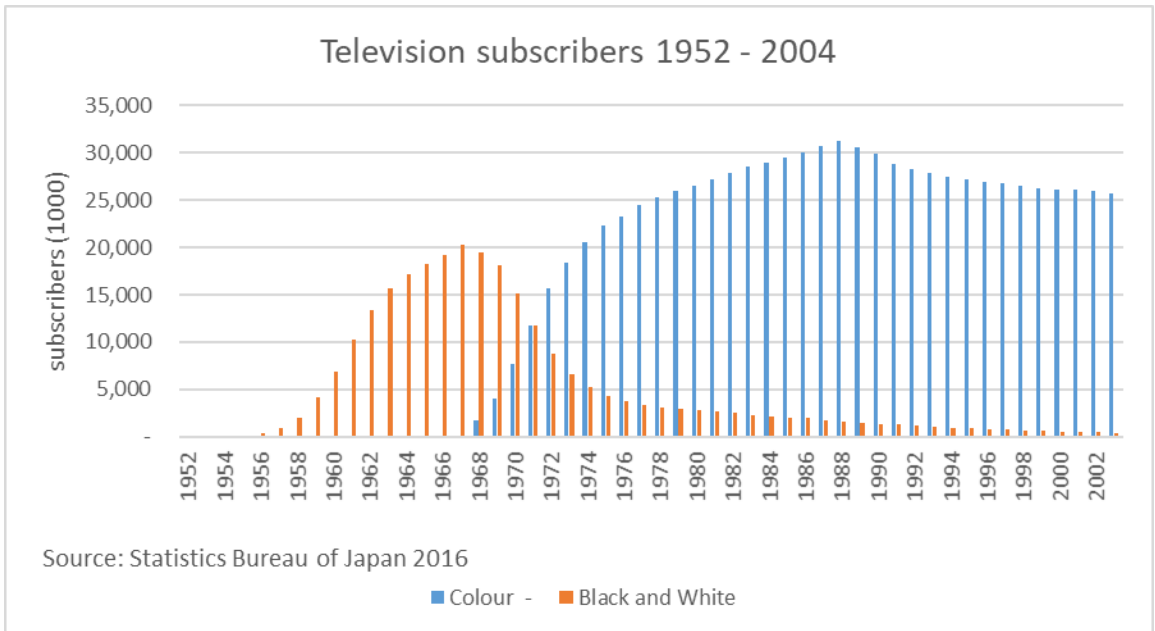
(Dentsu Incorporated, 1987; Dentsu Inc, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010)

**Graph 3: Television Sets and Percentage Ownership 1952 - 1965**



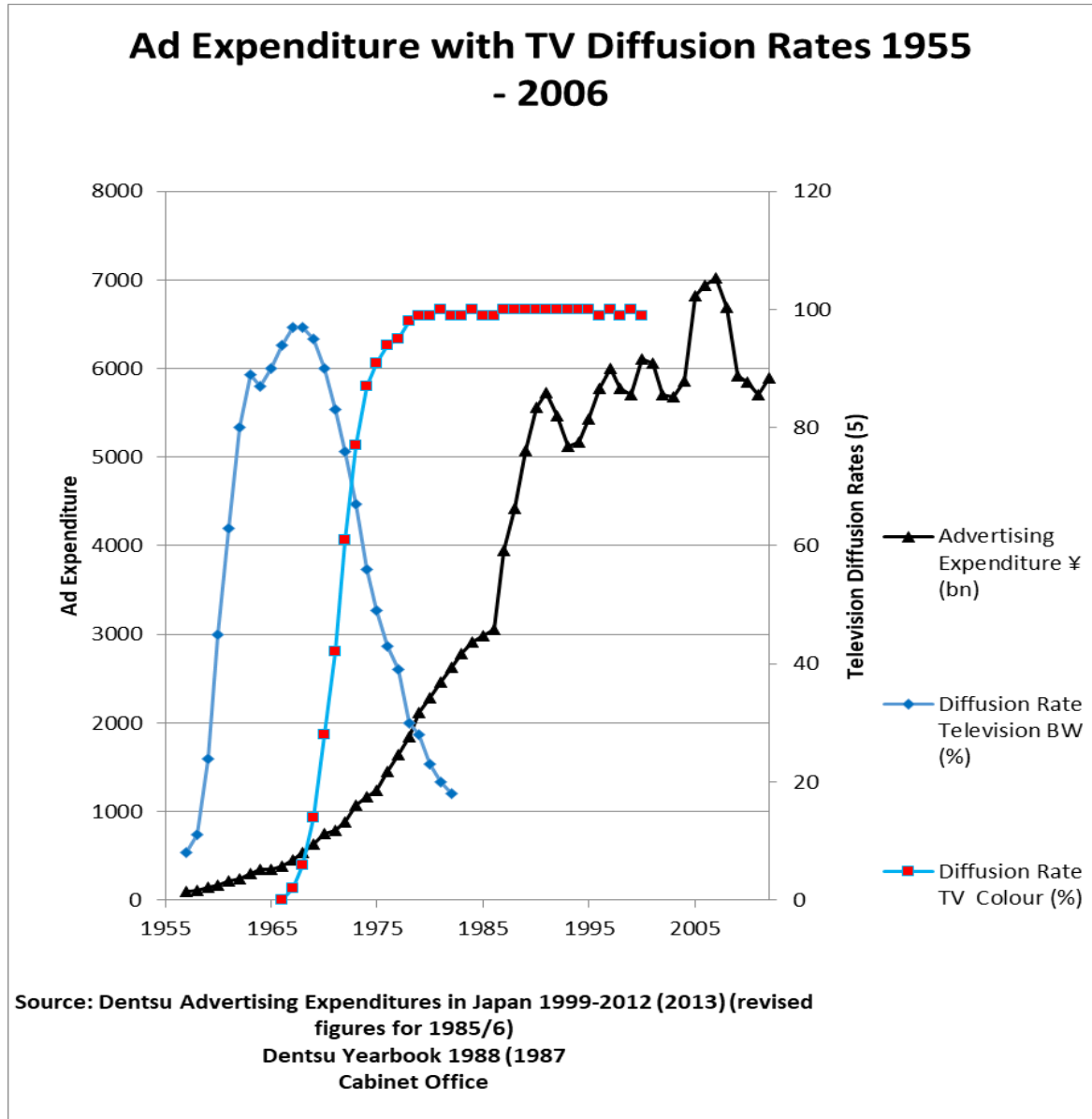
(Uno, 1970, 106)

**Graph 4: Television Subscribers 1952 - 2004**



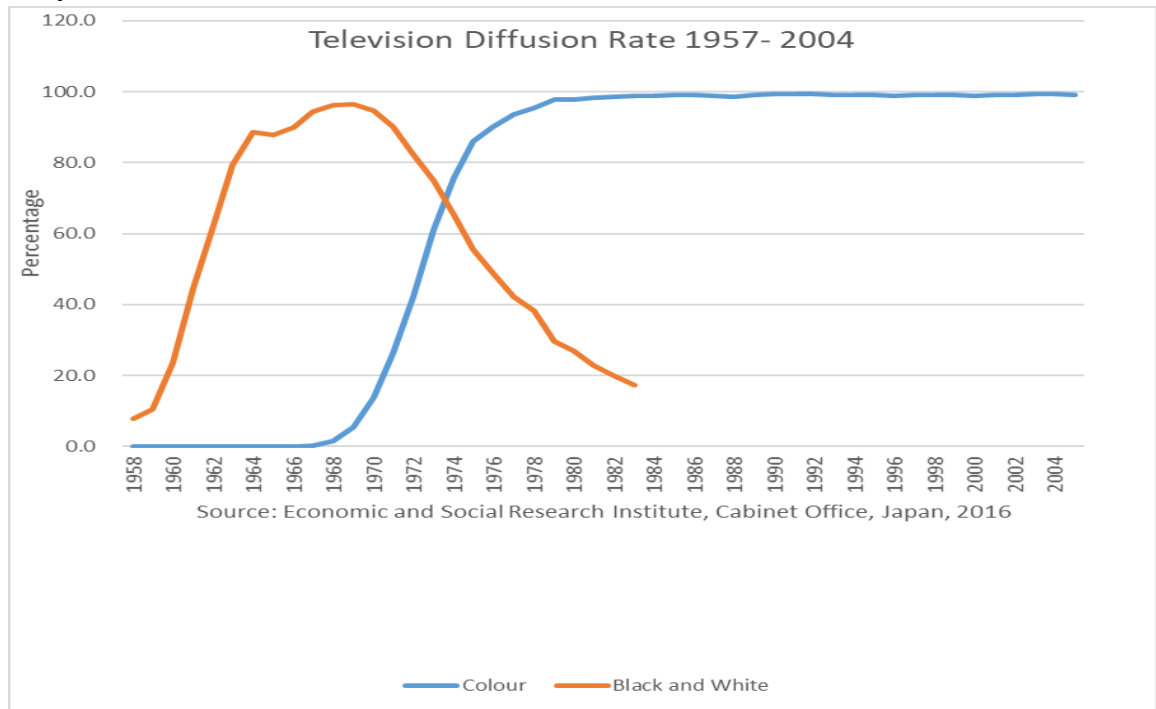
(Statistics Bureau - Japan, 2016)

Graph 5: Ad Expenditure with TV Diffusion rates 1955 – 2006



(Dentsu Incorporated, 1987; Dentsu Inc, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010; Keizai Shingikai (Economic Council), 2000)

**Graph 6: Television Diffusion Rate 1957 – 2004**



(Economic and Social Research Institute, 2016)

The Japanese public did not only view advertisements at home via television. These advertisements existed as part of broader campaigns, with images appearing on the television also featuring in slightly different forms within newspapers and other print publications. Japanese newspapers enjoyed high circulation rates for much of the postwar period with estimates of a total circulation of 51,907,538 copies by 1990 from the more than 110 regional, block, and national newspapers. This resulted in a readership ‘the same as Japan’s population of just over 122 million’ (Moeran, 1996, 176). Given their ubiquity and the size of the industry then, it was, as Amano notes, very difficult to escape advertisements (Amano, 2002, 4-5) which occupied a central position in the various media the Japanese public were increasingly exposed to. The presence of commercial images in daily life became naturalised. While households and families were experiencing various



societal changes caused in turn by industrialisation, the economic miracle, and post-industrialisation, they were doing so while consuming images broadcast into their homes and appearing in their newspapers. These images were often idealised and unrealistic (Katō, 1978; Belk and Pollay, 1985; Richins, 1991; Kilbourne, 1994; Elliott and Elliott, 2005) , but they were in turn impacted by these social changes. The various shocks that buffeted the Japanese economy during the 1970s, which marked the end of high speed growth, and the 1980s expansion of the economy were visible in the advertising industry (Graph 1) as indeed was the death of Emperor Hirohito in 1989 which saw a consequent decline in advertising expenditure (CM NOW, 1992f, 44–47).

In this way, I argue that advertising provided a looking-glass to the events and changing narratives of the post-war period, offering idealised images of what life could and should be like against the backdrop of actual social change. These advertising images of this ideal life were highly widespread with individuals extremely likely to see some form of advertising in their daily life. Even those living in remote and rural locations were now exposed to a daily dose of these promotional materials as new broadcasting media spread across the country. This wide reach of the advertising industry also saw this field become a popular topic of study. Scholars, critics, and advertisers themselves, sought to discover the extent to which, in the words of Gillian Dyer, advertising influenced our ‘thoughts, feelings and lives’ (1988, xii) through the meanings applied to the products we buy (Barthel, 1992, 138).

The perceived ability of advertising to affect or reinforce the values and beliefs of viewers (Fiske, 1987; Norris, 1990, xvi) has led numerous scholars to examine different facets of

these campaigns, often with a focus on how stereotypes function to reinscribe difference. For Marilyn Kern-Foxworth, for example, American advertising contributed to the erosion of the 'self-esteem and motivational behaviour of African-Americans' (Kern-Foxworth, 1994, 168) through the continued use of racial stereotypes. Other scholars, meanwhile have focused on depictions of gendered stereotypes to discover idealised gender-based behaviours. Stereotypical depictions of gender are understood to be potentially detrimental to societal perceptions leading to the perpetuation of pathological behaviours and to the continued oppression of women (and, by extension, men) (Gilly, 1988, 75; Furnham and Bitar, 1993; Hall and Crum, 1994; Mwangi, 1996; Kang, 1997, 980; Romaine, 1999, 254; Tan, Ling and Theng, 2002, 853–854; Arima, 2003; Prieler, 2007; Das, 2011). Advertisements, as media images, are understood as a 'crucial factor in forming our perceptions of gender roles' (Lindner, 2004, 412) by constructing the knowledge and understanding that people have with regards to both their own and other cultures (Ludwig, 1997, 156). These images elided diversity presenting the performers within as part of a unified whole, that is, as representing everyone (Painter, 1993, 299–300; Lindner, 2004, 409).

It is perhaps because of this relative prominence of stereotypical representations, that advertising scholars have tended to focus on analysing images alone, often in isolation from the context of their production and reception. Indeed, what is common to many of these examinations of advertisements is their focus on the image as text, with the aim of discovering the latent messages or meanings that they transmit. I argue that this is a problem for two reasons. First is that the presence of a stereotyped element in an

advertisement does not necessarily mean that it was uncontested prior to its production, or that it was understood as problematic by consumers or critics. In some cases, stereotyping is intended to be ironic, to function as social critique or to act as a parody of existing stereotypes. Examples of this exist in my corpus, such as the acknowledgment by Sapporo Beer of a general trend of parody advertisements around 1977 (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 795) and Suntory's release of a series in 1979 (Mukai, 1983, 117) featuring the actor, Kazama Yūzō, which was applauded for referencing and mocking its rivals by various industry critics (Iwasaki, 1979, 147; Yamakawa, 1987, 426–427).

The second issue is that this focus on images alone neglects the broader context of the images' production and consumption. The writings which I focus on in this thesis provide insight into advertising campaigns that are not available through other analytical approaches. I contend that advertising images are only one aspect of a wider discursive realm, shaped by industry interests, professional expertise and community engagement. Advertisements in Japan, as elsewhere, have been consistently subject to analysis, to contestation, to challenge and to praise, which serve to both support and undermine stereotyped representations.

The assumption that the final image as presented in an advertisement is unproblematic, uncontested or unchallenged lies at the core of many existing studies but is, to me, both poor history and poor scholarship. As Ohnuki-Tierney notes, historical representations are incomplete, partial and over-determined (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1987, 3). This shortcoming is clear in studies which have examined the representation of gender in Japanese advertisements both quantitatively (Arima, 2003; Prieler, Ivanov and Hagiwara, 2015) and

qualitatively (Holden, 2000; Roberson, 2005). Very few studies engage with surrounding advertising discourse, with only a few general studies of advertising directly citing (Praet, 1999) or referencing their existence in some way (Kinsella, 1995; Skov and Moeran, 1995; McCreery, 2000). While one study used materials from the advertising journal, *Sendenkaigi* (Publicity Council), to find out information on industry practitioners (Kohlbacher, Prieler and Hagiwara, 2011), this appears to be an exception to the general trend. Scholars who look at general characteristics of Japanese advertising (Johansson, 1994; Fields, 2000); the use of celebrities (Prieler *et al.*, 2010); the role of tie-up songs (Stevens, 2011); gender role portrayals in magazine advertisements (Ford *et al.*, 1998) and commercials (Bresnahan *et al.*, 2001); the use of foreign women (Martin, 2012) or foreign performers (Creighton, 1995; Martin and Woodside, 2008); cosmetic advertisements (Barnes and Yamamoto, 2008); the presence of “Eastern” or “Western” values (Okazaki and Mueller, 2008); and nostalgia in advertisements (Creighton, 1997) have all failed to incorporate the broader industry and popular discourse.

The one exception to this blindspot in advertising scholarship can be found in regular references to one industry professional, Kishii Tamotsu. Tamotsu, a senior creative director at Japan’s largest advertising agency, Dentsu, claims that Japanese advertising uses mood- or emotion-creating ‘soft-sell’ appeals rather than rational ones (Kishii, 1987) and this description is repeated in a number of studies (Johansson, 1994; Barnes and Yamamoto, 2008; Martin and Woodside, 2008; Martin, 2012) despite it not always being empirically true or borne out by the evidence, as we will see below.

Scholarship that uses advertisements to buttress or ‘illustrate conclusions reached from written texts’ (Burke, 2001, 10) also often ignores the wider industry discourse in favour of the image. In her work on the Japanese consumer, for instance, Francks uses certain images within advertisements to demonstrate how electrical goods constructed an ideal of the Japanese family as a ‘healthy, happy and efficient household’ (Francks, 2009, 173). Francks fails to engage with industry narratives of these advertisements, however, and we thus do not know the extent to which these depictions were representative or well-regarded. There is also little discussion of effectiveness – was the advertisement considered ‘good’ or was it the subject of criticism? Did it lead to an increase in sales, or was it deemed ineffective and quickly withdrawn? This lack of attention by scholars is somewhat surprising as the size and prevalence of the Japanese advertising industry means campaigns are already subject to a high degree of scrutiny and analysis across a variety of formats. The breadth and variety of these discussions from multiple perspectives and their publication throughout the postwar period means that these materials can serve as a barometer of the changes in understandings of images as well as a useful tool for considering the impact of advertising on society.

#### [Japanese Approaches to Advertising](#)

As is to be expected, there is a richer body of literature on Japanese advertising in Japanese than there is in English. Japanese scholars, experts and critics, aware of the vast range of writings and scholarship, have published extensively and from a range of perspectives on Japanese advertising. These scholars and experts, more aware of the preceding literature, duly use these works as references in their own studies. Nakai Kōichi,

for example, in his work on design development within Japanese advertising (Nakai, 1991, 568, 709) draws on a number of earlier studies, referencing various advertising commentators such as Mukai Satoshi (Mukai, 1983), and Yamakawa Hirōji, notably his work marking the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the introduction of television (Yamakawa, 1980). *The Unofficial history of Asahi Beer's Publicity Section* (Takayama, 1999) similarly references Uchigawa Yoshimi's magisterial *History of the Development of Japanese Advertisements* (Uchigawa, 1976).

In these Japanese language works, we can see the formation of an advertising canon, in which key texts and individual advertisements become embedded within a singular narrative of the industry. A focus on remarkable advertisements and/or award-winning ones also contributes to this issue. However, these works are thus beset by the same issue as much of the English-language scholarship in that they have not examined this material as a discourse. Another example can be found in Shimamura and Ishizaki's *History of Japanese Advertising Research* (1997), in which they detail various trends in advertising research throughout the postwar period. While they address changes in focus and approach, they do not understand this as a shifting discourse that shapes how issues are presented.

Discussion about advertisements in the Anglophone academic literature, meanwhile, is on the whole neglected whether it is within newspapers, popular magazines or industry journals, books or opinion pieces. Even when referenced, it is not seen or examined as an archive on its own terms (e.g. Praet, 1999). As no studies have sought to examine or contextualise how the changes in gender representation within postwar advertisements

have been interpreted and analysed within the context of industry, professional and community discussions of advertising, this area is ripe for exploration and is thus the main focus of this thesis. I turn now to the reasons for my narrower focus on beer advertising.

### The Choice of Beer: Popularity, Universality, Accessibility

More so than other non-durable consumable products, beer is an influential and effective means of demonstrating and regulating gender practices. The social and visibly public nature of much of its consumption means that beer is assigned greater symbolic significance than other drinks, such as tea or coffee. The social nature of beer consumption, meanwhile, contributes to its gendered significance (Heath, 1995a, 2; Plant, 1995, 294; Joffe, 1998), with public consumption often used to suggest masculinity. This gendered, and gendering, role of alcohol consumption can be seen across a range of societies, including Japan, which has led to a variety of studies examining how alcohol and beer are consumed and culturally positioned.

While alcohol is used normatively across cultures (Heath, 2000), the range, and manner, of its use differs significantly (Marshall, 1979a) with cultural rules prescribing who may drink and where (Mandelbaum, 1979, 15). As Marshall points out:

How one should feel, how one should act, what one may say, when and where one may drink and with whom - these and other guidelines are specified in advance for the person who would consume alcoholic beverages (Marshall, 1979b, 2).

Alcohol consumption is a historically masculinised practice which marks drinkers culturally and socially as men, and in many cases, as a heterosexual man enmeshed within

heteronormative structures. The reward for a hard day's work in the suburban 1970s United States, for example, was a cocktail made by one's wife (Mandelbaum, 1979, 15-16). In 1960s Mexico, heavy imbibing was a masculine, heteronormative practice in indigenous communities, supported by wives who aided drunken husbands home in a heteronormative support system (Madsen and Madsen, 1979, 44-45). Part of this connection between masculinity and alcohol is linked to cultural expectations present across a number of cultures which entwine masculinity and heavy drinking so that it was common, at least historically, that 'a man must absorb a large amount of alcohol before he shows that the drink has affected him' (Mandelbaum, 1979, 16-17).

As a masculine, and masculinising, activity, alcohol consumption has also by necessity been a necessarily visible and social activity, done in a 'society of age mates and peers' (Mandelbaum, 1979, 17). Alcohol-fuelled sociality can help to maintain homosocial relationships amongst (male) peers. Amongst the Schefferville Naskapi Amerinds in Canada, for example, consociate drinking serves as one way of both forming and defending identities (that is, identity struggles) which are dependent on the current economic status of the drinkers (Robbins, 1979, 179). This is done amongst "fellow" men. Honigmann, in his account of drinking in an Austrian village *Gasthaus*, meanwhile, notes that alcohol was both available and cheaper at home, but that visible drinking allowed 'additional gratification, notably sociability and gaiety' which were attributed in part to the meanings attached to this public drinking (Honigmann, 1979, 419). Public consumption and its association with men thus 'forms an essential component of the



masculine role as culturally defined' with abstention seen as a lack of fulfilment of a man's role as a man (Honigmann, 1979, 425–6).

Across many cultures and various historical periods, then, alcohol has been gendered, and been used to gender individuals, through a number of factors including the locations where alcohol is consumed and the people with whom one drinks. Imbibing alcohol provides a means to perform gender. By presenting behaviours associated with men, drinkers can publicly and visibly affirm their masculinity. Gendered consumption also takes place by explicitly restricting women's access to certain sites and thus the opportunity to consume. On the Pacific Island of Etal, for instance, women (and older men) are excluded from drinking parties both by general custom and by using locations which are off-limits to women. This 'further emphasised their masculine orientation' and in doing so reinforced ideals of masculinity (Nason, 1979, 239–248).

Similarly gendered elements have also been documented within Japanese drinking practices. Alcohol consumption provides an opportunity for the display of emotion amongst Japanese men (Mandelbaum, 1979, 15-16) and can also mark collective success such as the completion of construction of a house when the head carpenter pours *sake* for all the men present. Heavy drinking and drunkenness are also historically reserved for mainly adult males (Sargent, 1979, 278–280). This pattern is replicated in a range of anthropological accounts of Japanese social practices, from dinner parties (Befu, 1986) to pottery gatherings (Moeran, 1997, 197).

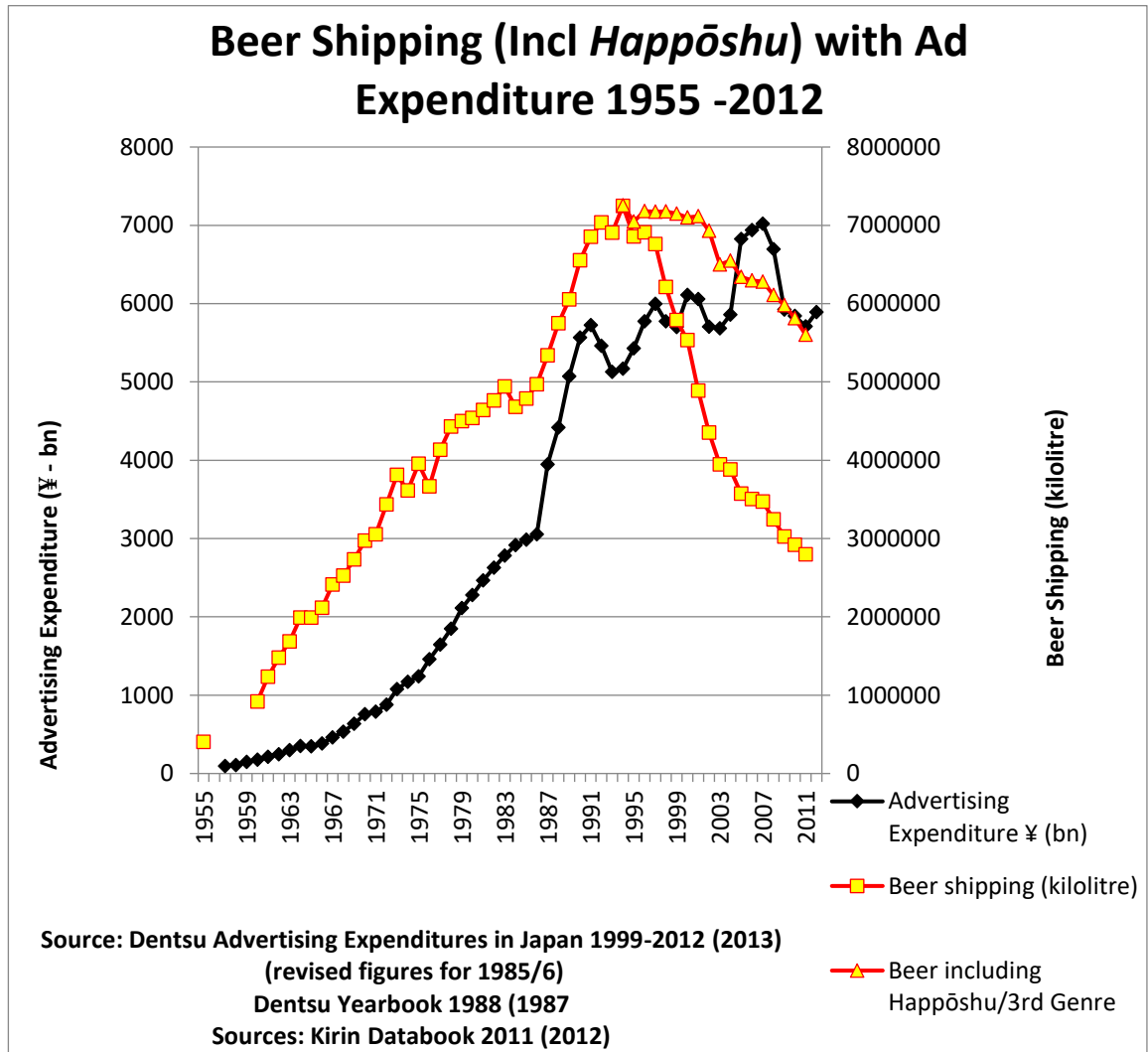
## Beer in Postwar Japan

Beer's acceptance within Japanese society mirrored the growth of the advertising industry and its growing influence throughout this period (Graph 5). Described as 'perhaps the most significant Western-style product' to become part of the Japanese lifestyle prior to the Second World War (Francks, 2009, 129), beer consumption initially lagged behind that of *sake (nihonshu)* from its introduction in the 1880s (Fuess, 2006, 52) with only the modernising bureaucratic and military elite in the interwar period able to afford this drink regularly. In the postwar, however, its cheap pricing allowed it to oust sake from its preeminent role ultimately gaining mass appeal and becoming the "necessity" drink, essential to Japanese quotidian social practices (Smith, 1992; Francks, 2009, 95, 127, 158–159). By the 1960s, beer was no longer seen as a foreign, high quality product, but as a domestic, and everyday, Japanese one (Alexander, 2013, 177) occupying a number of different roles, having altered the exchange function which had hitherto been central to sake consumption (Smith, 1992).

The increased consumption of beer was partly connected to the growth in purchases of consumer durables which helped to drive the economy from the 1950s onwards. People could comfortably consume beers chilled in refrigerators in rooms warmed by heaters (Alexander, 2013, 180–2) while watching the television, a source of entertainment which was now private and personal (Francks, 2009, 205). The television also informed consumers how to consume beer through advertisements, just as newspapers did during the morning or evening commute. These media thus provided normative models of

consumption which were viewed by individuals situated within a complicated network of mutual consumption and publicity.

**Graph 7: Beer Shipping with Ad Expenditure 1955 - 2012**



(Dentsu Incorporated, 1987; Dentsu Inc, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2010; Kirin Holdings Company, Ltd, 2011)

With products transported more easily across the country thanks to improvements in infrastructure, beer became universally available and, due to the factors detailed above, integrated into Japanese socialisation practices: it was now the drink of the masses, consumed regardless of class. More importantly, beer was the drink of men, occupying as

it did the 'dominant role in masculine social life' (Francks, 2009, 127). It became an 'affordable accompaniment' (Francks, 2009, 166-7) for men's social practices – Francks describes it as complementing both the father's meal at home and company work practices which men engaged in.

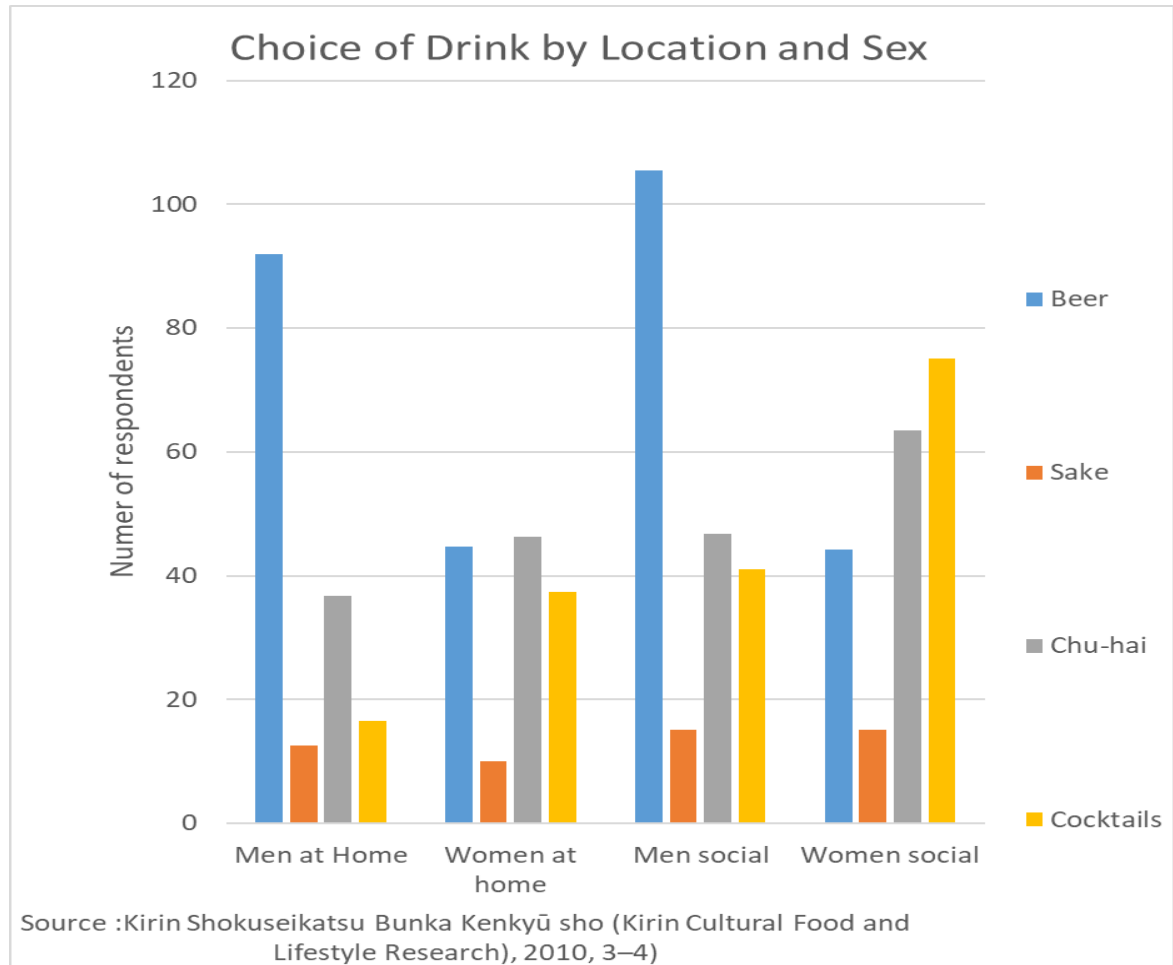
Beer thus gained symbolic significance as a drink, ostensibly, for men. Yet this gendering of beer as masculine offered women an opportunity to challenge gendered norms by consuming beer themselves (Ishikawa, 2003). Non-consumption demonstrated conformity, while consumption offered a means to reject conventional standards of femininity, an option women exercised at various points in Japanese history. Japanese feminists associated with the *Seitō* (Bluestocking) journal, for example, transgressed gender lines in the early twentieth-century by drinking western liqueurs (Mackie, 2003, 46). Later in the postwar, a number of actresses, including Kuji Asami, Izumi Kyōko, and Koro Tomoko, discussed how their drinking practices played a democratic and equalising role in challenging men's monopoly on the public consumption of beer (Asahi Graph, 1957). In these cases, women used their own alcohol choices to challenge men's right and role to publicly consume.

Referring to Austrian drinking practices, Honigmann (1979, 35) noted that an individual's drinking style is often unconscious and dependent on social and cultural factors:

'The meaning of a style derives partly from the forms of behaviour to which it is in opposition or, in the case of the family having an evening drink, from the style of behaviour that they seek to emulate. A drinking style also acquires its meaning from the social and cultural context where it is practiced, where it is positively or negatively sanctioned and where other institutions help to maintain it' (1979, 35)

A 2010 survey by Kirin’s Food and Drink Bureau (Graph 8) suggests a similar relationship between drinking choices and sites of consumption.

**Graph 8: Choice of Drink by Location and Sex**



(Kirin Shokuseikatsu Bunka Kenkyū sho (Kirin Cultural Food and Lifestyle Research), 2010, 3–4)

The presence of other people and the difference in social event indicates that these play a significant factor in the gendered choices of consumers. The vast increase of men who drank beer socially alongside the increase of women who drank cocktails in the same context indicates that it is partly visibility and companionship which play a part in determining choice. Just as the *Bluestockings* and the *Asahi Graph* actresses contested

gendered norms, this more recent survey indicates that within Japan conformity to gendered norms in drink choice remains strong. We can thus see how alcoholic choice, including beer, remains a means to indicate and identify gendered choices.

Drinking practices, then, operate on a symbolic level and also as a framework within which people select drinks based on the negative or positive aspects associated with those choices. In short, choices associated with alcohol consumption fulfil a multitude of roles including the performance of gender. By drinking beer, individuals can present masculinity or transgress expected feminine (or indeed, masculine) norms. Beer in Japan was a means to both perform and to police gender. Examples of women drinking and men abstaining provided opportunities for critics to express anxiety about gender transgression, as we will discuss below.

The postwar can be characterised by both increasing numbers of women consuming – publicly – and by commentaries upon this subject. This is apparent throughout this study with such “transgressions” influencing many writers who were stimulated by women consuming beer within advertisements to also criticise the women that they encountered in their lives who drank. This gendering role of beer combined with its universality and its accessibility as a topic thus makes the depiction of its consumption in beer advertisements a suitable subject for understanding the construction of gender. Scholars, aware of the role that depictions of drinking practices play in constructing gender, have examined beer advertising to discover which practices are idealised.

Lance Strate found that American beer companies positioned masculinity as so integral to beer consumption that their commercials were ‘a guide for becoming a man, a rule for

appropriate male behavior, in short, a manual on masculinity' (Strate, 1992, 78). Strate's qualitative analysis, based on a previous study that he had completed with others (Postman *et al.*, 1987), identified a number of models of masculinity in American beer advertisements. Other scholars, influenced by his work, examined beer advertisements elsewhere to reveal the 'assumptions that the advertising industry makes about what men do, what they are interested in, and how they see and differentiate themselves within our world' (Jackson *et al.*, 2009, 189). I argue that these assumptions play not only a 'key role in the construction, representation, and consumption of masculinity' (Jackson *et al.*, 2009, 186), but also in the construction of narratives of femininity and how femininity and masculinity relate to each other. If gender is relational, as Connell and Messerschmidt famously argued (2005, 848), and masculinity and femininity are defined in opposition to each other, then images of men are equally informative about the construction, representation and consumption of femininity. Assumptions about women and, more generally, gender relations are also revealed in advertising depictions, with campaigns revealing what they are interested in through their absence and through their partial appearance. Furthermore, women *are* included in advertisements, featuring as a key demographic audience for some products. Therefore, assumptions about women, about what they do, and what they drink are equally present and should also be studied.

Existing studies on gender in beer advertisements, like the broader field of advertising studies discussed above, focus largely on visual representations. A number of scholars have traced how gendered images have responded to societal or demographic changes. These include questions of idealisation of the home in the United States (Walker *et al.*,

2009) and the effect of women's increased disposable incomes and status on their depictions (Jette *et al.*, 2009). Studies focusing on Australian beer advertising, meanwhile, show how it utilised nostalgic images of gender from a distant past rather than contemporary society (Rowe and Gilmour, 2009). These authors demonstrated how beer advertisements do not necessarily reflect the lived experiences and social realities of beer consumers but are instead constructed categories which serve as advertising industry understandings of what is attractive. In my Master's dissertation, I followed a similar approach, exploring the construction of gender in Japanese beer advertisements by examining only the images themselves (White, 2007).

While these works situate these representations within a wider social context, I argue that this approach is limited. By critiquing not only the representations themselves but also analysing the criticisms of campaigns (e.g., Horne and Whannel, 2009, 66–67), advertising can be seen as not simply a closed system of image circulation, but part of a larger process of meaning construction. In this thesis, I take this wider approach. Rather than reading images in isolation, I examine how critical industry and media commentary understood beer advertisements as either replicating, or consciously contrasting with, the drinking practices that were present within society. An examination of the advertising images alone leads, as Marchand argues, to a somewhat distorted view of society (2000) and, in turn, a reliance on the productions and creations of corporate-invested elites to understand what people were doing, or how they should be doing it. The continued, and singular, examination of these images marginalises alternative understandings, reinforcing normative views of social practices. By situating these images in their wider social and



intellectual context, the normative constructions of these social and gendered practices can be brought into sharper relief.

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## Chapter 2: Methodology

### Introduction

This thesis critically analyses the writings of critics, creatives, and corporate entities to both understand how they discussed depictions of gender in beer advertising campaigns in the latter-half of the 20th century and to account for differences in these interpretations. The variety and diversity of these interpretations has expanded our understanding of gendered depictions within these advertisements and demonstrated the importance of incorporating these perspectives into any analysis of advertising in Japan in the postwar period.

In seeking to understand these perspectives on gender, I have looked at five key research questions: a) what did critics and commentators think about the representations of gender within advertising campaigns b) how did they differ from other critics in their interpretations c) what factors account for these differences d) how do these perspectives fit into contemporaneous debates on gender and e) what perspectives are missing from these interpretations. In this chapter, I explain the research methodology I have developed and give an overview of my archive. I discuss why the approach I have taken here is the most appropriate for this research question and provide further examples of the particular benefits that this method provides. I focus on the following areas: a) the rationale for my research approach b) a description of my research materials and the archive c) overview of research design and analysis of the data d) Limitations.

This research is, as explained in the introduction, grounded in an essentially social constructivist position concerned with how the complexities, the nuances and subtleties

of gender are interpreted and understood in a particular context and at a particular point in time. I examine variegated perspectives on the gender performances of individuals depicted within the media, which highlights the diversity and variety of practices and behaviours that were available, and which were sanctioned, both negatively and positively. As outlined above, there are a number of different methods used for examining and analysing advertisements. Each has its own benefits and disadvantages, but the consistent focus on the image in isolation limits their effectiveness because they fail to account for the image's existence within a wider discourse of industry experts, social commentators, critics and the general public. By placing images within this 'advertising discourse', our understanding of their meanings is transformed.

#### [Studying Advertising: Benefits](#)

The variety of approaches for studying advertisements can be roughly divided into qualitative and quantitative methods. Each focuses on different types of information within advertisements. Building on the work of Ernest Goffman (Goffman, 1987), who used coding to reveal relationships of power and agency in advertising, scholars have used content analysis to code and categorise the presence of various elements in advertisements across cultures (Furnham and Farragher, 2000; Furnham and Imadzu, 2002) or to examine the connections between ageing and gender in Japan (Prieler *et al.*, 2011b). Arima, for instance, used this method to identify age and work-type disparities in Japanese advertisements. Men were more often represented as older and dressed in suits (Arima, 2003). Content analysis studies, however, are less effective in eliciting nuance, often identifying tendencies and trends across advertisements rather than specifics (Tan,

Ling and Theng, 2002, 854). Most content analysis studies find depictions to be stereotypical with, for example, women depicted as confined to the home or according to gender stereotypes (cf Kang, 1997; Arima, 2003). The subtlety of advertisements is thus ignored, as are the ways in which the various elements within an advertisement work together to create meaning (Barthel, 1988, 31–33; Maynard, 1995, 151–152; Rohlinger, 2002). In the words of Richard Pollay, it is ‘straightforward, void of all cultural and psychological complexity’ (2000 para 88).

Qualitative studies, meanwhile, approach advertisements differently by focusing on the relationships within the advertisements, the presence of particular elements, and the different layers of meaning. There are a number of qualitative approaches of which semiotics is probably the most famous for studying the latent meaning in advertising texts (Gottdiener, 1985, 979; Gould, 2003, 154). While useful for recognising the conventions used within advertising (Seiter, 1992, 126–128), as Judith Williamson did in her work *Decoding Advertisements* (2005 (1973)), semiotics, like other qualitative methods, remains grounded in the text itself, with limited extension to the wider advertising discourse. This does have some utility: Barbara Stern (1993, 557), for example, used sex reversal theory to reveal those practices which are so habitually considered masculine that a woman depicted in the same way as the *Marlboro Man* appears out of place. Lester, meanwhile, used a three-layered approach based on John Fiske’s work (Fiske, 1987) to understand how depictions within *Nissan* advertisements contained Euro-American typographies of race, gender, and sexuality (1992, 23).

In being so focused on the text, all of these studies share the same deficiency in their approach, namely that of neglecting or ignoring the advertising traditions - that is, the context and the background of advertisements that shape their production, as Morris Holbrook (1987) and Brian Moeran (1996) have argued. Most relevant for my work, this exclusion also incorporates the multiple viewpoints, whether praise or criticism, on the advertisements which are contained in the writings of critics, commentators, and creatives. This is a criticism which I applied above to existing studies of gender in beer advertisements and it is one which can equally be applied to general studies of advertising and to those studies which use advertisements to bolster or illustrate arguments garnered from written sources and evidence.

In a 1987 article on attitudes towards advertisements, Morris Holbrook problematised the treatment of individual advertisements as indicative of the industry within American advertising. Rather than viewing advertisements as part of a 'total sales campaign', scholars seek similarities across disparate advertisements to identify representative trends within advertising (1987). Similarly, Brian Moeran has found fault with the neglect of the knowledge of the processes, traditions, and competing products which inform the creation and interpretation of advertisements (1996, 27–32). Moeran's criticism targets scholars who, focusing on one iteration of a campaign, see advertisements as:

single, complete entities, ...[failing] to account for the fact that advertisements are always part of a total sales campaign and that every campaign is formulated in awareness of other competing product advertising and sales campaigns (Moeran, 1996, 30).

For both Moeran and Holbrook, the lack of focus within advertising studies on the specific motivations behind creative content, on the relationships between competing campaigns,

and on the disparities between iterations within the same campaign is deeply problematic. This neglect is a common feature of studies exploring gender representations within advertising, whether focused on print (Kang, 1997; Rohlinger, 2002; Lindner, 2004) or television (Gilly, 1988; Tan, Ling and Theng, 2002). These studies' focus on a single genre means that broader campaign elements that may sustain or alter the meaning between the iterations may be lost. They also assume that disparate advertisements are homogenous in their representations despite companies advertising to differentiate themselves from their competitors, to get a half step ahead or create a niche (Holbrook, 1987, 98; Moeran, 1996, 138–139). This not only negates the very point of advertisements, but also neglects the expectation of 'cultural differences and cultural conflicts' (Burke, 2001, 31-32). Furthermore, not all advertisements are equal, as Dianne Barthel notes (1988, 31-2), with the variety of advertising awards, for instance, indicating the different criteria by which advertisements are judged, such as effectiveness, aesthetics, or topicality.

Advertising critics, on the other hand, especially those writing within industry journals, were aware of this wider context of competition, advertising history, and creative trends. This awareness formed due to their extensive contacts into advertising firms. While Moeran and Holbrook criticise scholars for neglecting advertising traditions and culture when studying advertisements, I argue that this lacuna in methodology can be resolved by considering advertisements and their critical contexts together, in a body of material I refer to as 'advertising discourse'.

The fundamental assumptions and key features of this project thus set it apart from the majority of advertising studies. Critical industry writings have been marginalised in advertising studies despite the extensive debates that informed the pre- and post-production stages of campaigns. This failure to engage with this extensive archive of materials, particularly in the context of Japan, has thus led some Anglophone writers to produce 'new' arguments that have often already been clearly made in the Japanese language materials, or to conclusions unsubstantiated by a wider reading of the archive. Martin, for example, examines the use of foreign celebrities (2012), but makes assertions and conclusions which other critics have already explained at great length (cf Mitamura, 1977; Mukai and Brain, 1977; CM NOW, 1988b). The discussion of *talento* (celebrities) in Japanese advertisements meanwhile is an exhaustive one (Brain, 1972a; Kondō and Kaji, 1975; Yamaki, 1977; CM NOW, 1983b, 1992e) which means that scholars (Prieler *et al.*, 2010; Galbraith and Karlin, 2012a) often retread arguments and ground that has already been discussed extensively.

In some cases, academics' failure to acknowledge other studies results in a somewhat naive approach. In his examination of the representation of masculinity in Japanese energy drink advertisements, Roberson rigorously explores the connections between these advertisements (2005), but at the same time does not take into account Niki Etsuko's 1971 critique in *Fujin Kōron* (Women's Forum) (printed in *CM Graffiti* (1980)) which comes to some of the same conclusions some forty years earlier (Niki, 1980a). Examining a wider archive provides a historical dimension to analysis of the advertisements, while foregrounding the existing critical voices writing in Japanese.

By incorporating the writings of critics into my analysis, I address the lacunae I identified in the literature review and resolve the issues identified by Brian Moeran (1996), Morris Holbrook (1987), and Douglas Kellner (2003) in the way that advertisements are studied. Yet examining these writings was not entirely straightforward. The challenge throughout the archival stage of this study and the subsequent interrogation of these sources was finding a framework that made sense of the different positions and perspectives that writers took on advertising representations. The process itself involved a close reading of the different elements of the advertising campaigns, the discovery and subsequent analysis of what critics wrote followed by an exploration of their backgrounds, and a similar analysis of what the producers of the advertisements themselves said about their creations along with an exploration of their backgrounds. The analysis of the production side of advertising involved the actual creatives involved with the campaigns – copywriters, art directors, and other members of creative teams – and the corporate side, that is, the beer companies who expressed their needs and desires and were willing to explain what the campaign was designed to achieve. This analysis thus provided access to both the production and reception sides of advertisements. By synthesising these elements, we can begin to understand what the corporate desires were in creating these campaigns, how these were realised by creatives, and how these expressions were viewed by critics, social commentators, and the companies themselves. To analyse and understand these disparate elements and their relationships, I found Lynda Nead's conceptualisation and practice of discourse to be the most appropriate theoretical framework.



## Theoretical Framework: Lynda Nead's Modified Discourse

Lynda Nead developed her approach through an examination of how female sexuality was represented in nineteenth-century Britain. Nead uses the concept of discourse to describe the array of writings and critiques on the art that she studied. It is necessary to explore this term and how Nead uses it in greater detail to clarify the appropriateness of the positions and approaches I take here.

The use of the term discourse in relation to advertisements is by no means unique. Lise Skov and Brian Moeran, for example, have described the publications of the *Hakuhodo Institute of Life and Living*, (HILL), the “think tank” of the advertising agency *Hakuhodo*, as marketing discourses (Skov and Moeran, 1995, 9). The way I use discourse in this study, however, differs significantly from theirs and from its usage in most studies of advertising, which often rely on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Harrison, 2008; Kaur, Arumugam and Yunus, 2013) or pragmatics (Tanaka, 1994) to discern how advertisements create meaning. Discourse here typically refers to rhetorical or persuasive elements within advertising campaigns, such as the copy or titles (Fuertes-Olivera *et al.*, 2001; Yesil, 2004; Karan, 2008). The arguments and conventions of language within advertising campaigns, extracted from the environments in which they operate, are examined in isolation with only an occasional reference to the external social system. This is a characteristic shared with studies of representation within advertisements. Guy Cook, in his work, *The Discourse of Advertising*, argues that scholars should expand the focus of analysis to refer to *all* the elements within an advertisement including the text, the location where it is

seen or heard, and the interaction between these elements (1992, 2), yet his definition of discourse does not incorporate the wider processes of production and reception.

Discourse has a nebulous meaning, then, depending on disciplinary approach and the particular body of scholarship the author is drawing from.

Nead based her use of discourse on the work of the French philosopher Michel Foucault. Foucault acknowledged using discourse in a number of contradictory and ambiguous ways, stating that sometimes it refers to ‘the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements’ (Foucault, 2002, 80). Nead adapted and clarified these contradictory aspects in her work on Victorian sexuality (1988). For Nead, discourse can be defined as ‘a particular form of language with its own rules and conventions and the institutions within which the discourse is produced and circulated’ (1988, 4). Just as it becomes possible to talk of medical or art discourses in the context of Foucault and Nead’s work respectively, I suggest that it equally becomes possible to talk of an “advertising discourse” which discusses masculinity and femininity, gender, sexuality, and correct and ideal ways to live using its own conventions and rules.

Advertising has been described as typifying and presenting idealistic scenes (Josephson, 1996, 158). Michael Schudson, referring to American advertising, has noted that it ‘simplifies and typifies. It does not claim to picture reality as it is but reality as it should be – life and lives worth emulating’ (2000, para 12-14). Schudson, positioning advertising as art as others have also done (Dyer, 1988, 1), has called American advertising “capitalist realism” because it collectively articulates some of the operative values of American

capitalism (2000, para 23), 'the pleasures and freedoms of consumer choice', through these typical and conventional depictions and scenes.

Japanese advertising, similarly used to promote consumption practices, has also used typical, idealistic, and sometimes unrealistic, scenes to do so. For some scholars and critics, these conventions set Japanese advertising apart from "Western" advertising with a greater emphasis on moods and emotion-based appeals (Kishii, 1987, 52–53; Herbig, 1995, 51–55; Fields *et al.*, 2000, 200–205). This differentiation has also been criticised, however, by scholars who claim that this analysis is often based on authors' intuitive perceptions from the study of one genre, lacks empirical evidence, and that, on the contrary, there are many similarities with Western advertising (Moeran, 1996, 18–20; Prieler and Kohlbacher, 2016, 21–41) especially if Western is not used as a synonym for "American". Both arguments indicate that Japanese advertising does contain its own conventions and language, even if this may contain similarities with advertising from elsewhere. Japanese advertising contains typical and easily recognisable scenes, for instance, often because of the short time available to present a message and make an impact (Moeran, 1996, 188; Arima, 2003) but also to have wider appeal. Millie Creighton, in her work on '*furusato*' (hometown) within Japanese travel advertisements, notes that advertising 'masks' specific place identity to allow it to operate as 'anyone's *furusato*' (Creighton, 1997, 245).

This trend of using typical scenes and stereotypical characters (Arima, 2003) means that advertisements contain a language and conventions that are understandable to the audience. In turn, the discussions of these advertisements also take certain forms and

conventions, as will be seen throughout this study. The backgrounds and knowledge of writers inform the positions that they take on particular depictions in advertising, defining and directing their interpretation and critique of these images. I have drawn attention to these differences and shown how particular commentators discuss advertisements with emphasis on certain elements while excluding others because they are not necessarily seen as relevant. Japanese advertising, using its own conventions and rules to present lives worth emulating, produced a discourse on gender, on sexuality, and on correct and ideal ways to live which constitute a language available for analysis and discussion.

#### Discourse and Sexuality

Nead used her definition of discourse to examine female sexuality in the nineteenth century, paying particular attention to the 'concatenation of visual images, the language and structures of criticism, cultural institutions, publics for art and the values and knowledges made possible within and through high culture' alongside other, official discourses on the subject of female sexuality (1988, 8). In this way, she saw the art and the criticism surrounding it, the broader visual culture of the time, as constituting a totality that spoke about various issues and concepts using a particular language. Criticism, for Nead, therefore played an equal role alongside the visual forms within the discourse in categorising and defining normative and non-normative forms of female sexuality (1988:2). I argue that advertising shares a number of similarities with the art that Nead examined, which makes it a good candidate for this application of discourse. Advertising criticism played an equivalent role in defining and categorising

representations and also in regulating which campaign depictions became canonical. The presentation of awards to particular campaigns, the critique of depictions considered unrealistic or unconventional, and the praising of particular performances also contributed to the establishment of idealised forms of masculinity and femininity. That is, the practices and performances of men and women depicted within advertising set parameters for ideal models of masculinity and femininity, but they did so only under strict conditions set and enforced through critical processes. Through studying these visual forms alongside this criticism, we can understand advertising, like Nead's art examples, as a 'defining and regulatory practice' (1988,8).

Advertising, like the Victorian art that Nead was studying, also has industry-based criticism in the form of awards, journal articles and the informal discussions and reflections of those involved in the industry. Awards were a crucial element within the critical sphere which contributed to the advertising industry's regulatory regime. Various scholars have argued that part of the development of any sector as a modern industry involves the creation of formal measures of recognition, such as awards, with which to measure aesthetic standards and criteria. Watson and Anand have demonstrated how the receipt of awards such as the Grammys added prestige and increased the sales of recorded music, such that 'winning an award translates to respect and reputation within the field' (2006, 54). Unlike the Grammys, however, advertising industry awards do not result in an increase of sales of the product advertised. Instead, they provide guidance for potential clients as to which agencies to work with. Advertising awards are thus a measure of creativity which might provide benefits in the way of extra custom, 'acting as a proxy for

evaluating the overall quality of a firm's advertising campaigns' (Tippins and Kunkel, 2006, 2–4). Although Tippins and Kunkel found no subsequent increase in share price of awarded firms, awards did function for the agencies as a means to verify and establish certain campaigns as more fashionable. They also established aesthetic conventions, demonstrated which techniques and styles were valued over others, and left a historical record whilst doing so.

In the case of Japanese advertising, most awards and professional associations were first awarded in the postwar period, mostly by trade organisations (Yamaki, 1992, 142). The 1950s saw the formation of, for instance, the Japan Newspaper Advertisers Association (*Nihon Shinbun sha*) in 1950 (currently the Japan Advertising Agency Association (JAAA - *Nihon Kōkoku Gyō Kyōkai*)); the Japan Advertising Artists' Club (*Nihon Senden Bijutsukai*) in 1951; the Tokyo Art Directors' Club in 1952; the All-Japan Advertising Federation (*Zen Nihon Kōkoku Renmei*) in 1953; Tokyo Copywriters Club (TCC) in 1958; and the Japan International Advertising Association (JIAA), also in 1958. These industry groups quickly established systems of professional awards, in the process marking the creation of a professional industry. Shimamura Kazue and Ishizaki Tōru, in their examination of advertising research in Japan, contend that the 'rapid creation of advertising organizations in the earlier days after the War' was linked to an eagerness for these organisations to help in the reconstruction and restoration of Japan (1997, 235). While this narrative can be questioned, the creation of associated advertising awards signified that these organisations wanted their outputs to be taken seriously, both professionally and aesthetically. Awards that proliferated in the years following the war's end included the

Nikkei Advertising Awards (*Nikkei kōkoku shō*) and the Asahi Advertising Award (*Asahi Kōkoku Shō*) in 1952, the Mainichi Newspaper Industrial Design Award (*Mainichi Sangyōdezain Shō*) in 1954, the All Japan Radio & Television Commercial Confederation's ACC prize in 1961, and in 1962 the Tokyo Copywriters' Club Prize (*TCC Shō*) and the Publicity Council Award (*Sendenkai Shō*). The prestigious Dentsu Advertising Awards (*Kōkoku dentsū shō*), meanwhile, had prewar origins as early as 1930 but ceased during the war years before being revived in 1947 (Nakai, 1991, 309; Yamaki, 1992, 490–501; Nikkei Keizai shinbunsha, 2016).

These critical awards and ceremonies defined and regulated norms and conventions by rewarding advertisements considered to be of high quality or as particularly note-worthy. This, in turn, played a central part in prioritising these same advertisements when archiving and then referencing advertisements for studies. The recognition that an award bestows has aided scholars in their selection choices so that certain advertisements, and their images, become more established and thus seen as representative. Awards are also an important element within the advertising industry because they inform prospective clients and competitors about the quality of a campaign. In terms of the advertising discourse, the prestige from the conferral of these awards results in the creation of an aesthetic canon from which the more highly esteemed advertisements can be referenced more easily than others. The receiving of awards therefore establishes certain advertisements as topics of discussion, placing them in a preeminent position within the discourse. This repeated referencing of the same advertisements results in a parallel neglect and marginalisation of others which are then almost forgotten, sometimes to the

point of obscurity. It is in this way that advertising awards function as a 'defining and regulatory practice' as Nead notes, categorising some as worthier than others.

The nature of annual prizes means that only a few advertisements can win awards in any given year. Although these might be deemed the best of that year, it does not necessarily mean that they stimulated and aroused critical commentary. On the contrary, images within less-recognised advertisements were more likely to conflict with the opinions of commentators and thus arouse their ire. Nead's work is particularly useful in this regard because she specifically focused on negatively-reviewed paintings to reveal understandings of sexuality not readily discernible from the "better" images. Analysing those images which can be described as 'the excluded, the absent' (Burke, 2001, 174–175) therefore results in a particularly subtle, and invaluable, understanding of gender representation. Indeed, these criticisms also function as part of this 'regulatory practice' positioning poorly-executed campaigns as less worthy of study and as not fitting the definition of a 'good' ad. This expansion of attention outwards from the esteemed to the peripheral is especially important for this study because of the way in which academics use these types of awards to understand advertisements (cf Okano and Asakawa, 2003). Prieler and Kohlbacher have criticised academics' focus on 'award winning Japanese advertisements' or those broadcast at prime-time (cf Bresnahan *et al.*, 2001; Tan, Ling and Theng, 2002) while ignoring afternoon advertisements – which tend towards the unaesthetic and domestic – because it results in a skewed sense of the corpus (2016, 21–29). Utilising an expanded definition of discourse after Nead, I argue, avoids these issues



and allows for a more nuanced understanding of a very complicated institution, part of which includes advertising's relation to other discourses.

Fine art and art criticism in Nead's nineteenth century examples acted in collaboration with other institutions of power, other centres, to discuss, and thus to organise and control, female sexuality (1988, 8). In a similar way, the postwar Japanese advertising industry existed in relation to other institutions and centres. In choosing my materials, I differ slightly from Nead regarding the institutions within which discourse is produced.

#### Research materials

The key criteria in determining which materials would be included within my archive was the extent to which writings discussed concrete examples of beer advertisements or addressed questions of idealised beer consumption. Since criticism also came from the wider popular press which took up themes presented in advertisements in magazine articles, in newspaper columns and in books, I have included any writing which takes up the issue of the advertisements as part of this discourse.

These writings cover beer consumption or beer advertisements created and broadcast in the 46-year period from 1950. While the selection of any range of years can be somewhat arbitrary, there are a number of key reasons for this selection. The year prior, 1949, had seen the huge *Dainippon Beer Company* separated into two companies, *Asahi Beer* and *Nippon Beer* (Sapporo), both of which lacked brand recognition. This event defined the Japanese beer market with Kirin Beer taking advantage of Asahi and Nippon's subsequent handicap to emerge as the market leader. Introducing the new brands to customers was also a key priority for the new firms, resulting in new advertising strategies. By 1996,

meanwhile, the beer companies had expanded to include *Suntory Beer* and also the very much smaller Okinawan-based, *Orion*, but were starting to cannibalise their own market with the introduction of *happoshū*, a “beer-like” drink with a lesser malt content. The increase in beer products and the decline in “proper” beer consumption that accompanied this therefore marks an appropriate endpoint. Choosing advertisements within this time period allows us to see how diverse authors from different periods and vantage points view and interpret the same advertisements. While all works discussed beer advertisements, or the idealised consumption of beer, there were numerous differences among them. I approached these differences in several phases:

- 1) The advertising campaigns themselves – namely by examining television broadcasts and newspaper versions
- 2) Critical commentary on these campaigns in company histories; beer industry analyses and histories; advertising histories and advertising-focused works; advertising journals and magazines; popular magazines and journals; and newspaper articles.
- 3) Analysis and synthesis of these perspectives.

The first steps I took in this process were to verify the advertising campaigns and to gain insight as to what was broadcast and printed. Initially, I investigated the numerous campaigns and became acquainted with the various iterations. I did this by accessing the *AdDas* database at the Dentsu Advertising Museum’s library (ADMT) in Tokyo. This database contained a large number of visual advertisements as well as biographical details on each campaign. This included the broadcast year, awards won, the length and name of the advertisements and, occasionally, the main performer. I then crosschecked these

advertisements with two newspaper databases, *Yomidasu* for the Yomiuri Shinbun, and *Kikuzō* II for the Asahi Shinbun, to access a greater number of iterations in the context in which they were seen. These databases also provided access to articles on beer including details of price wars, and, as will be seen in chapter 3, the use of advertising slogans as synecdoche for the companies themselves. By this point, I was acquainted with key campaigns and moved on to critical commentary on these campaigns.

To do so, I first explored the various company histories, such as Sapporo Beer's 120 -Year History (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996) and Kirin's company history (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999a). The company histories act as approved versions of each company's development. They thus fulfil two functions. They provide data and information on market conditions and chronicle how individual companies responded to various events and situations, including their rivalries with other firms. Secondly, and most important for this study, they provide corporate insight into the motivations and desires of the companies with regards to the various marketing techniques and campaigns. In chronicling the industry and their place within it, these accounts naturally reflect the perspectives of the company publishing them. They therefore help to understand the motivation for the campaign choices - the gendered messages used, the selection of one performer over another, or the attempt to respond to a competing campaign - from that company's perspective. Some of these narratives are replicated elsewhere as the creators of the campaigns also wrote articles for advertising journals. The company histories are also useful, however, because they show which campaigns had been selected to enter the company's official historical record. The choice of which advertisements to include in official histories is clearly a purposeful

act to create a certain narrative or image. Kirin, for example, only includes reproductions of posters from 1983 - 1997 in its company history (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999b) despite the volume covering the entire post-war period. A number of campaigns are thus absent from official histories.

Works by those employed by the beer companies, meanwhile, offer an alternative take on certain campaigns. *The Unofficial History of the Asahi Publicity Section* ((Asahibīru Sendengaishi) Takayama, 1999), for example, consists of a record of a series of discussions between executives and managers who worked in Asahi's marketing department. The focus on how individual workers viewed the company, the campaigns, and the work environment within which they created these campaigns provides an alternative view of the campaigns' production and meaning.

The second part of this process involved examining various books on the beer industry including histories of its development (Mizukawa, 2002), explorations of the hit products (Katayama, 2010; Katsumi, 2011), personal memoirs or histories (Matsui, 2005) as well as histories of beer's role within the life of Japanese people (Kirin Bīru KK, 1984). These works mostly dealt with industry events and are thus useful for clarifying the context for the campaigns and for occasionally touching upon the marketing activities that the beer companies engaged in.

I have highlighted previously the work that has been done on the Japanese beer industry within the academy and we must note here that this work too is part of the discourse which I examine, primarily because of the ways in which advertisements are analysed. Alexander's focus (2013) on the development of the industry means any reference to

advertisements is often only in relation to these events. His examination of advertising campaigns is thus somewhat partial with his choice of advertisements to analyse matching those that were discussed in the company histories. Campaigns that are absent from Sapporo and Kirin's company histories, for example, are similarly absent from Alexander's work. I address that shortcoming here. By excluding these advertisements, however inadvertently, from this first book-length treatment of the Japanese beer industry, Alexander helps to establish the advertisements that he does refer to as representative and canonical. Academics can thus also become part of this regulatory practice defining which advertisements and, by extension, which models of gender come to be seen as normative.

I also examined the advertising industry's perspectives on beer advertisements. This involved accessing a range of published materials, primarily from the Dentsu Advertising Museum's library (ADMT). First established in 1966, ADMT contains a large number of materials associated with advertising and marketing. In addition to *AdDas*, the library's audio-visual database, there are copies of industry journals from the 1950s to the present, the company histories described above, and various treatises and monographs on advertising, including key texts such as Yamaki Toshio's *History of Advertising* (1992) and Uchigawa's *History of the Development of Advertising* (1976). These materials provided the context for what was occurring in the wider industry along with insight into how particular beer advertisements were situated within these general trends and in the context of wider socio-cultural change. I also explored the various yearbooks (*nenkan*) of organisations such as the Tokyo Copywriters Club (TCC), Dentsu, and the All Japan Radio &

Television Commercial Confederation (*ACC - zennippon CM hōsōrenmei*). These contribute to the award system outlined above and also, using a variety of criteria, play a role in establishing certain events and campaigns as historically important. Other works that provided context to the campaigns and attested to certain campaigns' impact included industry guides and dictionaries (e.g. Yamaki, 1995).

Works focusing on the design and techniques of advertisements (Nakai, 1991) meanwhile provided access to perspectives on aesthetics while a variety of anthology works attested to the diversity of writings on these subjects (Yamakawa, 1980, 1987). These collections also provided evidence of how the advertising discourse was established. A collation of the advertising critic Amano Yūkichi's newspaper columns, for instance, incorporated a range of criticism, admiration, and replies to readers and thus helped to establish which advertisements should be discussed and which should not (Amano, 1994). Similarly, collections and works commemorating the 25-year history of television advertisements (All Japan Radio TV Commercial Council, 1978; Brain, 1978b) discussed the impact and effects of advertisements over this time period and helped to establish this range of perspectives as authoritative. While collections such as *CM Graffiti* (Yamakawa, 1980) sought to demonstrate the way that advertisements had become part of daily life and thus a subject of discussion, they also contributed to the construction of the discourse itself. Through processes of selection, these collections facilitated access to certain perspectives and viewpoints, while excluding others. These collections both provided evidence of this process and led me to original sources. Niki Etsuko, for example, originally wrote on masculinity in advertisements, including beer campaigns, in *Fujin Kōron*, but her

inclusion in *CM Graffiti* made her work both more accessible and more authoritative.

Yamazaki's Masakazu's discussion of advertisements meanwhile was available both in his work *Modern Myths (Gendai no shinwa)* (1973) and also in the *25 years of CM History* (All Japan Radio TV Commercial Council, 1978). These two authors' work was thus both easily accessible and officially part of the advertising discourse.

Other materials also formed part of the regulatory regime of advertising discourse, defining narratives and setting standards of acceptable and good advertisements.

Advertising journals and magazines such as *Sendenkaigi (Publicity Council, 1954 – present)* and *Brain (1961 - present)* featured articles by practitioners on their own campaigns, critiques of others' campaigns, and contemporaneous investigations of advertising and marketing trends (Arai, 1978; Brain, 1978a; JAC, 2002). These journals were written by practitioners and experts in the field and assumed to be read, on the whole, by other experts and peers. Other journals such as *Advertising Critique (Kōkoku hihyō, 1979 – 2009)*, edited by the famed critic Amano Yūkichi and Shimamori Michiko, featured critiques of advertisements rather than practitioners and incorporated a range of theory.

Shimamori's numerous articles and books on the depiction of women in advertising (e.g. Shimamori, 1984), meanwhile, provide insight into what critics who were aware of gender issues thought. Similarly, works such as *Reading Men and Women from Advertisements* (Takishima, 2000) used academic approaches to analyse campaigns for a more general audience. Other available advertising magazines included those aimed at laypersons interested in advertisements such as *CM NOW* which started publishing seasonally in 1982 and increased to bi-monthly publications from 1991.

Each of these different journals and magazines presented different perspectives on advertising. Magazines like *CM NOW* (1983,) for example, operated at the nexus of advertising agencies, the media and consumer/viewers, informing readers with of a hierarchy of advertisements, of which advertisements were well-made with information about campaigns and reader surveys. It also offered readers insights into the secrets of the advertising industry, such as the use of salt to make beer foam, while subtly presenting understandings of past and present representations of gender. In a 1987 edition, for instance, the anonymous writers positioned eight current beer advertisements in competition against each other in one article (*CM NOW*, 1987a), situating these iterations within the overarching tradition of beer advertisements in another (*CM NOW*, 1987b).

Critics in these magazines and articles wrote on advertisements from a privileged position, bolstered by access to the creators' motivations and from an understanding of the competition that the companies for each product were engaging in at the time. This is either because they *were* the creators, or acquainted with them, or because they were involved in some way with the advertising industry as a whole. Wider commentary from those less directly involved in the industry provides access to alternative interpretations of the campaigns and indicates the variety of opinion and perspective that is present within the advertising discourse.

Opinions on advertising were not restricted to industry professionals and critics, however, and many articles in popular magazines referenced or highlighted the various campaigns in some form. These articles point to the greater importance that beer and the



promotional materials came to play in people's lives. Popular and specialist magazines addressed these advertisements in some way, either because they featured popular stars, because the images resonated (or did not), or because the articles wished to discuss the beer industry itself. Authors analysing the beer industry would often reference the most popular or common images of these companies. These articles were no less aware of the relationships between past and present advertisements and informed their readers of these connections. The women's magazine, *Josei Seven*, (circulation of 364,000 per month in 2015 (JMPA, 2016)) for instance, ran an article in 1988 which collated and categorised various beer advertisements from across the post-war period, acknowledging the effects and results that the competing companies' efforts had on each other (1988).

Articles in these publications explained advertisements to a general audience – including details of the desired target or the supposed narrative, for instance. Advertising agencies operated in a symbiotic relationship with these publications, serving to not only answer questions that readers may have but also further publicising the campaigns in question. Articles also focused on technique, artistry, celebrity, identity of performers and, to a lesser degree, the representations that they contained. By running articles on advertisements, these magazines played a part in publicising campaigns prior to, during, and following their broadcast. Until seen by the audience the reputation of these advertisements was largely determined by publications such as these.

Magazine articles therefore played a role in educating consumers and viewers and helping them to better understand these advertisements. They often simply described what occurred in the advertisement with additional details such as character's names or the

locations where they take place, but as this information is clearly not self-contained within the advertisements, it helps to solidify the intended meaning of the advertisement and ensure that non-preferred codes, that is, alternative interpretations (Hall, 1980, 125) can be discarded and disregarded.

Many of these magazines were available at the *Oya Sōichi Bunkō* archive in West Tokyo. Designed for storing and recording non-academic magazines published in Japan, this archive was useful for providing access to a huge number of articles and discussions of beer and beer advertisements in magazines, both popular and special interest. Articles in these publications sometimes contradicted the accepted wisdom of the industry, challenging what critics wrote about the “realities” of beer drinking. They also provide examples of how advertising became integrated into, and referenced within, daily life. My final approach was to examine general newspaper articles for attitudes and perspectives on these beer advertisements. This provided access to a medium which was widely read both within and beyond the industry but which was produced through a complex and intertwined relationship between publishers, advertising agencies and the companies that advertised with them. Newspapers were both funded by advertising and at the same time often critical in some way of the companies who provided this revenue. Articles on the beer industry often had the appearance of publicity articles, but on some occasions did contain critical elements, especially over issues to do with price. These articles provide context for how the beer companies, and their advertisements, were viewed in the mass media and thus how they were presented to the wider public. While the links between the press and those that fund them have been drawn by a number of

commentators (Shaffer, 1964, 394–395; Dyer, 1988, 5; Goldman, 1992; Moeran, 1996; Williams, 2000, paras 38-41), this approach shows that this relationship is not always as beneficial to the advertisers.

These different sources, products of practitioners, social critics, journalists, advertising critics, and creators, are evidence of the diverse backgrounds and perspectives of those who formed the advertising discourse that is the subject of this study. Yet there is one other set of individuals whose works are also situated within this discourse, namely academics. Scholars writing on Japanese society (Lebra, 1976) and alcoholism (Borovoy, 2005; Christensen, 2010) address or highlight a range of issues associated with alcohol and beer consumption and also with the advertisements that promote this consumption.

These authors are included in this study as they provide insight into the actualities and realities of consumption in Japan at different points and thus allow us to see the rhetoric and the ideology of other critics' positions. These scholars use of beer advertisements to illustrate their own findings or as examples of a phenomenon or trend means these works provide an alternative perspective to those situated closer to the industry. These studies, however, are themselves not necessarily free of issues. Paul Christensen, for example, critiques beer (and alcohol) advertisements (2010) to show how they promote alcoholic consumption practices, but his analysis is notable for its partiality and selectiveness.

Informed by Strate's description of American beer advertisements as lacking in 'alternate social types... [such as] gay men...' (1992, 78), Christensen contends that this is 'equally evident in Japan' (2010, 55). However, as my previous work on Japanese beer advertising revealed, beer advertisements not only featured women, but also *Kabuki* actors and

calligraphers (fulfilling the role of sensitive men), masculine women, non-hegemonic masculinities (such as SMAP actors) and avant-garde actresses across a number of decades (White, 2007). These works play a similarly regulatory role as Alexander's work within the broader advertising discourse. Through calls on academic rigour and authority, their findings become key in how advertising is understood, despite not always being empirically verified by the range of advertisements or corroborated in the writings of other, mainly Japanese-language, scholars and critics. Just as Alexander established certain advertisements as representative, these scholars provide evidence of different patterns of consumption, of how academics view particular advertisements at certain times. These works are equally value-laden because they too play a part in establishing certain elements as true. Despite the fact that the practitioners are also seeking to understand the structure and practices of Japanese society (McCreery, 2000, 1–10), advertising discourse has been largely ignored, perhaps because of its location largely in niche Japanese-language publications.

Following the collation of these various materials, I then analysed the various works and perspectives to gain insight into the variants and understandings of gender that existed at different points in time. The diversity of these books and articles, both in terms of subject, approaches taken, and authors, attest to the numerous ways in which masculinity and femininity are interpreted at different historical moments and in different cultural and textual contexts. This approach allows us to go beyond the image-based, visual focus of previous studies and interrogate more fully how a regulatory regime of advertising exists beyond the image itself.

My approach fills a number of lacunae in the approaches used to examine advertisements and thus expands the knowledge that is available. Deploying this wider definition of discourse means we can begin to explore how gender was represented in Japanese beer advertising and how this plays a part in the 'production and reproduction of power and domination' (Nead, 1988, 4). In addition to viewing these criticisms alongside the advertisements as part of a 'regulatory and defining practice', this approach provides access to the processes and internal debates of the industry, the advertising tradition (Moeran, 1996, 27–32). Thus it provides a means of understanding advertisements through their own culture and history in a way which is often absent from other methods. It is through this context that we can properly understand advertising campaigns and the corporate requirements that these depictions were created to satisfy as well as the voices which contested these visual rhetorical devices. I also reveal through this approach the existence of dissenting and resisting voices to the gendered images which were presented to the public at large through the mass media. The incorporation of resistance to corporate generated images within analysis of the mass media means that we have a fuller sense of how advertisements work in society and has revealed the debates and discursive frameworks that took place around gender. In this way, i have sought to provide access to competing and alternative perspectives on how men and women should and should not have acted. By examining discussions of advertisements for beer, we can thus understand how images used to promote symbolically significant consumable products are used to define and regulate individuals' behaviour and how this is contested.

## Trustworthiness and Limitations

There are, obviously, always questions with sources of any nature and the prioritisation of evidence. This is an issue here too. While some authors may obfuscate the reasons or requirements of a campaign, the diversity of voices, and the need to speak authoritatively mean that authors are quite open in declaring where they stand. There are other limiting conditions to this study, however, some of which are related to the vagaries of the various industries under discussion and some which are inherent in the study's research design. I have addressed particular issues with materials in the section on research design, which deals with the location and access of archives.

I have argued that adopting Nead's *discourse analysis* mitigates the issues I have outlined with other approaches. It helps to limit the reliance on the 'brilliance' of the individual analyst, which is one of Moeran's key criticisms of semiotics being applied to advertising. The extent of a researcher's knowledge can sometimes hinder analysis such as in the creation of categories for coding (cf Hogan, 2005) or by not being aware of the stimulus for an image. This approach mitigates this, however, by incorporating a variety of critiques into one's analysis and thus resulting in a more comprehensive understanding of the meaning of the depictions.

A critical engagement with this archive thus deepens the analysis of advertising outputs, as these materials include a variety of details about campaigns, about the state of the industry and about the historical context of the production of the advertisements. An example of this can be seen in a 1980s Asahi Beer advertisement which featured a

Caucasian female model in an evening dress pinching the nipple of another model as if picking up a snack (the Japanese word for snack (*otsumami*) derives from the verb to pinch (*tsumamu*)). A textual analysis might conclude that it uses “Western” models rather than Japanese to depict same-sex sexuality in service of heterosexual men. Reading this in conjunction with the industry archives, however, reveals a more complex set of meanings. A *CM NOW* article (1985d, 79) includes various additional details, such as the name of the 16<sup>th</sup> century French painting which inspired this depiction, *Gabrielle D’Estrees et une de ses soeurs* (1594). This creates a picture of an advertising industry which utilised a range of influences and which informed interested parties of these influences. It also reveals how those involved in the industry had some degree of agency; the models refused to be depicted naked in the same way that the mistress of King Henry IV of France, Gabrielle D’Estrees, and her sister were in the original painting (Anon, 1594). It also changes the act of pinching in the advertisement from one of apparent prurient interest and an attempt to use sex to sell to questions about opposition to women’s roles in positions of (medieval) power and the recycling of such images in pursuit of corporate aims. These magazines openly discussed the creators’ motivations and thus allow researchers additional insight that they might not otherwise be able to access.

In many cases, professional practitioners writing on the process of the campaign discussed precisely what elements they wished to include, what influenced or motivated their creation and often explained, clearly and precisely, the reasons for their choices. As will be seen, this included consideration of gendered appeals, targeted demographics, effectiveness of campaigns, and responses to criticism. These comments can then be

critically interrogated, analysed and deconstructed which leaves less room for unnecessary speculation concerning the motivation of the creators as may be present in some other works (cf Creighton, 1997, 246). This does not mean, of course, that these sources should be treated uncritically. Writers are often implicated within the industry, had vested interests and were equally free to dissemble concerning these influences, but it does mean that we can interrogate these images more fully, armed with a proper understanding of the intended meanings.

This study covers the period 1950 - 1996. While this limits our analysis to the postwar, it must be noted that continuities exist with the interwar and war-years. Beer was intimately involved with imperial expansion (Alexander, 2013, 130-131) and many of the features and characteristics that came to define the advertising industry in the postwar period began in the interwar years. The advertising industry operated on behalf of the state during this period (Kushner, 2006) and many of those involved in the imperial project would go on to work in the advertising industry (I draw attention to the links made between advertising executives and others in the war years in Chapter five). The specific issues of imperialism and modernity which were dominant throughout the interwar years mean that advertisements from this period require particular attention in their own right with due diligence paid to discussions of these depictions. I have tried, where possible, to identify points where critics have failed to reference or simply avoided discussing these depictions in their writings but it is not entirely plausible to highlight all of these exclusions. Militarism was openly discussed by some critics, as I show later on, but it was not always in terms of pre-1945 advertising campaigns. This reflects a broader pattern in



postwar Japan whereby Japan's wartime experience was ignored in favour of narratives of progress and economic development (Gluck, 1991).

One additional reason why there is a reluctance to discuss these earlier campaigns may be because beer itself was not the same product in the postwar as the interwar. Beer became widespread in the postwar due to greater disposable income, changes in its taste due to rationing, and a growth of demand arising from its supply to households and the military during the war (Osaki, 2007, 42; Alexander, 2013, 143). This demand had not been present in the interwar period when beer was mainly the preserve of the elites and not necessarily available throughout Japan: rural areas were particularly underserved, for example (Osaki, 2007, 52; Alexander, 2013, 78, 120). It is therefore not always valid to discuss beer advertisements from these two periods in the same way given that the product was consumed and viewed very differently.

This research relied on work in partial archives and in incomplete or not-fully-catalogued published materials. In some cases, this relied on serendipity, in others it was possible because of the careful indexing of certain works - the *ADMT* library for instance has fully indexed its visual (AV) sources, while articles remain to be completed. There are almost no digital records of individual articles in *Brain*, and so this required manual investigation of each issue. Not all references to these works then are necessarily available or discoverable - some are simply lost to history. Furthermore, the discourse is ever-growing as more people publish or more materials are discovered. Discussions of advertisements on social media such as *Youtube* are one viable and interesting direction which remains to be

explored. Others include other products and time periods. This research, then, is a necessary first step in using this approach.

### Summary

Nead notes that 'discourses are produced by historical agents with varying degrees and sources of power and correspondingly variable levels of effect' (1988, 4). This can also be seen in postwar Japan with a huge range of authors and other actors contributing to the production of advertising discourse. This production was sometimes unintentional in its effects, occasionally serving to undermine the representations themselves, as will be discussed below. These combine with critiques of the campaigns to produce moments of contestation and fracture which result in a discourse that is not necessarily contiguous. These contested moments can be traced to the personal backgrounds and political leanings of critics, to the medium in which they are writing, or their temporal or spatial proximity to the campaign.

One single iteration of a campaign, meanwhile, is often the result of various interactions between the clients and the advertising agency, between members of that advertising agency team, and between the creative team - the director, the film crew, the actors and the advertising agency (See Moeran (1996) for more on this process). The interpretation of the campaign is also subject to an equally complicated process with various people involved in its creation alongside those in the industry, some of whom may be acquainted with the creators. These relationships are evident in their recollections or interpretations while also being discussed by critics and commentators in the popular press. The approach adopted here allows us to see these varying and competing opinions and perspectives on

these campaigns and to also interrogate the motivations and influences which inform their understandings of masculinity and femininity. Discourse, then, works by providing access to the disjunctures and fractures of meaning. While a number of studies see advertisements as offering up idealised and idealising images (Belk and Pollay, 1985; Richins, 1991; Kilbourne, 1994; Elliott and Elliott, 2005), the examination of critics' writings shows that aspects of the images (and the text which fixed the image's meaning) were both challenged and praised.

To summarise the methodological framework used, advertising, with its conventions and particular ways of representing individuals through idealised and typified forms, is a discourse, shaped by industry, professional and community concerns. By conceptualising advertising in this wider frame, we can approach the question of how femininity and masculinity were represented to the public at large through campaigns, within professional journals, and within other sectors, who, in discussing these campaigns, became part of the discourse. The concept of discourse also allows for resistance. I argue that the use of gendered concepts through the collaborative efforts of the advertising and beer industries was not simply a rhetorical device, accepted as is, but rather, contested and negotiated both within trade publications and by other sectors of the media.

Discourse as a theoretical framework allows us to analyse advertising campaigns in context, to understand not only what was seen, but why it was seen, and how it was seen within these industries. This allows for a move from the narration of advertisement content towards a deeper analysis of advertising itself. Advertisements are neither constructed nor seen in isolation and through a broader contextualisation of these

advertisements within the social, industrial and cultural contexts in which they were produced and criticised, we can approach an understanding of what femininity and masculinity meant during this time.

## Structure, Discourse and the Beer Industry

### [Five Themes: Bodies, Sport, Families, Stars, Space](#)

Finally, there is the issue of how this work has been structured. In this work, I use a thematic structure to describe the evolving thoughts and understandings of commentators on gender in beer advertising. I have chosen five themes – sport, the body, the family, national myths and icons, and space – which appeared in advertising campaigns throughout this postwar period to use as organising principles for each chapter. These themes were discussed and highlighted by creators, critics, and commentators writing both contemporaneously and retrospectively. Rather than a strictly chronological approach, I examine how different commentators approach similar themes and similar stimuli across different time periods.

In each chapter below, I highlight a particular campaign that aroused critics to comment on a theme. I then broaden out from this initial campaign to explore the wider discourse of the advertising industry, comparing critics' discussions to each other and then examining how these themes recur in other advertisements. This provides a critical analysis of what are often perceived to be transhistorical and unchanging views on gender, unpacking how discourses shift and evolve in relation to changing social and cultural factors. In this sense, I am not necessarily using a chronological approach, but am

instead guided to examine how different commentators approach similar themes, and similar stimuli, from across different time periods

In each chapter, I therefore examine contemporaneous understandings of gender depictions within advertising campaigns and compare this to interpretations of commentators situated in later periods and the reminiscences of those involved in the creation of the campaigns, written at a much greater distance from their genesis. These various interpretations and explanations of campaigns offer compelling and competing versions of what masculinity and femininity are understood to be, what they “should” entail, and how critics see these changes. For this analysis to be effective, I have situated these campaigns in relation to their competitors and to their antecedents. It is only in reference to both coeval and past campaigns that we can understand the choices of the creatives and the critiques of critics, both of which were often made in light of campaigns that may have featured very different themes.

An example of this is Sapporo Beer’s 1970 *Otoko wa damatte...* (Men are silent) campaign featuring the actor Mifune Toshirō (discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six). For now, it is sufficient to note that the campaign was regularly discussed by academic and industry commentators due to its themes of the importance of silence, travel, and stoicism to masculinity. Very different masculinities presented by the rival brands Kirin and Asahi, however, also featured in critical commentary but were ignored in equal measure.

Examining these campaigns is necessary because they alter our understanding of the Mifune campaign’s status from a representative depiction to an outlier. The overwhelmingly positive attitude of current popular, industry and academic discussions of

the Mifune campaign stand in stark contrast to the critical commentary at the time of its production. It is these differences in interpretation of the same image which therefore makes a semi-chronological thematic analysis for these chapters the most appropriate. The connection between masculinity and sport, the use of the body, representations of the family, and the use and access to space meanwhile all featured as topics of discussion for critics. I will briefly outline these themes here before situating them within the postwar.

In the immediate postwar period, there was a reliance on sponsoring promotional events with sport and music figures used for advertisements. Sport was understood as masculine and has relentlessly continued to be so. In the first chapter, I use the recollections of former Asahi staff as an entry point from which to explore the various criticisms of depictions of masculinity and femininity through these twin competing activities of music and sport. I follow this with an examination of how understandings of the body evolved from a celebratory and critical focus on men's bodies to a voyeuristic examination of the bodies of women and the increasingly widespread acceptance that existence in public spaces exposed women to observation and assault.

The development of new family models in the postwar was also recognised and used within advertising campaigns. I explore this in my third chapter on the family, which includes critical discussions of patriarchal structures, the excising of women's consumption patterns and presence from family dynamics in both depiction and discussion, the promotion of beer to housewives and the infantilisation of women. In chapter four, I deviate from this pattern slightly by focusing my attention on one

campaign, namely the 1970 Mifune campaign mentioned above. This campaign was the focus of much commentary because of its richly layered depiction of masculinity and its deployment of national myths and icons, while these commentaries also encapsulate many of the themes of the other chapters.

The location where beer consumption takes place has been one of the most important elements, defining and restraining how people could imbibe. In the final chapter, I explore the discussions of who had the right to access certain spaces for the purposes of consuming beer. For many commentators, gender determined who could access public and semi-public spaces; it restricted some individuals while others were permitted to consume freely and in volume. I focus on critical discussions of women's public consumption in spaces which they believed had been traditionally marked for men.

In order to explain my focus on these five themes and why they were so important, it is first necessary to situate them within an overview of the beer industry itself. I shall briefly trace out and synthesise developments within the beer industry and trends within beer advertising depictions.

#### [The "Ballad of Kirin and Dainippon": Dates, Defining Events, and Evolution of the Discourse](#)

The story of the Japanese beer industry in the postwar period is one of recovery from wartime loss and government control to success and ever-increasing consumption thanks to the rising incomes that accompanied a growing economy (Takayama, 1999, 75; Alexander, 2013, 142–147, 159, 180). Competition within the postwar beer industry, meanwhile, was characterised by a series of “wars”, which began with the *Lager War* (won by Kirin) followed by the *Draft Wars* (1977), the *Container Wars* (1980-1985)

(Nakada, 1988, 22) and the *Dry Wars* (1987-1994). It was, however, the 1949 separation of Dainippon Beer into Nippon Beer (renamed Sapporo Beer in 1964) (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 461) and Asahi Beer which defined the subsequent structure of the industry and market, and thus also determined the nature of the products and campaigns adopted. Influenced by the Anti-Monopoly Law (*Dokusen Kinshihō*) (Alexander, 2013, 157; Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 342), the separation effectively handicapped the two nascent companies (Ishiyama, 1987, 28) leaving them as local brands. Kirin Beer, meanwhile, was in a position of strength as a nationwide brand with its factories and distribution across Japan intact, gaining the majority of the market share which it then maintained for most of the postwar period. Any analysis of the advertisements from this period on must bear this event in mind given this defining role. This study therefore begins in 1950, the year following this break up of Dainippon (1949) into two companies, Asahi and Nippon (Sapporo).

This period was a time of significant change for Japanese society with consumers using newly and more widely available commodities in different and new ways due to rapid increases in income. The beer and advertising industries also matured during this period, taking on many of the forms they maintain today. The number of advertising companies had already increased from two in 1944 to thirty-seven in 1947 (Yamaki, 1992, 181) while advertising expenditure tripled between 1950 and 1954 due to the expansion of supermarkets (Yamaki, 1992, 196) and department stores which depended on advertising to 'create images and desires' for brand differentiation (Francks, 2009, 162). These developments led the advertising historian Yamaki Toshio to argue that the age of advertisements had finally come (1992, 179). However, the industry itself was still



embryonic at this stage with few fora for discussion. It was not until the introduction of marketing concepts around 1955 that advertising was recognised as a speciality (Takayama, 1999, 65) with Asahi Beer, for instance, shifting their operations from in-house to advertising agencies (Takayama, 1999, 101). This recognition along with the increase in advertising activity from the 1950s led to a growth in books, articles (Shimamura and Ishizaki, 1997, 239–241) and advertising publications such as *Sendenkaigi* (Publicity Council) (1954), *Māketingu to Kōkoku* (Marketing and Advertisements) (1956) and *Brain* (1961). Several of these were heavily dependent on American understandings of marketing with *Brain*, for example, featuring numerous translated *Advertising Age* articles (Takayama, 1999, 66). Yet while this increased activity confirmed the establishment of advertising as an industry and an institution which was able to define public tastes, this period was marked by an attitude of trial and error with many of the products, methods, and ideas experimental in nature, as numerous members of the Asahi Beer publicity team have attested (Takayama, 1999, *passim*).

For Asahi and Nippon (Sapporo), this experimentation was mainly due to the desire to increase their brand recognition following their split from Dainippon. Without theoretical understandings of marketing or access to the advanced research methods which later became commonplace, however, these beer advertisers' initial advertising campaigns mainly focused on informing consumers of the new brand, factories, or trademarks. It was this period when Asahi and Nippon needed to establish their brands nationally rather than just in the regional areas in which they were popular (Nakada, 1988, 58) and many initial advertisements informed consumers of the brewery, brand, and product connection (see

Images 1-4).

Image 1: Asahi Beer - Advertising the new factories (1950)

(Asahi Beer, 1950a)

Image 2: Nippon Beer - Advertising the new product (1950)

(Nippon Beer, 1950)

Image 3: Asahi Beer - Advertising the new logo (1950)

(Asahi Beer, 1951b)

Image 4: Nippon Beer - Advertising the new building and brand (1951)

(Nippon Beer, 1951b)

Innovative, and experimental, methods and product including canned beer, gift cards, and home kegs (Keizaikai KK, 1990, 81; Sapporo Biru KK, 1996, 471) were developed by Asahi and Nippon, however these arguably hindered their competitiveness against Kirin (Takayama, 1999, 86; Mizukawa, 2002, 33), which was increasing its market share at this time (See the appendix for a chart of each company's attempts to halt their declining share).

Against this spirit of experimentation that characterised the early part of this period, beer marketers undertook a wide array of promotional activities to raise brand awareness and to publicise the companies' products which included sponsorship of events such as baseball games and music concerts, and the organisation of beer competitions. These activities were characterised by a dual function, associating particular brands with certain types of entertainment while at the same time providing the companies with material in the form of visual images which could then be re-used in print advertisements. These advertisements thus informed other consumers about events which had taken place, and

the potential of future ones while raising brand awareness - this was essential for Asahi and Nippon (Sapporo) in the aftermath of the dissolution of Dainippon. The discussions of these campaigns relied on understandings of how music and sport have been categorised as gendered and marked categories. They are a valuable vantage point to see how linkages between masculinity and sport are constructed, formed, and maintained and as a baseline for later discussions of sport-themed beer advertisements.

The third element of these promotional activities, the Beer King competition (*bīru no ōsama*) used men's bodies to promote heavy consumption in contrast to those of women. Highly gendered in its restriction to men only and to its nomination of the winner of various feats of consumption as a 'King', this 1950s competition was designed to discover, and subsequently use within advertisements, an exemplar of Japanese masculinity. In chapter four, I explore these themes by contextualising this campaign in relation to an equivalent, contemporaneous, one for women, the Beer Queen, which has been largely ignored and which demonstrates how body-centric perspectives and gendered bias were prominent in Japanese media. The differences in how critics wrote about these two competitions and how they were utilised in and as advertisements reveal how beer consumption and bodily abilities were perceived differently for male and female bodies. By the 1960s, Kirin's dominance was established and both Sapporo (1963) and Asahi sought to keep up by releasing a range of products. The entry of *Suntory* into the market at this time, meanwhile, served to further undermine the two trailing companies' market share while providing a raft of intriguing advertisements. This period included shifts in the depictions of the family and moves from more simplistic advertisements featuring only a

(male) hand grasping a beer or stylised illustrations of consumers towards more sophisticated modes of representation. Illustrated characters, meanwhile, evolved into more realistic depictions of the ideal consumer, mainly male and white-collar to represent the new norm of the salarymen, often set against the backdrop of the family which this dutiful office worker was expected to have. Following Kirin's success targeting domestic consumption, however, companies quickly realised that they also needed to target the actual purchasers of the beer, housewives. Despite the heavily gendered nature of these depictions, they were not typically discussed in gendered terms. Questions of why certain performers, and their qualities, were chosen over others, or why models were depicted in a certain way, were often left unaddressed. Despite this lack of overt discussion of gender, commentators' concern with other elements are themselves evidence of how gender and gendered representations were understood at this time. The decision to not talk about various issues associated with these depictions is significant because it fits in with a later, similar, trend of commentators neglecting to discuss or critically analyse depictions of the family.

By 1970, the headlong rush that had defined the high-growth period of the Japanese economy was undergoing serious reflection. A move amongst consumers away from materialism was reflected in more sentimental "feeling" advertisements alongside a parallel use of big-name stars including American actors like Charles Bronson (*The Dirty Dozen* (1967)), who appeared in advertisements for *Mandom* (Kondō and Kaji, 1975, 188). Sapporo attempted to compete with Kirin's continuing dominance by employing arguably Japan's biggest star, the actor, Mifune Toshirō. Designed to masculinise their brand and

company, Sapporo depicted Mifune in a series of locations and milieux that were particularly dense in meaning with critics viewing this representation as the embodiment of Japanese masculinity. I explore this campaign, those of Sapporo's competitors, and a number of themes which also appeared in later campaigns, such as hegemonic masculinity, the influence of star power on definitions of masculinity, and constrictions on men, in chapter six. Equally important to understanding discussions of this campaign is critics' use of Mifune's referent system (Williamson, 2005, 19) and subsequent ignorance of actual actions within the advertisement. Critics and commentators took similar approaches and methods to later campaigns with both Gene Hackman and Ogata Ken benefitting from this tendency while other stars without such a body of work did not. The contestation of this campaign's depiction of masculinity, meanwhile, made it not only an extremely intriguing example to examine but perhaps the most invaluable campaign for the debates it provoked.

The Mifune campaign's (1970 – 1973) final year coincided with the Oil Shock which impacted on Japan's economy and society in several ways (Hein, 1993, 110–115). For the advertising industry, the Oil Shock was a turning point with changes in values affecting how consumers viewed products they had previously consumed freely. The expression of, and desire for, different life values came to be more influential (Mizukawa, 2002, 69) with *ikigai* (one's purpose in life) now at the forefront of consumers' concerns. This reflected a move away from materialism (*monobanare*) to a belief in individualism with an emphasis on following one's own style (Sakurai, 1980, 44–46). This partly led to calls for companies to act in a more responsible manner, which paralleled a demand for diversified products

and food. Kirin was able to weather the short-term effects of the Oil Shock because they had decided on a policy of restraint (*jishuku*) due to fears that its dominance was increasing the risk of separation or dissolution under the anti-monopoly law. Their rivals were not as well positioned but eventually responded to the 1970s trends of low growth and decreased confidence in hitherto trusted brands by providing products that were seen as more suitable to consumers' needs, such as draft beer. The advertising for draft beer was led by Asahi who focused on publicising its utility and convenience for socialising. Advertisements depicted draft as a portable beer hall, consumed more easily in diverse ways by groups of friends or married couples.

Part of Kirin's restraint policy, meanwhile, included relying once more on illustrations instead of big-name stars. Its series of advertisements highlighting the correct handling procedures for beer was aimed at domestic purchasers, namely women. This series, and the Asahi draft beer campaigns noted briefly above, were discussed by commentators in terms of public space and the right of women to access it freely. Perhaps the most prominent of these discussions was the perceived right of men to consume women's bodies, either visually or through more direct means in these spaces. Women's access to the public sphere was trivialised both in advertisements themselves and in the surrounding discourse which I situate amongst wider understanding in chapter seven. I relate these discussions to critics' other comments on women's rights and ability to access such spaces, arguing that advertising may have appeared out of step on these issues with a changing society, but that this was not the case.

The *Draft Wars* were accompanied by increases in the style and depictions of advertising

performers and by a broadening of the advertising discourse. By this point, advertisers were more skilful than during the early post-war years with advertisements increasingly longer and complex, able to fill their few seconds with greater drama and narrative than had previously been the case. Ultimately, these increasingly sophisticated depictions provided a stimulus for commentators. This was partly aided by critics' acknowledgement of the impact of television with the quarter-century of its initial appearance in Japan marked by the publication of a slew of books and articles. An edited collection by Yamakawa Hiroji (1980), for instance, is notable for appearing to recognise the existence of this advertising discourse. Noting that advertisements had been widely discussed in newspapers, magazines, and other media, Yamakawa collated a number of these into a two-volume series called *CM Graffiti (1980)*. This collection provides insight into a wide variety of perspectives with Yamakawa's inclusion of certain articles over others helping to define a canon of advertising imagery and a historical archive for future researchers to draw on. It also confirmed that television advertisements in particular played an integral role in people's lives and daily habits, arousing discussion.

This period also saw an increase in the diversity of performers within advertisements with the greater number of non-Japanese performers' roles and functions discussed by academics. Building on this existing work with reference to specific beer advertisements, I suggest that the presence of these foreigners served to situate and reinforce a Japanese identity, positioning certain actions and practices as indigenous while others were exotic and foreign. Industry analyses did not, on the whole, discuss this foreign presence in gender terms though there was an application of Japanese aesthetic terms, such as the



*bijin* (a beautiful person, usually women), to western female performers. These discussions revealed how beauty standards were created and constructed with bodily attributes, age, and marital and celebrity status central to these categorisations for foreign models. In these understandings, it was the bodies of these performers that was central to their depiction. I explore these discussions within chapter four, the body, and situate it in relation to the bodies of the Japanese amateur consumers of the *Beer King* and *Queen* competitions.

Efforts to challenge Kirin's market share by promoting draft beer were not successful for the three trailing companies but it had taught them that there was an audience for something different. Asahi's *Super Dry* (1987), the world's first dry beer, filled this need and ultimately toppled Kirin from top spot. Launched in March 1987, Asahi's new lighter, less bitter taste was popular among consumers, especially the younger generation (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 587). Taken up with alacrity, it sold some 130 million cases (Kigyō to kōkoku, 1987a, 19, 1988b, 24; Kirin Bīru KK, 1999a, 209) and irrevocably altered the structure of the industry with its increasing share coming at the expense of the other three companies (Nakada, 1988, 2–4; Kirin Bīru KK, 1999a, 209). Its effect was so wide-ranging and surprising because Kirin's market share of around 60% (from 1980 to 1985) had seemed unassailable (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 587). Kirin itself traces the decline of its position to this beer, which combined with Suntory's *100% Malt's* beer to undermine consumer preferences for lager (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999a, 209).

Unable to compete through dry beer, the beer companies released a raft of new products to challenge *Asahi's* growing dominance. This product diversification led to accompanying

increases in advertising campaigns and resulted in each company dominating a specific beer product - Suntory was known for its (100%) *Malt's (morutsu)*, Kirin for *Ichiban Shibori* (a premium beer), and Sapporo for Draft while Asahi retained dominance of the dry market (Mizukawa, 2002, 100). This greater number of differentiated products offered beer consumers real choice and defined the market during this time. Indeed, this was part of a general trend of increased, and more complex, choices for consumers (Nakada, 1988, 8; Mizukawa, 2002, 72; Francks, 2009, 193). This was, in turn, exacerbated by advertising imbuing these products with greater meaning with specific performers designed to appeal to specifically segmented sectors. Late 1980s campaigns included separate versions to appeal multi-generationally or across regions or classes, specifically targeting different media to not only appeal to variegated segments but also to deliver different messages regarding the product. This was a significant point of difference from the earlier periods covered in this thesis.

Asahi's increased marketing budget to accompany the release of *Super Dry* led to increases by the other companies and an intensification in advertising campaigns (Mizukawa, 2002, 98). Seen as a sign of the industry's revitalisation (Kigyō to kōkoku, 1988b, 24), the fierceness of these activities came under greater scrutiny by the media which dubbed them the *Dry Wars* (Kigyō to kōkoku, 1988a, 38; Nakada, 1988, 2–4; Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 588–590). The increased diversification of consumer tastes which contributed to the popularity of *Super Dry* led to more products (there were now 7.56 new products per year as opposed to the period from 1964-1984 which saw .76 new beers each year (Craig, 1996, 305)) and to more "wars" such as the *Taste Wars (Mikaku sensō)*

and *the Taste Diversification Wars (Aji no takakuka sensō)* (Mizukawa, 2002, 145). At times, the companies' increase in products actually impacted on their own line of products as was the case with Suntory (Kigyō to kōkoku, 1987b, 19) indicating how competitive the industry had become.

These wars highlighted the beer companies' efforts to respond to changing consumer preferences by emphasising taste while this heightened media scrutiny meant that advertising campaigns were now major topics of discussion with increases in market share and shipping followed closely in the newspapers as major news both for the economy and for society (Nakada, 1988, 5–8; Kirin Bīru KK, 1999a, 210; Yamada, 1999, 14). This thus led to a diversification and intensification of the advertising discourse.

One of the most prolific contributors to Japanese advertising discourse was Amano Yūkichi, whose editorship of the journal *Kōkoku Hihyō* (advertising critic(que)) provided him with authority and knowledge to comment on the various campaigns in his witty and trenchant weekly Asahi Shinbun column, *CM Uocchingu* (Commercial Watching) (1984 - 1990) (1994). His willingness to respond to readers' questions and queries concerning his opinions of commercials indicates the extent to which readers were expected to engage with these debates and showed how discussable advertisements had become by the 1980s.

The increased number of articles and analyses after the introduction of *Super Dry* thus broadened the discourse and redefined what was advertising canon for a broader swathe of the public. Increased numbers of advertising-related magazines, meanwhile, were also available for sale to the general public. Given this growth in the increase in popular and

industry discussions of advertising, it is surprising that scholars of the beer industry such as Alexander and Mizukawa fail to devote much attention to the campaigns of this period, with Alexander making just the briefest of dismissive references to Harrison Ford's 1994 advertising campaign for Kirin as "campy" (2013, 228). We may question whether "campy" can be applied as an adequate description in the case of Japan, and what exactly is meant by this phrasing given its frequent use to describe certain gestures and ways of speaking associated with "effeminate" men, but regardless, the relative lack of attention by scholars is even more surprising once advertising expenditure from this period is examined. Excluding Suntory, the three beer companies' advertising expenditure in 1988 increased some 38% on the previous year reaching 72.5 billion yen (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 590; Kirin Bīru KK, 1999a, 210–211; Mizukawa, 2002, 99) providing a massive stimulus to the advertising industry (Kigyō to kōkoku, 1988a, 41). This increase in advertising expenditures and in the diversity of advertisements (Kigyō to kōkoku, 1987a, 30) meant that advertising campaigns were the subject of a growing number of monthly and weekly magazine articles examining the advertisers' representative choices in greater depth. As the magazine *Ekonomisuto* (Economist) highlighted, beer advertisements were now so prevalent on television that viewers saw one regardless of the (commercial) channel watched (Ekonomisuto, 1990).

The increased media scrutiny of these advertisements fulfilled a desire to know more about celebrities and how they fit into this advertising world. Articles provided readers with information about the process of making advertisements and about the activities of the celebrities involved but there were significant differences in the way that female and

male stars were written about. There was a growing focus on the standardisation and categorisation of women, unparalleled by anything similar for men. The arrival of women in swimsuits to advertise beer, known as Campaign Girls, was also accompanied by a growth in the attention paid to bodies and physical measurements. I explore this focus in the chapter on the body, situating this discussion in light of how the bodies of the earlier Beer Kings had been described.

While the 1980s were marked by women appearing in greater numbers in swimsuits to promote beer through the visual consumption of their bodies, this was accompanied by a greater awareness of the existence of and the need to appeal to women as consumers of beer. The passing of the *Equal Employment Opportunities Law* (1986) (EEOC) attested to the demands of women for equal treatment and advertisers acknowledged the increase in women working and their adoption of similar drinking practices to men by placing them at the centre of advertisements and often in arenas that had previously been seen as exclusive to men. I examine this trend in chapter three on sport, situating this recognition of the broad-based appeal of baseball in comparison to earlier understandings of sport as masculine and masculinising. While the growing use of performers who transcended class, status, and gender appeals in this period initially involved the recognition that older, heavy drinking men were not as valuable to beer companies as first thought, this was reversed for some later advertising campaigns, which again targeted older men, notably in Suntory's *Malt's* advertisements. Advertising discourse at this time reflected universalist understandings of hegemonic masculinity which also provide insight into the formation and creation of masculine models, notably the importance of sport and failure to men at a

time of greater representation and visibility by women. Older male models continued to have some utility within advertisers' understandings despite the popularity of *Super Dry* amongst a younger demographic. The discussion of these performers is useful for understanding how masculinity is related to age and to screen image.

This thesis ends in 1996 shortly after the advent of Suntory *Malt's Otoko nara...* campaign and the arrival of *Happoshū* (1994) (beer-like drinks) (Alexander, 2013, 234) onto the market in greater and greater numbers, eating into the share of "proper" beers. This increased number of products saw an even greater increase in the number of models used and is therefore an appropriate end-point before this change in the beer industry truly took hold. It also marks the point just before *Super Dry* surpassed *lager* as the top brand; Asahi's share reached 37.9% against Kirin's 36.8% in 1997 (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999a, 331; Mizukawa, 2002, 128). Choosing this end-point means that only the early years of the "lost decade" are included, when the stability of both the Japanese economy and Japanese masculinity began to come under threat. These changes and the increasing concerns with masculinity deserve their own study which can incorporate these issues into any analysis. Having discussed the postwar developments within the beer industry and its promotional activities, it is to another period of transition and change that we look at now with the early postwar period a time when advertisers sought to use sport and music to promote the newly popular beer to new audiences.

## Chapter 3: If you're a man, it's Mozart – Gendering Sport and Music in the Asahi Beer Concerts and Suntory *Otoko nara...* Campaigns

For Japanese brewers, the 1950s were a period of experimentation and newfound freedom. Once 'a brandless, revenue-generating arm of Japan's wartime command economy' (Alexander, 2013, 2), the beer industry was born anew following the 1949 split of *Dainippon Beer* with the three resultant companies free to reestablish unique and independent corporate identities and to compete against each other once more. The effects of the split were decisive, however, contributing to the market share, techniques, consumption patterns and ways of operating that defined the beer industry and their promotional efforts for the next 38 years until the launch of *Asahi's* Super Dry. It meant that Asahi and Nippon had to exert a great deal of effort in informing consumers of their new names and brands. This resulted in a number of innovative advertising activities. Lack of knowledge and experience of the men working for the beer companies in the marketing sections meant they were somewhat unaware of latest trends and techniques. Instead, these men relied on the repertoire they had built up while working for the state during the war, turning to trusted methods of state-sponsored propaganda to involve general consumers within their publicity efforts. This happened most notably in the case of the Beer King, a country-wide competition. Innovation occurred, however, through sponsorship of various events to help publicise their new names and products, specifically sport for Nippon (Sapporo) and Music for Asahi. The difference in how

these events were perceived reveal understandings of sport's ties to masculinity and how established and integrated this viewpoint was within advertising discourse.

In this chapter, I explore perceptions of sport as masculine and music as feminine by tracing their historical antecedents and situating them in the historical context of their introduction and use in Japan amongst this development. I then compare this understanding to later interpretations of sport's broad-based appeal which was used to depict and attract female performers and consumers beyond the stereotypical demographic of heavy-drinking middle-aged men. The understandings of these campaigns, and the subsequent shift away from this representation back to the former "traditional" demographic, reveals how companies sought to keep up with wider societal trends before acceding to the requirements of the market.

#### [Sponsoring Events: Gendering Beer Through Entertainment](#)

In 1954, Asahi Beer, attempting to increase their brand recognition beyond their traditional western Japan base and establish themselves nationwide, sponsored a series of classical music concerts which ran until 1973. These concerts served a number of functions, not least the rehabilitation of public spaces damaged during the war and its aftermath. Locating the first concert, for example, in Tokyo's Hibiya Park meant Asahi's sponsorship financed much needed repairs to lanterns and benches damaged during its recent use by American Occupation forces stationed there (Takayama, 1999, 54-56). It also demonstrates the growing integration and corporate use of the media into daily life with radio announcements informing attendees of potentially inclement weather which could affect the running of the concert (Takayama, 1999, 75-79, 240)



Asahi's attempt to connect its brand image to classical music was not a direct attempt to transfer assumed qualities of classical music, such as elegance or high-status, to beer, however, but rather a mutually beneficial arrangement with each helping increase the other's mass appeal. A number of slogans highlighted this link, for instance, with 'The best music for your ears; the best beer for your throat' the most notable (Takayama, 1999, 84–86) while staff who worked on these activities claim that these concerts helped to popularise classical music in postwar Japan with the Viennese waltz considered a notably good fit with beer (*yoku atta*) (Takayama, 1999, 54, 76-79, 83–86) – though the reason why is left infuriatingly vague. As noted, beer had been a drink for the elite in the inter-war period, unaffordable for the vast majority, and it was only in the postwar that beer became a product with mass appeal (Kirin Bīru KK, 1984, 290; Ishiyama, 1987, 31). Classical music, meanwhile, like ballet or the tea ceremony, is difficult to define as either low or high culture in Japan because of its mass-appeal as a middle-class hobby (Martinez, 1998, 5), but at this point in time, according to Takenawa Kyō of the Asahi publicity team, it had not yet been taken up outside of the elite (Takayama, 1999, 85-86). This series of concerts was influential in altering this perception with subsidised tickets helping to popularise this genre and ensure its broad appeal, particularly amongst housewives and students (Takayama, 1999, 240) who would normally be priced out of such events. These events were useful for the company because they could subsequently use them as material for newspaper and poster advertisements. This raised awareness of past events and publicised future ones all while establishing the ties between these events and the companies. Sponsorship activities therefore played two roles: facilitating affordable access

to different entertainment events which helped to associate the companies with them; and serving as material for advertisements which thus persuaded newspaper readers who had not attended the event of this association which in turn reduced the need to search for new content. These promotional events were a means to increase the two companies' reputation following the 1949 separation by reaching broader audiences and, like many other social activities, were clearly gendered. In reflections on these events, the staff of Asahi's publicity department who had arranged and organised the music concerts recognised that their event was differentiated from Nippon (Sapporo) in gendered terms and that this difference had an adverse effect on Asahi's business. Significantly, discussion of this gendering process was not necessarily explicit at the time of the campaigns but instead appeared several years later at a point when Asahi were finally in the ascendancy. Saienji Shin, whose Asahi career included various management positions, discussed these events with other former Asahi executives in the *Unofficial History of the Asahi Publicity Section* (Takayama, 1999). Saienji noted a gendered divergence in the perception of these events: Asahi concerts were seen as feminine while Sapporo's sponsorship of baseball games was determined to be masculine. This was corroborated by Takayama Fusaji, the fourth head of the publicity section and editor of this work, who felt that this helped to entrench the image of Asahi Beer itself as feminine, (Takayama, 1999, 85) and subsequently helped to explain the decrease in their market share. These former executives discussed these events in this "Unofficial History" in a collective memory process with more apparently objective information that clarified their interpretations of these events collated at the rear of the book. These discussions took place in light of these

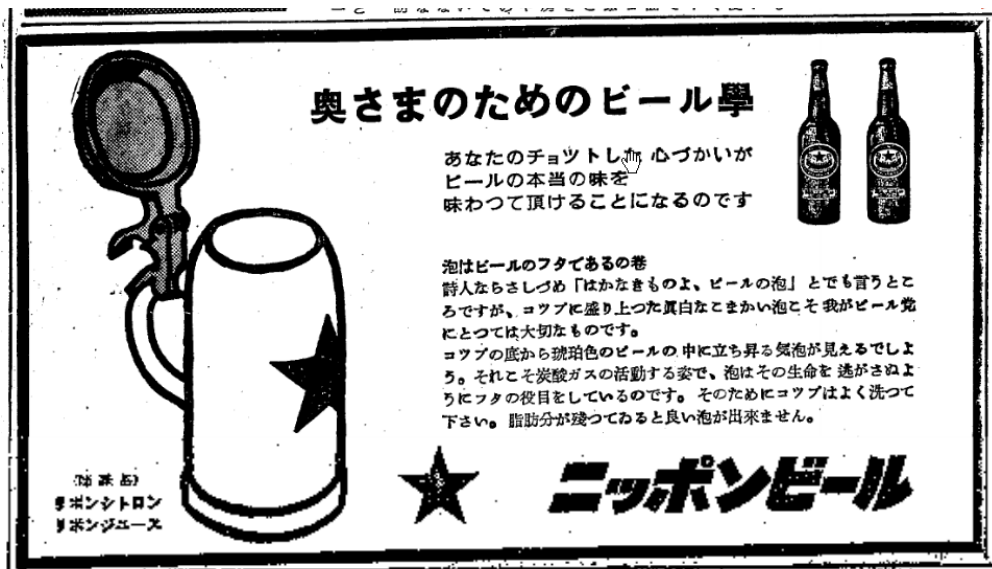
men's own failures to increase their market share, but also in light of how these failures contributed to the future (and current at time of publication) situation where Asahi was the market leader. It is clear from these discussions that the critique of these promotional events in this way was used to explain corporate failure from a position of now relative success. Despite the presentation of promotional activities in gendered terms, no explanation is given as to what conditions played a part in defining them as particularly gendered nor which elements specifically were unappealing to male consumers. Reducing a complex situation which had resulted in the decline of Asahi's share of the beer market to a gender binary was clearly useful for those within the company. Rather than recognising the part played by Asahi's focus on business consumption and their misidentification of Nippon Beer as their main competitor, this presented the issue as a marketing failure at a time when they were still developing their expertise in this field. Central to this understanding was the easy distinction of sport as masculine and music feminine; this view was not shared by all within the company, however, nor was it necessarily apparent in the actual events themselves.

In the same *Unofficial History*, Kawai Kōji, the second Asahi publicity section chief, notably dismissed this explanation of the difference in gender perception between these two promotional events as responsible for Asahi's declining market share. Kōji felt instead that it was mainly used internally to explain events which should be judged using more objective criteria (Takayama, 1999, 85). Nippon Beer (Sapporo), meanwhile, barely referenced their sponsorship of these sporting events or Asahi's music concerts in any way to explain *their* failures and successes. While choosing baseball was an astute move on

Sapporo's part as it had increased in popularity in the postwar, 'adroitly deployed by both the triumphal military occupier and the discredited occupied' to spread American values of democracy (Guthrie-Shimizu, 2012, 8–10), their corporate perspectives did not devote any attention to this divergence from Asahi. In their company history, *Sapporo Bīru: 120 nenshi* (*Sapporo Beer: A One-Hundred-Twenty Year History*), Sapporo briefly position their 1950s sponsorship of *Tokyo Big Six* (1996, 392–8), a collegiate baseball league featuring six Tokyo-based universities, Waseda, Keio, Meiji, Hōsei, Rikkyō, and Tokyo, alongside speed-skating, as the start of their sport sponsorship but assign it little to no significance in maintaining their slight lead over Asahi. Furthermore, this same league's efforts to attract women prior to 1945 with free admission tickets (Guthrie-Shimizu, 2012, 229-230) undermines the assertion that classical music's feminine image affected Asahi's market share. Indeed, Sapporo found little issue with sponsoring classical music concerts in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 803), although changes in demographics and consumers may have made this more feasible at this time. Furthermore, even at the time of these concerts, women were integral to beer consumption: They were both notable purchasers *and* consumers of beer with the postwar seeing an increase in their number consuming beer (Nakada, 1988, 12) while their role facilitating men's consumption grew in importance. Indeed, articles in the popular press testified to this growth in consumption. Actresses such as Michiko Ai (1930 - ), Izumi Kyōko (1937 - ) and Komiya Mitsue (1936 – 2014) all featured together freely discussing their drinking experiences, beliefs and habits, positioning some male drinking practices as problematic as they did so (Asahi Graph, 1957). Moreover, women were integral to home

consumption at this time: Housewives were recognised as the main purchasers of beer for home consumption by all three companies – as images 5–7 attest – while Kirin’s increase in market share was due to the growing importance of this sector (Nakada, 1988, 58; Ishiyama, 1987, 31–2). It was Asahi and Nippon’s lack of focus on home consumption which was actually responsible for decreases in market share but this was not as powerful an explanation as the wrong choice of event type.

Image 5: Nippon Beer - Information for the housewife on how to handle beer (1954)

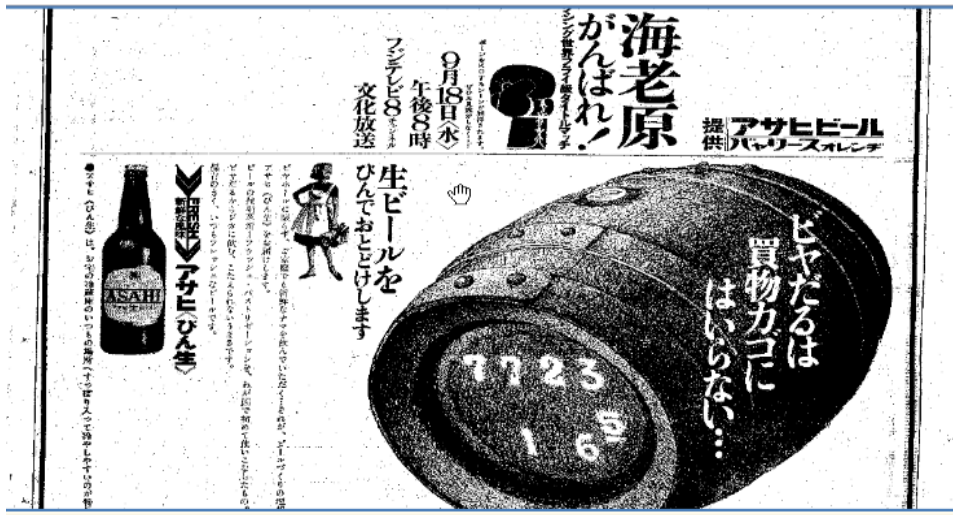


(Nippon Beer, 1954c)

These various factors, combined with the fact that Sapporo’s share also declined (though not at the same rate as Asahi’s) (Takayama, 1999, 298–299; Mizukawa, 2002, 25) (as can be seen in graph 9) indicates that the gendered nature of promotional activities is not necessarily sufficient on its own to explain complex market situations. This is further verified by the fact that Asahi sponsored a range of sporting events. The radio broadcast of the May 1953 flyweight title bouts featuring Shirai Ando was just one notable example

of Asahi sponsoring a “masculine” sport (Asahi Beer and Bireley’s Orange, 1953; Takayama, 1999, 42).

**Image 6: Asahi Beer - Appealing to the main purchasers, housewives (1963)**



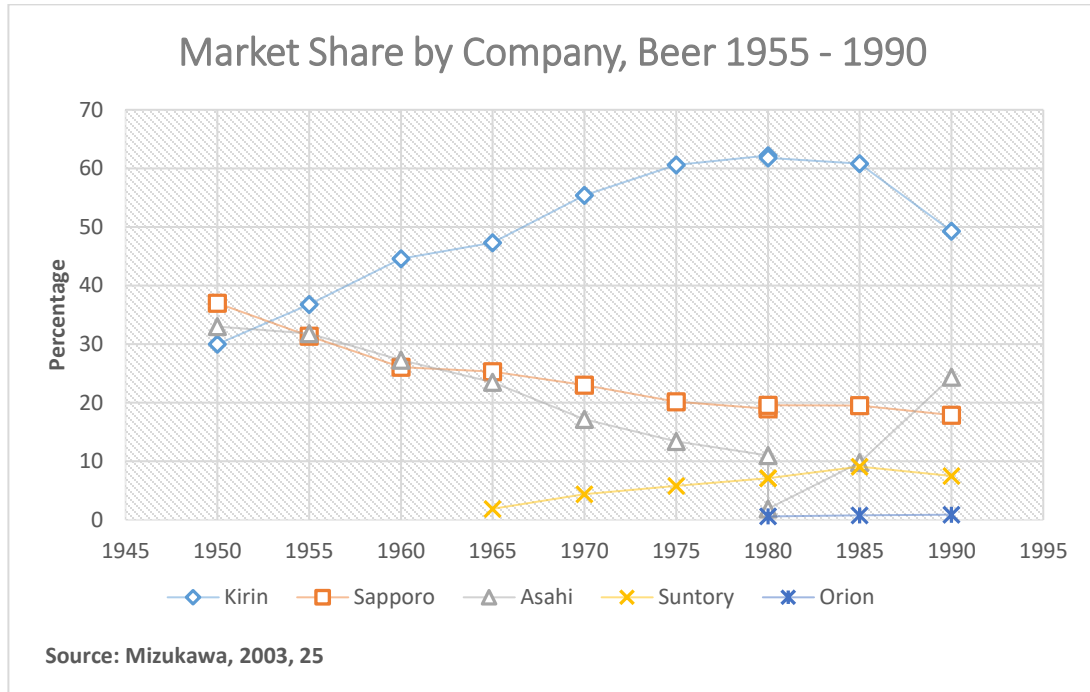
(Asahi Beer, 1963)

**Image 7: Kirin Beer - Shared practices through depiction of housewives’ purchasing (1961)**



(Kirin Beer, 1961)

**Graph 9: Market Share by Company, Beer 1955 - 1990**



(Mizukawa, 2002, 25)

The perception of these events therefore appears to be less significant than the Asahi staff argued in the 1990s. Yet although Kawai assigned the blame for Asahi's declining market share elsewhere, he does not necessarily dismiss the gendering which occurred. Baseball apparently remained masculine and music feminine. What is important here is how the perception used to explain these events retained sufficient power and influence to still be referenced some 45 years after the time in question. In assigning blame for the decline in share ratio to this feminised image of their product, we can understand how important the gendered image of beer was seen to be and how blame came to be assigned to marketing rather than the other business strategies and tactics then in place. This, in turn, points to the growing importance of advertising and marketing within the industry. Advertising was seen to be able to define, and gender, an image of a company and a

product. Beer could be feminised if it was marketed “incorrectly”, a problem at this time but something that came to be useful later for marketers.

The marketing of beer through an event seen as feminine resulted, according to the Asahi marketers of the time, in a gendering process which transferred undefined elements to the product itself. It is the difference in the depiction of beer which contributes to its image as masculine or feminine and thus an appropriate drink for men or women. Beer itself is thus not innately or intrinsically masculine then, but rather undergoes a process of layering of meaning through marketing which alters the perception of its use value.

This bifurcation of these two events is not unusual despite the number of similarities which would seem to belie such a description. Although both sport and music contain several shared elements – learned skills, performativity in semi-public spaces, subordination to (older) male authority, for instance -which would appear to preclude either being described in such binary ways, this is not always the case. Instead, sport and music are often situated by observers and critics at opposite ends of a gender binary, as the Asahi publicity staff did here, erasing any nuance in the process. While it could be argued that this was natural given the linking of sport with masculinity and music with femininity which occurs cross-culturally and cross-temporally, examining these associations critically shows how constructed this linkage is, and how music has equally been a site for the performance of one particular type of masculinity within Japan. Exploring these associations helps us to thus understand why these promotional events and their accompanying materials contributed to this perception and why this viewpoint was held in relation to these particular campaigns.



## Sport: The Crucible of Masculinity

Sport, both in terms of viewing and participation, has been historically linked with both masculinity and with alcohol consumption within Western thought (Heath, 1995b; Collins and Vamplew, 2002; Horne and Whannel, 2009; McKay, Emmison and Mikosza, 2009).

This linking of masculinity and sport is driven by normative understandings of gender that appear to be universal whereby men can perform and present their masculinity both through their achievements on the field and through the observation of, and interest in, such efforts by other men. The locations and sites of sporting events are arenas for the performance of this masculinity and provide a location where rites of passage to manhood can occur.

This process by which sport is used to create men, and through exclusion and separation, women, begins at an early stage. Sporting practices, outside of public entertainment and within education, are a locus by which girls and boys are differentiated and separated with any similarities subsumed or ignored (Messner, 2002, 1–26). This separation is based on an assumption of male superiority which is then perpetuated and unchallengeable (Crawley, Foley and Shehan, 2008, 132) precisely because of this separation, except in those rare cases where men and women may compete together.

The spaces reserved for the practice and viewing of sport, meanwhile, contribute to and support a parallel and complementary consumption of beer which is similarly associated with masculinity. In the “West”, both sport and beer are seen as ‘masculine-centred social products’ (Wenner and Jackson, 2009a, viii) creating a sexual geography where the locations of this physicality provide an opportunity to consume both sport and beer

together and to thus perform and view masculinity. Wenner and Jackson have named this intertwining of alcohol, masculinity and physical spectacle, the 'beer sport and men nexus', a holy trinity that is 'important, complex, and mutually reinforcing' (Wenner and Jackson, 2009b, 6) in the way that it fashions promotional strategies and shapes cultures of consumption. The acceptability of beer consumption while viewing sport provides the opportunity for men to perform their masculinity through viewing both the actions of other (sports)men and their own individual drinking in an integrated and joint practice of consumption. Crawley, Foley, and Shehan have named this phenomenon 'vicarious masculinity' whereby the possession of a male-sexed body allows one to gain 'status as men via the athletic successes of other men' regardless of one's own actual body or ability (2008, 132). In this case, it is the combined spectatorship and knowledge of the rites and rules of the sporting event in question by individuals with the same nominal physical body which defines a person as masculine and thus a man. The spaces and practices of sport thus serve as locations for men to reaffirm their masculinity and also host rites of initiation for boys to become men by imitating the practices of their elders. While many of these studies come to their conclusions based on countries such as the United States or the United Kingdom, this recognition of sport as both masculine and masculinising is also present in Japan with similar historical antecedents which are both imported and adapted to the local.

Scholars have shown that the linkage between sport and gender was dynamic and evolving in the postwar period in Japan. Sport's importance to men as a defining practice increased in this period as changes in working practice, such as more office-based work,

meant a greater emphasis was placed on intellectual work within corporate masculinity (Hidaka, 2010, 41, 57). This increase in sport's importance was not simply restricted to playing or viewing but also included the training regimes which concurrently develop the core qualities workers within corporations are expected to display to be recognised as responsible men (Hidaka, 2010, 57). Training programmes at universities, for instance, are a means for young men to bodily construct their masculinity in conjunction with their peers. Examining rugby clubs in such settings, Richard Light notes that the severity of these regimes is a source of pride for the athletes with their ability to endure harsh conditions central to their understanding of their own masculinity (Light, 1999, 45–46). These young men focus on spiritual training (*seishin*) to craft bodies to create a cultural specific form of masculinity which in turn marks them both as masculine and as Japanese men. This emphasis on spiritual training within Japanese sports in this context is linked by these practitioners to their particular understanding of *bushidō*, a code of samurai military practices and ideals (Light, 1999, 49–50).

This description of athletes, and their training, as being akin to that of the samurai or as being derived from *bushidō* is present in many sports in Japan (Chapman, 2004, 318) but is most visible within baseball (Light, 2003, 104; Miller, 2011, 385–386) where militaristic elements are used to construct a masculinity which, as Hidaka points out, is similar to that required of salarymen. It is no coincidence that this is the sport which led Saienji to conclude that Sapporo's beer was seen as more masculine. Sport, particularly baseball, is thus a means to create *Japanese* men who embody the purported values and ideals of a warrior class now extinct. Or rather, sport is a means by which individuals construct and

perform a specific form of masculinity which they understand to be both Japanese and situated within a historical system of behaviour and values. I discuss this further below. In this way, sport has been positioned as a means to present and perform a particular masculinity which is tied into Japan's historical past and which connects these contemporary men to their ancestors who lived, according to this understanding, by the same code.

The intertwining of masculinity and sport is balanced and contrasted by the merging in popular thought of femininity and music. The Asahi staff viewed music and sport dichotomously, attributing their declining market share to the perception of classical music as feminine and thus unappealing to men, the main consumers at this time. These men were instead attracted to masculine beer which had been so positioned by their rival's choice of promotional activities according to this viewpoint. Music, specifically classical music, was thus both feminine and unable to compete with the lure of the athletic world.

This dichotomous view of these two fields of endeavour has comparatives and parallels elsewhere including in British schools (Green, 2003) and the early 20th Century United States (Campbell, 2003). The import of western gendered understandings and music practices into Japan along with classical music has helped to shape and craft the perspectives that claim music's intrinsic character as feminine. Historically, music in Japan was often seen as the preserve of women with it not deemed an appropriately masculine endeavour for sons of samurai in the nineteenth century (Nishikawa, Berg and Brown, 2002, 93; Mehl, 2012, 103). Yet this feminine image was contested and challenged,

evolving just as it did in the UK and the US to undermine this understanding. The perceived feminine image of music was not accepted unreservedly or unconditionally by Western participants and audience members who had adopted a variety of practices to contest this image in an attempt to reaffirm their masculinity. These efforts, including the adoption of more masculine language and definitions to discuss music and the exclusion of women from public performances, complicate the idea that music is feminine.

In early 20th Century America, the feminine image of classical music was highlighted and embraced by men who rationalised their concert attendance by situating it in terms of domestic duty. Claiming they were acting as escorts to female companions rather than attending to satisfy their own personal preference, these men positioned their presence at these events as an integral element in the performance of masculinity (Green, 2003, 449). Narrativised in this way to 'avoid the ridicule of one's peers', there was a clear struggle to reconcile enthusiasm for music with the fear that the association with that same passion would feminise them.

For music practitioners meanwhile, the understanding of sport as masculine, and masculinising, was useful in helping to mitigate their involvement in a feminine art with many asserting their masculinity by emphasising their interest in such clearly-marked masculine pursuits (Campbell, 2003, 458-459). Athletic pursuits were similarly adopted in British schools later in the century to specifically mitigate the femininity associated with music practice (Green, 1993, 231, 243-248). Crucially, the lure of sport was not present to the same degree with girls who had to balance performing in public with appeals to modesty instead.

The image of music as feminine also resulted in a number of linguistic shifts with descriptions of music participants written to emphasise their masculinity. Conductors' positions in orchestras in charge of, and superior to, other men were highlighted, for instance, to show their similarity to industrialists or generals (Campbell, 2003, 460). This emphasis of conductors as masculine because they are in charge of other men obviously resulted in the recognition that these other men were both subordinate and performing within a feminine field. The responses to the feminine image of music therefore further undermined the masculinity of the men who performed in orchestras who now had to further defend their subordinate positions by not only engaging in vigorous sports as above but also by adopting "masculine" poses when performing (Campbell, 2003, 461). Green has linked the fear amongst male musicians' of being feminised by association to the ideological conflation of effeminacy with homosexuality, which in turn resulted in the erasure of any hint or mention of homosexuality in music criticism (2003, 26–28). Other methods to readjust the image of music away from the feminine included ranking composers so that it was seen as acceptable to attend, and perform in, concerts which featured masculine music such as that of JS Bach rather than the more 'feminine' Chopin (Campbell, 2003, 458).

The various attempts by music performers and audiences to contest the feminine image of music indicate the extent to which this image is constructed and contested in turn. These attempts to alter the perception of music as feminine also acknowledge the fluidity of gender with little actual connection to sexed bodies. They show how gender is applied to objects because of the qualities that they are seen to imbue rather than being linked to

biological factors. Attempts to counteract the feminine image of music also included discriminatory measures based on biological considerations, namely restricting orchestra membership to men in the United States (Campbell, 2003) and in Britain until the First World War (Green, 1993, 231).

Many of these perspectives on music, especially classical music, were adopted and imported into Japan, altering the nativist traditions that were present. The Meiji government's promotion of music combined with the imported western attitudes which surrounded classical music contributed to a contested image of music as masculine (Nishikawa *et al.*, 2002, 93; Mehl, 2012, 103). This resulted in the restriction of orchestra membership to men to ensure it was not seen as feminine; this in turn led to some all-women orchestras from the late Meiji-period onwards (Nishikawa *et al.*, 2002, 93). Paid performances were thus considered a masculine endeavour and, on the whole, restricted to men, ensuring that the women from wealthy families who had studied music to indicate social status could only perform domestically (Nishikawa *et al.*, 2002, 90).

Green has described this public male- and private female-sphere division as characteristic of "western" music history, calling it a musical patriarchy (2003, 15). One of the central elements to this musical patriarchy is the mediation of technology, that is, how instruments affect the perception of women's performances (Green, 1994, 66–68).

"Natural" performances such as a mother singing to her child were idealised over those which included the violin or double bass. In pre-Meiji Japan, however, the obverse had been true with the gendering process within and through music working differently to that of imported western music and its attendant values and attitudes. Unaided voices, such as

*Nō* chanting, were reserved for men while women were permitted to use technology in the form of instruments such as *koto*, *shamisen*, and *kokyū* in public performances (Groemer, 2004, 19). The use of these instruments by female entertainers such as *geisha* and *geiko* in the pleasure quarters not only linked music with prostitution but also firmly established them as women's instruments, though this was status-restricted with commoner women unable to access them (Groemer, 2004, 19). Performing for payment was already therefore fraught with difficult associations for those upper-class women who sought to use their skills with these instruments professionally or to parlay them into western instruments (Mehl, 2012, 110–112). Western instruments, such as the violin, therefore were differentiated from the Japanese variants and came to be seen as manly through these processes, which helped to erase the contribution of women to its introduction and popularisation (Mehl, 2012). This all complicates a neat image of music, particularly the classical music genre, as feminine. The gendered effects attributed by the Asahi staff to these concerts was not necessarily so straightforward. Equally complicated is the masculine image of sport.

Both these historical associations of masculinity with sport which the Asahi staff subscribed to and this ideology of *bushidō* which reinforced and promoted a nationalistic masculinity within athletic endeavours were not uncontested. The integral link between sport and masculinity, for instance, was disputed by some men who prioritised their parental roles instead, as Masako Ishii-Kuntz shows in her work on Japanese fatherhood (2003). The history of women's engagement in sport, meanwhile, both as spectator and participant, also challenges this viewpoint as Kris Chapman's work on karate (2004) and



Ikeda Keiko's on sporting ideologies and femininity (Ikeda, 2010, 2014) show. Exploring these contestations through such studies reveals how tenuous this link promoted and used by the Asahi staff was and why it continued to hold sway for such a substantial period afterwards.

*Bushidō* is so prominent an ideology within Japanese sport because it held a considerable amount of explanatory power for participants and commentators in Japan. For Aaron Miller, the use of *bushidō* to describe Japanese sports, and the masculinity constructed and performed within them, is simply a local term for a set of characteristics, 'masculine, authoritarian, militaristic and disciplinarian', which is common to sports coaching in a number of other cultures (Miller, 2011, 402). Miller finds the actual invocation of *bushidō* in these contexts to be important because it reveals how central this concept is to understandings of how sport should be played and how it should be taught. The emphasis on spirit (*seishin*), on athletes as samurai, and on sport being played in a similar way to how samurai are imagined to have lived shows how sport is a masculine realm where 'nationalistic struggles are played out' (2011, 402). In this sense, then, participants and fans approach Japanese sport through the lens of *bushidō* to craft and understand a masculinity which is nationalistic in character while the elements used for this understanding do not necessarily differ overly much from regimes elsewhere, but are significant in being perceived as such. It is because *bushidō* allows individuals to differentiate their sporting practices and abilities from sporting practices elsewhere that it appears so potent and prevalent within Japan.

Miller's understanding of this use is consistent with Benesch's investigation of the

meaning and uses of *bushidō*, which shows it to be an invented tradition driven by nostalgia and a dissatisfaction with the present (Benesch, 2014). Benesch shows how historical actors have used divergent concepts and ideas of *bushidō* which idealise the samurai and their “collective” ethics to support their own, contemporary, ideological needs. For Benesch, the ‘intimate connection’ between sport and *bushidō* in the postwar, while composed of diverse streams, incorporated the particular nineteenth-century version of *bushidō* which was influenced by the British idea of ‘gentlemanliness’ (2014, 231-234).

*Bushidō* is thus used in various discrete ways to illustrate and prescribe how Japanese men should train for, participate in, and act during sporting events which thus seemingly restricts sport to men, defining it as a masculine endeavour which in turn excludes women. Yet while this restriction is not necessarily always followed, it does affect how women may approach and practice certain sports. Chapman’s exploration of the highly masculinised world of karate shows that women are often reluctant to begin practicing in such a male-centric environment but once having done so use their own gender conceptions to maintain their progress (Chapman, 2004). *Bushidō*, then, may mark some women as transgressive for not adhering to gender norms but it does not always prevent their participation.

While sport was viewed as masculine by these Asahi executives, and the use of *bushidō* helped to prevent women accessing some sporting fora, this clearly does not mean that women have been prevented from engaging in sport, either as performers or spectators. Indeed, there are numerous examples throughout this postwar period of women as active

fans and participants while sport was an integral element in the performance of femininity prior to 1945. It also became an important tool to utilise for advertisers in the 1980s.

[Broadening Appeals, Expanding the Market: New Attempts to Target Women and Revisiting Older Models of Masculinity](#)

Keiko Ikeda has shown how the Meiji state in the period following the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) promoted women's participation in sport to serve their ideological needs, specifically, crafting particular physical bodies to support 'invented traditions' of class and motherhood (Ikeda, 2010, 537–542, 2014, 1925–1926). Women's participation in sport, and approval thereof, for Ikeda, was shaped by a blend of invented and imported traditions with women permitted to play sports insofar as they supported the aims and ideals of the nation-state (Ikeda, 2010, 542). In this, there were a number of similarities with sport's importance for masculinity and the role it played in the construction of the masculine body in service of the state (Ikeda, 2010, 549). This shifted in the interwar period, however, when the image of sport as masculine contributed to a disapproval of women's participation alongside a militarist promotion of "traditional" forms of Japanese physical culture (Ikeda, 2010, 537-542). Development of women's role within sport was thus uneven and the gains that were made during the Second World War in these traditional forms were subsequently seen as missteps and in the service of a now discredited ideology (Ikeda, 2010, 537) in the postwar period. Sport for women has thus historically been a very contested terrain, with participation promoted and discouraged at different points. By the 1980s, the postwar rejection of women's sporting roles shifted and there was an acknowledgement of women's increasing participation within sport with

a greater number of depictions within beer advertisements. Baseball was now acknowledged to be equally appealing and attractive to women regardless of its popularity previously. The differences in this campaign and how it was viewed reveal shifts in the understanding of how sport is used to construct and mediate gender.

In April 1986, the *Equal Employment Opportunities Law (EEOC)* came into force in Japan, 'reflecting then current gender discourses on gender' (Molony, 1995, 268–272). Although criticised by a number of feminists for lacking sanctions that could be imposed on workplaces that discriminated, according to Molony, it 'inspired thousands of well-educated women in their twenties to attempt previously undreamed-of careers' (1995, 268–272). Changes in the representation of women within beer advertisements appeared to match this development. Stimulated by the success of Super Dry, the beer companies launched a raft of new products featuring women in previously unthinkable roles in an attempt to reach new, hitherto untargeted demographics with hidden tastes and preferences.

While advertisements during the *Draft Wars* could be characterised as representing relationships to appeal to diverse demographics, these advertisements showed a variety of scenes and locations where women seemed to have carved out spaces for themselves within male-dominated areas. These included baseball which, though previously strongly linked with masculinity (as seen), now included women in teams and as main characters (Kirin Beer, 1991b, 1991a) able to perform, play, adopt masculine language, and most importantly, drink with men. Depictions such as this indicated the inroads that women were understood to be making into previously male spheres. Indeed, this was not entirely

unusual; White has pointed out how the images of Japanese women circulating in the public sphere changed during this period, becoming more varied and powerful (White, 1992, 61).

This evolution in the image of Japanese women was also present in beer advertisements.

The 1987 launch of *Super Dry* and its popularity among young people saw a greater acknowledgement that certain models of masculinity, specifically older men, did not have the broad-based appeal that was necessary for success in the current beer market.

Scholars have criticised the apparent paucity of older models in advertisements for perpetuating ageism (and sexism) and for not matching demographic reality (Prieler *et al.*, 2011a, 406) but the evidence from this period suggests a shift away from older performers who had dominated the beer industry until this point. This shift was exemplified by Asahi's move to younger performers away from the veteran, male, golfers, Aoki Isao (1942 - ) and Ozaki Masashi (1947 - ) known for their contrasting styles of play and personalities (Minna no gorufu daijesuto, 2016). Described in terms of moving from older uncles (*ojisama tachi*) to performers with a broader cross-generational appeal (CM NOW, 1988d, 112), heavy-drinking men were now apparently seen as a less important segment of the market than they had been previously. As seen here, the decreasing use of older models was also a reaction against their continued use for much of the post-war period. The desire to move to performers with a broader appeal was evident in a number of advertisements which featured non-traditional models who were still seen as representatives of Japan such as authors (CM NOW, 1990d, 24); scholars (Rochester University professor of mathematics, Sumita Ushio) (CM NOW, 1992g, 137); and cultural icons (fashion designer, Yamamoto

Kensai) (CM NOW, 1991a, 46). In many cases, this also involved the inclusion of women in scenes that historically depicted only men.

In 1992, Kirin Beer included Suzuki Honami in a campaign which focused on the celebratory consumption of beer following amateur baseball games. It was particularly lauded by critics for the way it expressed the freshness of draft beer and thus aroused a desire to drink, and for its portrayal of the happiness that accompanied this drinking by Suzuki and her co-star Nakamura Masatoshi (CM NOW, 1992d, 12). By this period, the depiction of Suzuki playing a sport considered highly masculine was not considered particularly noteworthy by commentators. This is despite the fact that the Asahi staff who discussed their concerts in these gendered terms did so only less than 10 years later than the Suzuki campaign. Baseball was now apparently seen as accessible and attractive to all. Commentators explained that baseball was chosen because its popularity meant the advertisement would appeal to the widest number of people (Shūkan Gendai, 1991b, 29) while Suzuki's popularity across age groups was similarly highlighted as the reason for her inclusion (Shūkan Gendai, 1991b, 29; CM NOW, 1992c, 45); Nakamura, meanwhile, was included for his appeal to older men: While Suzuki's popularity across groups was directly responsible for her inclusion, her appeal did not extend to heavy-drinking older men who apparently needed someone in their own image to identify with. Although there are differences in how *talento* are chosen based on their perceived appeal across groups, it is the actual pairing that is of note here and how they were understood. While there appeared to be a shift away from utilising older performers, it is clear that they still played an important function in appealing to older men but that they had to do so while

appearing alongside younger women.

This campaign was thus indicative of how attempts to broaden the appeal of products often rested on age-disproportionate pairings of older men and younger women. The recognition of the importance of this demographic saw a number of campaigns incorporating this pairing. Suntory Malt's, for example, featured the actress Wakui Emi alongside her fellow actor Hagiwara Ken'ichi in a well-regarded (Aoyanagi, 2001, 40) campaign which included various scenes, such as running marathons (CM NOW, 1993b, 112). Sapporo, meanwhile, having notably changed their campaign for their dry beer from the musician Yoshida Takurō to Hirooka Tatsurō, a former baseball player and current manager, in the first year of the new beer's release (1988) (CM NOW, 1988a, 49), also featured a companion in the form of a younger woman, Ishida Eri. In contrast to the other examples listed here, however, Ishida was not simply accompanying an older man. Instead, her use of a provincial Japanese dialect rather than the standard *hyōjungo* led her to be seen as powerful and contrasted with her image as a kind elder sister (CM NOW, 1988e, 115). Opting to not use standard Japanese by speaking in a Kyushu dialect allowed Ishida to use her speech patterns to challenge and subvert her presented image of a younger companion and thus appeal to young women. Yet what is notable about these campaigns is not necessarily this style of partnership and its positive evaluation in the discourse, but instead that while all appeared to mark significant shifts in gender representation towards more equal and progressive depictions they were, in fact, momentary trends only, succeeded by advertisements marked by apparently retrograde steps.

While attempts to appeal to women saw the beer companies' promotional tactics extend to their depiction within sport teams, campaigns were still driven by the market and by understandings of baseball as supremely masculine. Efforts which were ineffective were quickly abandoned with a move back to safe depictions and appeals to "traditional" demographics. Sapporo, as noted, changed from Yoshida Takurō to Hirooka Tatsurō in 1988 because Hirooka was seen as suiting the 'masculine' taste of dry beer (CM NOW, 1988a, 49) due to his baseball background, in contrast to Yoshida's image of being 'soft' (*yawarakai*).

The most significant reversal in the depictions of this type, however, was the Suntory Malt's 1994 campaign, *Otoko nara, Morutsu*. Despite, or perhaps because of, the popularity of the Wakui Emi-starring campaign (referred to above), Suntory sought to also target the once-traditional but now-neglected demographic of heavy-drinking, middle-aged men. This male-targeted campaign was a celebration of masculinity's links to baseball much more akin to the examples discussed earlier in this chapter. Where it differed from the earlier models, however, was in an acknowledgment that later postwar Japanese masculinity was constructed and crafted through failure.

[Masculinity: Failed dreams, Accepted Fate, and Enduring the Unendurable...](#)

Despite the appearance of women like Suzuki Honami in advertisements with themes which had previously been restricted to men, historically masculine pursuits such as baseball continued to be deeply associated with masculinity. They were also used as metaphors to describe corporate decisions. As in previous years, war allegories for competition in the beer industry were common, with terms such as "fronts" (*rosen*) used



to indicate targeted demographics while “assaults” and “attacks” stood in for the actual campaigns or advertisements themselves. Kirin’s position, meanwhile, at the top of the beer market was likened to their holding a fortress (Ishiyama, 1987, 32) which other companies needed to attack. This was not just limited to the beer industry, of course, with war central to the masculinity of the salaryman in the concept of the corporate warrior (White, 1992; Dasgupta, 2000, 192). Some commentators (Nakada, 1988, 5–7) provided a respite from these endless martial comparisons by utilising baseball metaphors such as “*zokutō*” (continuing to pitch) to describe *Super Dry’s* ongoing use of Ochiai Nobuyuki to challenge Gene Hackman while former baseball player and coach, Hirooka Tatsurō, was described as a relief role. Other sport metaphors, such as golf, were occasionally drawn upon with the companies ranked as bogey, par, birdy, and eagle (Kigyō to kōkoku, 1987a, 19), but the greater frequency of baseball allusions and their gendered application points to baseball’s continued importance and centrality in the connection between masculinity, advertising and beer. The use of these allusions rested on a presumption that readers were men and that readers *as* men had an understanding and knowledge of baseball terms and tactics. Baseball was a shared means of understanding the structure of the beer market. This presumption of baseball as a central and integral element within men’s masculinity was seen in a particular campaign notable for its drawing together many of these elements. I explored earlier how playing or viewing baseball is a means through which masculinity is constructed and performed, but this later campaign’s importance lies in how it emphasised the connection between baseball, beer, and masculinity against the backdrop of increasing female consumption.

In 1994, Suntory began a campaign for their Suntory *Malt's* beer which used the campaign tagline, '*Otoko nara, Malt's*' (If you're a man, it's Malt's). This campaign linked together the performance of masculinity with baseball and beer yet bore a number of similarities with the Mifune Toshirō-starring *Men are Silent...* campaign (1970) in its proscriptive and descriptive elements. The Mifune campaign marked a defining turning point in Japanese beer advertising history, incorporating a major film star into a wide-ranging campaign which relied on gendered understandings of performative masculinity. Despite being the subject of much debate, the Mifune campaign's explicit depiction of an orthodox and essentialising masculinity was not replicated anywhere else until the *Otoko nara...* campaign's similar approach (I examine the Mifune campaign in more detail in chapter six).

These campaigns shared similarities in how they informed men on how to *be* men. For the critic Sugiyama Gaku, it was these two advertising campaigns which strongly established beer as a man's product and as a signifier of masculinity (Sugiyama, 2000, 117–118).

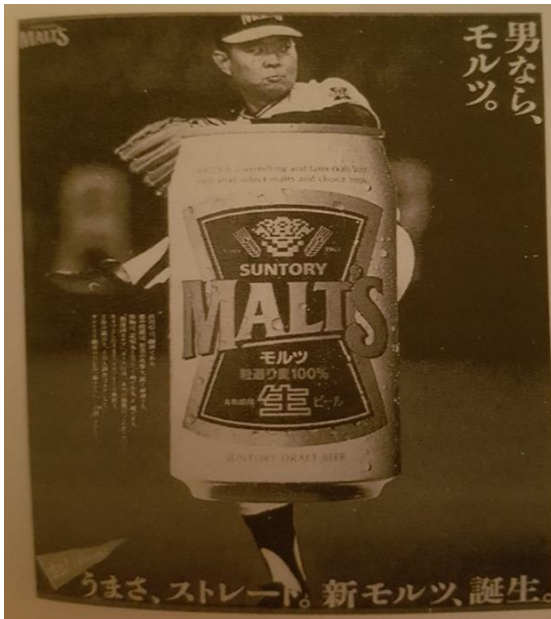
Previous advertisements, as noted, had featured baseball in some shape or form (Nippon Beer, 1952b; Sapporo Beer, 1983) with Sapporo Beer utilising baseball players alongside *kabuki* and *manzai* (comedy) stars in 1959 to appeal to men (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 784). The *Otoko nara* campaign was, however, particularly explicit in its depiction.

Part of this campaign's aim was a goal of regendering their beer to shift the impression of this product from a feminine image to a masculine one. Thanks to the successful, and age-disproportionate, Wakui Emi and Hagiwara Ken'ichi-starring advertising campaign and its memorable copy (Oka, 2000, 42; Aoyanagi, 2001, 40), Suntory Malt's enjoyed favourable

sales amongst the “young and women”. This demographic, already attracted to Suntory’s beers for their light taste, wanted something different from Kirin’s offerings in both taste and image (Kigyō to kōkoku, 1987b, 19, 1988b, 24; Alexander, 2013, 228). Suntory, stimulated by their fourth-place position in the market and lack of progress with dry beers, increased the malt content of this particular beer so that *Malt’s* offered a viable alternative to Kirin in a similar way to Asahi’s attempts with *Super Dry*.

This popularity among these sectors did not result in a significant enough increase in market share, however, and so a new campaign was planned based on analysis indicating the importance of consumption by middle-aged men who were identified as heavy drinkers and central to any desired share increase (Oka, 2000, 42). Obviously, the definition of a heavy drinker differs, but for Asahi at least, it was anyone who consumed eight large bottles in a week (at 633ml per bottle, some 5.06 litres), while medium users consumed three to seven bottles and light one to two (Yamada, 1999, 140). Sapporo had come to the same conclusion regarding heavy drinkers for similar reasons and motivations some 24 years earlier which had resulted in *Otoko wa damatte ... Sapporo bīru* campaign. Both, it must be said, sought to appeal to middle-aged men, but they used very different themes and motifs to do so. The men of the desired demographic for the earlier, *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign, in their late thirties and forties in 1970 would now be in their mid-60s – slightly too old to be considered middle-aged. In this sense, then, within these industry understandings, cohort behaviour is structural and unchanging.

**Image 8: Suntory Malt's - The overt association of masculinity and sport in the *If you're a man, Malt's* campaign (1994)**



(Sugiyama, 2000, 119)

#### Masculinity as Driver of Consumer Choice

The potential for expanding consumption in this demographic rested on the fact that these men were understood to have previously spurned this beer because the very image which made it attractive to the young and women was in turn unappealing to them (Oka, 2000, 42). It was precisely because Suntory had positioned *Malt's* so successfully as a drink for women and the young that this generation of men opted for another product. It was therefore considered important for Suntory to appeal to consumers in this demographic to convince them that this drink was appropriate for them, but more importantly, appropriate for them to drink socially. The advertisers had to persuade these consumers that being seen drinking this beer would not undermine their social and gendered identities. Attempting to capture a new demographic when a product's image

and ideal consumer were already established was not considered easy, at least according to the campaign's creator, Oka Yasumichi (Oka, 2000, 42). Oka's decision and motivation for incorporating a number of themes within this campaign are important for revealing understandings of the connections between sport and masculinity.

The decision to shift this beer's image to a masculine one by using baseball was not because of a simple link between sport and men but was instead somewhat more complicated. Recognising that most beer advertisements featured a common theme of thirst (*kawaki*) represented by sun or sweat preceding the drinking of beer, Oka sought to differentiate this campaign by using an emotional "thirst" namely, that of unachieved desire (*tassei sarenakatta ganbō*) (Oka, 2000, 44). In this understanding, thirst was seen as an emotional element for something that had not been achieved or accomplished in the past. Oka (1956 - ) was 38 at the time and had chosen baseball because he considered it to be a failed dream for all men of his generation. In this account of the campaign's genesis, he recalled how everyone in his class at elementary school would play baseball at break times or on empty lots after school (Oka, 2000, 44). These spaces carried a multiplicity of meanings. Although existing as a locus of nostalgia for Oka, these empty lots were also transient spaces of childhood, 'sites awaiting development' (Sand, 2013, 47), and, significantly, sites of gendered exclusion. Inherent within this nostalgic recollection of baseball's personal meaning is that participation was clearly restricted by gender to boys. In remembering these times, Oka reveals discriminatory practices hidden in the playtimes of children which both excluded girls from both playing and from memories.

This concept, that an interest and desire for baseball is common to all boys, indeed, that it

is an essential element in *being* a boy, was then translated into the campaign itself where baseball and beer are linked so that they, together, are the essential elements for the performance of being a man. This version of masculinity relies on exclusion and shared experiences of sport linked to bodily ability as well as the particular memories of the creator. However, this model of masculinity as this creator describes it rests on narrow foundations and is particularly precarious.

The reason why Oka understood and used baseball as a means of appealing to this generation of men was not just because of a desire to relive one's childhood, but because it was a repository of their dreams and desires from a period when this association was strongest. Oka's own hopes for future baseball success seemed to crystallise when he was scouted by a high school noted for its successes at the annual national high school baseball tournament, *Natsu no Koshien (zenkoku kōtō gakkō yakyū senshūken taikai)*. Unfortunately, he was deemed not skilled enough. Entwined within this memory is the experience of another youth, scouted at the same time, who similarly saw his hopes dashed at a slightly later stage due to injury. In a separate article on this campaign, Oka described feeling desolate, ashamed and wishing to die following his rejection as a fifteen-year old (Tsukuru, 1996, 74). It was these feelings of failure that served as inspiration for the campaign and which helped him to choose the performers depicted within it. These players had also faced this spectre of failure having retired without great success but were now making a comeback.

Oka's account provides an alternative interpretation of this campaign, in the process revealing a more intriguing picture than beer being simply a symbol for masculinity.

Instead, beer was almost secondary in a campaign which used baseball as a repository of hopes and dashed ambition and presents failure as a marker of a generational turn.

Failure and rejection appear as significant moments in which *boys* learn to give up dreams and adopt a more normative path in life. This campaign relied on an understanding of masculinity performed and constructed against a background of failure and it relied on this demographic understanding of these elements. By reawakening these dreams in a burst of nostalgia, Suntory thought that these men would therefore find the beer attractive and also transform the product's feminine image to a masculine one.

Part of this understanding of the centrality of failure to masculinity is the reliance on an unreliable body. We have seen how physical training and the construction of the body is essential to the performance of masculinity. Within this understanding, it is the failure of that body, and the inability of it to achieve what it had been trained to do, that becomes a defining element within masculinity. I focus in more detail on understandings of the body in the following chapter, but this idea that it was men's bodies which let them down, and that they understood this, is an intriguing one. It indicates why the performance of Crawley, Foley, and Shehan's 'vicarious masculinity', as described above, might be so important to so many men with meaning now found within the success of other men with more reliable bodies.

Yet this masculinity through failure model was not only valorised in this period. The apparent ability to overcome failure as a necessary part of masculinity was seen in a number of other campaigns which presented this through heterosexual love affairs and normative life patterns. I will discuss these campaigns in more detail in a later chapter on

the family, but will briefly mention them here as they highlight how essential the resignation of dreams and desires is to late postwar Japanese masculinity. In both of these campaigns, the male protagonists (CM NOW, 1992i, 82; Kirin Beer, 1992) undergo some form of emotional distress following the end a relationship before embarking on a proper, and correct, career path. In both of these cases, these protagonists were defined by, endured, and overcame failure before opting for this path. They bear some degree of similarity with the *Otoko nara* campaign in recognising the importance of failure to masculinity.

This campaign's focus on failure also reveal significant dissonances between the creator's understanding of the campaign and the views of critics. Sugiyama Gaku, as noted, used it as an exemplar to explicitly show that beer consumption and masculine practices were connected. It was one of three advertisements which he used to bolster this assertion, with the other two being the Mifune campaign and a 1972 *Yebisu Beer* (Sapporo) campaign which featured the tagline, "Cherish your husband" (*dannasama o taisetsu ni*) ('*dannasama*' is a term for husband meaning 'lord' or 'master' that has come in for much criticism, particularly from feminists). Sugiyama used these three advertisements to assert that beer is a drink for men with women who like it thus positioned as being like old men (*bīru o suki na josei wa oyajikusai*) (2000, 117).

Sugiyama's choice of representative campaigns is extremely selective with few to no alternative depictions of masculinity included. It is the lack of reference to failure, however, which is most glaring in comparison to Oka's intentions, outlined above. This highlights how divergent the intended and received meanings (Hall, 1980) of



advertisements can be and how themes which might be judged somewhat progressive for representing alternative, partly unsuccessful, models of masculinity are actually used to bolster existing opinions about gender. This campaign provides an alternative view of the role of sport within masculinity and insists that we take into account a multiplicity of voices when examining these advertisements. Not doing so results in interpretations of gender which are too heavily reliant on the analyst's desire to substantiate an argument. Examining and incorporating the creators' viewpoints and perspectives grants us access to viewpoints which critics might not always be aware of. In this case, it shows how sport was tied up with masculinity, influencing the creators of campaigns because it retained power and influence long after participants had ceased to play or be regularly involved to the same degree that they did as youths.

### Conclusion

Sport has been seen as central to the construction of manhood in Japan. It is understood as a forum where masculinity can be practiced, performed, and viewed with men's evaluation of other men's ability a means to validate and highlight their own performance while concurrently differentiating themselves from women. Yet this central role of sport has also been viewed as problematic. For some men, the rejection of sport was central to their performances of masculinity, allowing them to contest the societal expectations of athletic ability and adherence to a particular attitude or "spirit". Without the central role ascribed to sport within masculinity, it is not possible to resist or work against it. It is thanks to this 'naturalized relationship' between sport and cultural definitions of

masculinity (Wenner and Jackson, 2009b, 2) that we can understand how baseball in Japan is seen as masculine because the various patterns of consumption, enjoyment, and participation are promoted in this way to men and because sport thus provides a discriminatory site and vehicle for constructing masculinity.

This view of sport as masculine was necessarily juxtaposed with music - public, performative, but feminine. This viewpoint has been alternately challenged and supported with musicians and patrons asserting their masculinities in various, visible ways. These contested elements have, however, largely not informed those within in the industry, such as the Asahi publicity staff, who remained wedded to their conceptual frameworks in order to explain their own corporate failures. It is the fact that these viewpoints held such sway so many years after the campaigns in question that is of significance here. While not all employees cleaved to this view, it did retain a certain explanatory force for some four decades after this campaign.

Gendered associations of sport and music help to explain why the Asahi staff understood their series of concerts as feminine and why they used this as an excuse for their declining market share. Yet what is equally intriguing about assigning the cause for Asahi's decline in sales of beer to this choice of a feminised entertainment is that women, as noted, were integral to beer consumption and were consuming in increasing numbers and in increasingly visible ways in this period. Indeed, it was domestic consumption, with women's core role as the purchaser, which drove Kirin's acquisition of market share in this period.

Rather than the image of music as feminine which undermined Asahi's nascent attempts

to create a brand image, then, it was the disconnect between Asahi's focus on corporate consumption, namely the cabarets and bars which had provided its pre-war majority market share (Ishiyama, 1987, 31) and its promotional activities. This meant Asahi was attempting to appeal to their (male) customers who drank in bars by using concerts which were more popular among women who bought the beer for domestic consumption.

Situating their beer as feminine should therefore not necessarily have been as problematic as it may have initially seemed. Without an accompanying focus on selling domestically, however, Asahi could not properly compete. It was this which was the issue at hand.

What is clear from this exploration of the masculine nature of sport and its connection to alcohol consumption and advertising is that beer is gendered. That is, beer itself, as a product, is gendered, but crucially this is through the promotional activities of the companies manufacturing it meaning it can be positioned as a drink suitable for women. Suntory's Malt's 1994 '*Otoko nara morutsu*' (If you're a man, it's Malt's) campaign's linkage of the performance of masculinity to one's choice of beer and baseball convinced commentators that beer was a man's product (Sugiyama, 2000, 116–121). The case of the Asahi Beer Concerts shows how, on the contrary, beer can equally be seen as a feminine product depending on the activities of advertisers and their creative choices. Indeed, particular brands of beer can be categorised differently from others using gendered understandings because of the promotional activities and the representations that the beer companies choose. In examining this aspect, we have seen the social processes in place which are used to categorise events in such different ways. Rather than a simple

association of baseball as masculine, categorisations were created and sustained by the creatives. Indeed, for the Suntory Malt's *Otoko nara...* campaign, we can see this at work. Their attempt to remedy the feminine image was clearly successful, but the role of failure and surrendered dreams within masculinity was not fully recognised by critics. Critics, commentators, and creators all used their own conceptualisations to create and interpret the role of sport within masculinity and its connection to beer, relying as they did so on often personal and ahistorical understandings. Integral to many of these interpretations was a focus on the male body and its abilities and incapacities. It was through their body poses that male orchestra members asserted their masculinity and it was a failure of this same body in a less mature stage which influenced Oka Yasumichi in his depiction of masculinity for Suntory. Critics and commentators did not only focus on the sporting body throughout this period, however, with many conceptualisations of femininity and masculinity resting on understandings that qualities and elements of individuals were innately connected to their physical, sexed bodies. It is this inscription of meaning on the physiological forms of performers which we look at in the next chapter.

## Chapter 4: Weights and Measures – The Body by Proxy,

### Measurement, and Regulation

Most definitions and understandings of masculinity and femininity, especially as they pertain to Japanese beer advertisements, rest on biological foundations based on the immutability of the body and its qualities. Or rather, the perceived body and its perceived qualities for, as Gregory Plugfelder notes, it is the sartorial and tonsorial codes, the visible markers of identity, which people use to understand gendered individuals rather than an intimate knowledge of individuals' genitalia (2012, 963–966). This obsession with using the body itself to define gender is not unusual. In an introductory text to Men's Studies, Itō Kimio relates the answers to questions of whether one is *otokorashii* (*masculine*) or *onnarashii* (*feminine*) by a number of university students. Itō found that male students fixated on being masculine also held firm ideals and expectations about the physical body which informed many respondents' understanding of this "manliness". The majority of answers asserted that whether one was or was not *otokorashii* was informed by one's height, biology, or whether one liked sports as a child (Itō, 1996, 23). These students saw their own identity in relation to how they should physically appear and whether they fitted a physical ideal rather than whether their actual practices informed the construction of their identity. Previously, Itō notes, these concepts of *otokorashii* and *onnarashii* were understood in terms of "reasonableness" or what is expected (*atarimae*), with these terms applied to those who fulfilled "natural" roles, of working outside for men, and domestic labour for women (Itō, 2003, 17–18). These "common-sense" understandings of gender

identity reflect ‘the correlation between biological features (the possession of male or female sexual organs) with a diverse complex of dress codes, speech patterns and mannerisms, as well as ways of thinking, feeling and acting which are understood to be either “masculine” (i.e. characteristic of male bodies) or “feminine” (i.e. characteristic of female bodies)’ (McLelland, 2000, 6–7). Common-sense understandings also permeate many commentators’ understanding of gender with regards to beer advertisements.

We have briefly discussed some ways in which perceptions of gender become embodied through sport and music. In this chapter, I explore a wider range of perspectives on the body and the elements which creators, critics, and commentators have highlighted. I show how critics view and discuss differences in the depictions and uses of performers’ bodies and how they understand the meaning of these poses and body forms within the roles and scenes that appear in advertisements. Regulating and categorising the bodies of performers was one way through which creators, critics, and commentators understood and discussed gender. Bodies became a source for distinguishing between appropriate behaviours for men and women with critics using physiological factors to assign difference to performers while erasing commonalities in their behaviours and practices.

A number of beer advertisements in the 1950s overtly connected beer consumption to the performance of masculinity through the male body. One such example was a Nippon Beer campaign from 1954 which featured a public competition to find a *Beer King*, which both advertised products and created content for the next iteration of the campaign. Based on the heavy and rapid consumption of beer, the *Beer King* competition was open to consumers from across Japan with the winner supplanting the illustrated king (image 9)

who first publicised this campaign. The resulting advertisements presented a clear model of masculinity based on the ability of a male, middle-aged body to consume copious amounts of beer (see Image 10). Interpretations of this campaign reveal varying gendered understandings of the role of the body in advertising. Critics and commentators' discussions reveal their assumptions about the essentialist links between appropriate gender practices and sexed bodies. Norms of personality and behaviour were expected of certain bodies and those bodies were, in turn, used to define individuals. These perspectives reveal differences in how men and women were viewed, along with the expectations that were placed upon them. Within these understandings, the body, seen as an essential biological underpinning, remains constant. Many scholars, including Linda Nicholson (Nicholson, 1994, 81), have criticised those who adopt this biological foundationalist stance, describing it as a 'coat-rack' where bodies are assumed to have the same meaning with only the coats, that is, the behaviours and practices, differing. Regardless, this remains an understanding which is present throughout discussions of Japanese beer advertisements across time even if the differences in these discussions attest to its evolving nature.

### [Kings and Queens of Beer: The Body Consuming and The Body Critic](#)

Nippon Beer's *Beer King* campaign was the first serial campaign in the postwar period. It galvanised ordinary consumers from across Japan to compete in this venture. Publicised in the media, this campaign's promotion of the male body was disseminated across the archipelago, simultaneously unifying that same geographical area and this body as both

Japanese and ideal. The Japanese public was informed as what body was ideal for beer consumption and what type of body was necessary to be the *Japanese* beer king.

The competition format itself involved contestants drinking three bottles within five minutes followed by as many as possible at their own pace (Nippon Beer, 1954a, 1954b; Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 375). Regional rounds were held across Japan with Tokyo hosting the final where the overall champion won a year's worth of beer (at a rate of one bottle per night) and the right to be crowned "*Bīru no ōsama*" (beer king) (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 265). This campaign's emphasis on heavy consumption led Alexander to consider it a sign that 'beer marketers were already cultivating the social acceptability of drinking to excess, which was clearly equated with power and masculinity' (2013, 175). Apart from Alexander, however, there is little scholarly discussion of it and even his examination does not interrogate what sort of masculinity the beer marketers were attempting to cater to or represent.

To compete and become Beer King required a certain body that was then, in turn, promoted to other men through subsequent iterations of the campaign. Men, and only men, were defined by their ability to consume excessively, as the competition was restricted to male entrants, a fact that is unremarked upon within the Sapporo company history. It also served to define and validate a *Japanese* man. Held across the country from Sapporo to Kumamoto (*kakuchiku*) (Nippon Beer, 1954b), the competition linked disparate regions, binding them as equal parts of one nation with Tokyo, as the site of the final, situated at the centre. It helped position Nippon Beer (Sapporo) as national in scope and the winners as the epitome of Japanese masculinity. In this sense, the campaign promoted



a specific male body as necessary to be a *Japanese* man.

The use of competitions to promote one's own brand was not necessarily innovative at this time. Public contests had also been a feature of earlier moments, including during the Asia/Pacific wars when the general population were recruited to make propaganda for the state through similar participatory tactics (Kushner, 2006, 30-31). Designed to inform and influence the public, these contests, open to all individuals across the empire, connected the home front and the battlefield, positioning all who participated as imperial subjects (Kushner, 2006, 30–31). When viewed together with their 1951 advertisement inviting consumers to contribute a 'Beer Song' (*Bīru no uta*) (Nippon Beer, 1951a), we can see the Beer King working in a similar way to establish these contestants as Japanese, as men, and as beer drinkers. Postwar advertisers, having gained experience creating imperial propaganda during the war (Kushner, 2006, 65-77), clearly continued to use some of the same tactics and methods that they had learned in service of the state to sell beer, at least until the import of the latest American marketing concepts in the mid-1950s and the parallel increase in theoretical work on advertising (Shimamura and Ishizaki, 1997, 236–239; Takayama, 1999, 65).

The particular valorised performance of masculinity in this competition was, as Alexander notes, based on excess consumption. This emphasis was not uniquely Japanese; the ability to consume more alcohol than others is an indicator of masculinity transculturally, 'a man must absorb a large amount of alcohol before he shows that the drink has affected him' (Mandelbaum, 1979, 16–17). Wenner and Jackson have called this one of the lessons of masculinity learned through consumption with 'men drinking more thought to be

“manly” while those who do not fulfil this performative action marked as “other” (2009b, 5). While differences exist between official and popular understandings of what constitutes excessive drinking (Chrzan, 2010, 30–32), certain cultural practices that lead to excessive consumption, such as the buying of rounds, are often more common amongst men (Heath, 1995, 335). Practiced in France (Nahoum-Grappe, 1995, 76–77) Ireland (Peace, 1992, 172–173), Australia and the United Kingdom, this reciprocal purchasing is a performative practice which demonstrates one’s ability to drink at a pace aligned to one’s companions who are also normally male. While round-buying is relatively unknown within Japanese consumption patterns, this is not to suggest that excessive consumption was not present. Partenen notes that a trend of “heroic drinking”, ‘an essentially male affair with heightened sociability and excessive consumption from which women are excluded’, is still present (2006). This excessive consumption is complicated, however, by an emphasis on mutual reciprocation (Alexander, 2013, 183). The importance of reciprocal pouring within Japanese drinking practices, both to build and maintain relationships, has been well noted (Befu, 1974, 199–201; Moeran, 1998, 247–248) and beer’s replacement of sake as the most popular alcoholic drink was accompanied by the integration of this reciprocity into its consumption patterns (Befu, 1974, 201; Sargent, 1979, 279–281). Furthermore, the ability to simply consume more than others on its own was not always an indicator of an individual’s manliness with the capacity to drink while maintaining conversation the mark of a man at potters’ ceremonial drinking parties (Moeran, 1998, 247). A similar ability was necessary for superiors who had to both imbibe with subordinates at corporate drinking events while concurrently maintaining status-appropriate behaviour and language

(Christensen, 2012, 250).

The absence of this reciprocity from the Beer King campaign may well have reflected emerging drinking patterns at this time such as the 'quick drop-in' by salarymen returning home from work (Sargent, 1979, 280–281) which was widespread by the year 2000 (Christensen, 2012). It may also have been an early indicator of how beer was contributing to changes in drinking etiquette (Smith, 1992, 143–158). Refutations of the “central rules”—the ritualized and requisite sharing of drinks between colleagues or friends’ (Christensen, 2012, 240), that is, non-pouring and non-consumption, became increasingly accepted in the postwar.

Despite this mid-century variance from supposedly normative drinking patterns, men did compete for the opportunity to win the *Beer King* crown. Subsequent advertisements highlighted the body type needed for these feats of consumption through bodily measurements. The 1954 winner, 50-year-old Wakuda Tetsuo, weighed 23 *kan* (86kg); was 5 *shaku* 6 *sun* (1.51metres/5’5’) tall; and measured 43 *tō* (43inches) at the chest, with a waist of 42 inches, a hip of 46 inches, and a blood pressure reading of 137 (Nippon Beer, 1954b; Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996; see image 10). Fewer details were provided about the 1955 winner, but he was the same height and had a similar maximum consumption level of 24 bottles (Nippon Beer, 1955). The model of masculinity most suited for artificial feats of consumption, then, as demonstrated in this advertisement, is a middle-aged man whose experience would have been formed during the war, and who is slightly heavysset.

Image 9: Nippon Beer's Beer King (1954)

1954年度  
**ビールの王さま  
コンクール**  
東京予戦 於・銀座ビヤホール

賞金30万円と1年分の晩酌と東京旅行



<b>王さま賞</b>	
●ビールの王さま賞 1名	●年間の晩酌として
●賞金 30万円	●ビール 365本
●ガウン及王冠 1組	●トロフィー 1個
●準ビールの王さま賞 (各地の代表計7名)	
●ビール 100本	●賞金 5万円
●トロフィー 1個	
他に選外32名の方は トロフィー贈呈	
●推せん賞 被推せん者が入賞の際 ビール 120本	

これはビールの量だけの飲み比べ  
ではありません。堂々とジョツキ  
を傾ける風格も含めて、本年度の  
ビールの王様のタイトルにふさわ  
しい方を選出するコンクールです  
500ccのジョツキ5杯を最初8  
分間に飲み終えた方の飲み方風格  
を更に審査し総合点で王位を決定

(A) 出場応募……下記の条件を往復はがきに  
御記入の上支店宛お申込み下さい。抽選  
により50名~200名(各地)の方を御招待  
して御出陣いただきます。前切7月15日  
●此の広告をご覧になった新聞名・あなた  
の御職業と住所、氏名、年齢

(B) 推せん応募……あなたの御友人で出場に  
適当な方があればグループ(5名)で御推  
せん下さい。前切7月15日●推せん者と推  
せんされる方(出陣者)の御職業、住  
所、氏名、年齢

期日・予戦 7月下旬全国各地で準王さま選出  
決勝戦 8月準王さまを東京に御招待して王さま決定  
●審査員(五十名) 伊藤原朗、石黒政七、石川一  
奥野信太郎、川上三太郎、久保田万太郎、小島政二  
郎、佐藤美子、清水良、杉浦南雄、玉川一郎、櫻川  
夢声、永井竜男、西崎誠、山本善次郎、藤辺伸一郎

**ニッポンビール**  
東京都中央区銀座7の1 日本麦酒株式会社東京支店

(Nippon Beer, 1954a)

Image 10: Nippon Beer - The Beer King, Wakuda Tetsuo (1954)

ニッポンビール リボンシトロン・リボンジユース

**ニッポンビール**

王冠・ガウン・トロフィーと賞金30万円・1年分の晩酌を 贈呈しました



**ビールの王様決定**

全国のビールファンの皆様にたいへん  
な御声援を頂きましたビールの王さま  
コンクールは7月1杯で予戦を終え去  
る8月16日銀座ビヤホールに全審査員  
と北海道・東北・関東・中部・関西・  
中国・四国・九州の代表8名をお迎へ  
して盛大に決勝戦を開催いたしました

●ビールの王さま (広島県広島市) 和久田 鉄雄氏  
(年齢)50才 (職業) 倉庫会社常務取締役・(身長)5尺6寸  
(体重)23貫 (血圧) 157 (バスト) 43吋 (ウエスト)42吋  
(ヒップ) 48吋・ビール最大 24本 連続晩酌2本 程度  
●準ビールの王さま加藤好正氏、富永和郎氏、加藤信吾氏  
林美徳氏、今井初氏、竹野真二氏、河合庄市に決定。

**ニッポンビール**  
(姉妹品) リボンシトロン・リボンジユース

**コル**  
30円 100能 (1,150円)

**レッド**  
70円 他に無糖性B12  
見用者サービス係

せん  
ル必要な栄養素  
ているのは本剤の  
早期の方などに  
ビタミンを無駄な  
ます。

(Nippon Beer, 1954b)

This presentation of ideal male bodies can be compared to how the so-called “campaign girls” (*kyanpēn gyaru*) were represented in magazines later in the century. Developing from the women in posters adorning drinking establishments’ walls, that is in the spaces and sites where people were consuming, campaign girls were swimwear-clad young women who stood in for the companies themselves. Appearing in magazines alongside other companies’ representatives, these women were often only differentiated by the inclusion of the beer label or by their physical measurements. The campaign girls shared some similarity with the Beer Kings because both were consumed and digested by heterosexual men; it was the Beer Kings’ corporeal performance of masculinity which was consumed by other men (See Images 9-10 for comparison) rather than the bodies themselves, which was the case for the Campaign Girl, as I will discuss further below. This performance of masculinity thus required a certain body with the physical ability to consume, and which other men could compare themselves against.

Heavy consumption, then, is linked to masculinity and power, as Alexander notes (2013, 175). By widening our focus to include newspaper articles, however, we can gain a more nuanced insight into this version of masculinity and power and thereby into the understandings of gender used to create this campaign. While Alexander’s analysis relies solely on Sapporo’s company history, a newspaper article from the same year as the Beer King competition reveals an equivalent competition for women, the *Bīru Jo’ōsama* (Beer Queen) (Yomiuri Shinbun, 1954). It is not clear from the report who organised this competition and it may well be the case that the organisers were attempting to use the popularity of the Beer King to create a similar competition. The resemblance with the Beer

King variant, however - the parallel name, timing, and similar reliance on excessive consumption - suggests that it may have been the same brewery, Nippon Beer.

Furthermore, the fact that it received coverage in the Yomiuri newspaper indicates that it was an event of some media interest. Regardless, the differences between the structure, the reporting, and the post-competition use of these two campaigns provide a more nuanced view of the Beer King competition, revealing understandings of gender which are not otherwise accessible. While Alexander's initial assertion that this heavy consumption was linked to masculinity and power remains valid, taking this other unexamined competition into account means we view the facets of this power and masculinity slightly differently.

The Beer Queen competition was held throughout 1954 with the final in *The New Tokyo Hotel*. Like the Beer King competition, it relied on the excessive consumption of beer with contestants having to drink three half-litre jugs in five minutes (See image 11). Unlike the Beer King competition, these women contestants were also required to drink while maintaining feminine standards of decorum and appearance as judged by a five-man panel (Yomiuri Shinbun, 1954). Women competitors were thus subject to different standards than men and expected to continue behaving in socially-sanctioned ways despite the effects of alcohol. The reporter documenting this event writes negatively about those women who were unable to maintain control of themselves following their participation in this event, describing them as slouching, dribbling, and exhibiting unladylike behaviour. There was little reporting, in comparison, of any similar effects on competing men. The jobs of the Beer Queen participants, often connected to alcohol in

some way as hostesses or cabaret workers, were also highlighted, again in contrast to the Beer King participants.

**Image 11: Beer Contests - Women competing in the Beer Queen competition (1954)**



(Yomiuri Shinbun, 1954)

In addition to these differences in structure and reporting, perhaps the most significant difference between the two competitions is in the way they were or were not used in subsequent advertising; only the Beer King appeared in later advertisements for Nippon Beer. Taken together, the variance in these three elements provides a different understanding of how excessive consumption was equated to male authority and power. Even when permitted to consume, women were still subject to the judgement of men who evaluate their behaviour. While the men participating in the Beer King competition were also subject to judges, this was on objective, quantifiable criteria only and there was no judgement of behaviour. When the inability of these women to conform to these standards ruled them out of the competition, they were still subject to male authority and

power in the form of the reporter who crafted a clearly negative narrative. In this case, it was the body postures and inability to resist the effects of alcohol that were the most important elements for the reporter. By daring to consume in a public contest, these women's physiological reactions to alcohol consumption were subject to male criticism in a way which men, similarly inebriated, were not. This attitude partly explains why women are compelled to self-regulate their consumption given that they should have been free from such criticism given the rules of the event.

Finally, the Beer Queen winner was again subject to this male authority and power when the advertising staff chose to not use their image in advertisements in a similar way to the Beer King candidates. The publicising of the different competitions, reporting on them, and the way they were then marginalised, at first by the company and the media and then secondly by industry historians, all signify the different ways in which consuming men and women are treated and subjected to different standards.

Despite the high degree of overt gendering within these campaigns, which clearly binds masculinity up with the ability to engage in the excessive consumption of beer through the possession of a suitably capable body, this is not part of the discourse surrounding this campaign. Instead, it remains unaddressed in company narratives. The various issues included here - the exclusion of women from narratives of advertising; the promotion of excessive consumption for men *and* women; the criticism of women who engaged in purportedly permitted consumption; the requirement of a bodily discipline to consume, were ignored.

What is also pertinent about these two variants is how views of women's consumption



shifted within a few years. In the early 1960s, a similar competition was held. This time, however, the organisers explicitly acknowledged women's desire to drink. Taking place just under a decade later, in 1963, *Abekku bīru nomi* (呑み) *konkūru* (Couples Beer Drinking Contest) was a response to the growing popularity of beer amongst young women (Shūkan Gendai, 1963, 13).

Some 200 couples consisting of men and women competed against each other from July 3<sup>rd</sup> for one week in relay and timed races to consume the most beer the quickest.

Women's supposed lesser tolerance for alcohol, regardless of individual cases, was acknowledged with a reduced volume of beers required for consumption while the overall amount aggregated the drinking of both participants. In the report on this contest, it was the women's participation that was lauded while men were mocked to some degree if they failed to consume what was considered an appropriate volume. Noting the population of beer drinkers, the author claimed that women made up a quarter, of whom 40% were business girls (BG - now commonly OL (Office Lady)). In this case, we can see how the difference in reporting of these events with a growing acceptance and acknowledgement of women drinkers. It is the difference in how the bodies of the Beer Kings and Queens contestants were viewed that is of most note here. Men judged women's behaviour through their bodily actions. By establishing women's physical responses to alcohol as negative, and critical and by not including them in advertising campaigns, it is clear that women were permitted to drink only under certain circumstances or when able to control their responses. Linda Nicholson has discussed the meaning of women's bodies, noting that it was a 'historically specific variable whose

meaning and import are recognized as potentially different in different historical contexts' (1994, 101). We can see here how women's bodies varied in the perspectives of men, with the ability, and desire, to consume recognised to a greater degree as this period progressed. Campaign Girls' bodies also varied in their meanings but they offer insight into how men consume and position women visually.

#### [Campaign Girls/Gals: Representing the Company](#)

As noted, there were similarities in the focus on the Beer King's body, specifically his measurements, with the way in which campaign girls were categorised and written about later in this century. Comparison reveals, however, the process by which women are objectified and the central role that the bodies of these people played for the beer companies. I argue that the inclusion of these women's measurements was systematic and deliberate within the advertising discourse, fulfilling a different function dependent on the audience involved. For the general readership of the advertising magazines, these measurements served a prurient role, allowing them to access these women through their bodies; for industry professionals, however, they were entirely different serving as publicity for the models in question.

The phenomenon of campaign girls appeared in the late 1980s with their images appearing not only on posters but also on the ephemera of everyday life such as telephone cards. Models for the beer industry increased from around 1987, the year of SuperDry's launch (Asahi Geinō, 2012). These developments are clearly outlined within official company histories with Kirin, for example, noting their use of this marketing tactic

with the 1991 employment of Hara Kumiko (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999b, 3–11). In addition to increasing in number, campaign girls also became widely known in this period. This was partly attributable to the broadening of the advertising discourse which now informed readers about the processes involved in making advertisements and who the performers were. The intensity of the competition during the late 1980s within the beer industry resulted in increased media scrutiny of advertising campaigns in the form of numerous articles within monthly and weekly magazines which examined the advertisers' representative choices in greater depth.

Although campaign girls were increasingly referenced in the advertising discourse, there was little consistency in linguistic terminology with *gāruzu* (CM NOW, 1992g, 134–135), *garusu*, *gyaru* (CM NOW, 1988e, 109), and *gāru* (CM NOW, 1990d, 7–9) all used interchangeably. This inconsistency was perhaps understandable given the lack of standard terms within histories and dictionaries of the advertising industry (See Uchigawa, 1976; Yamaki, 1992, 1995).

Alongside the popularity of campaign girls at this time was a concurrent increase in more progressive depiction of women in beer advertisements. The same year that Hara Kumiko began her campaign girl career for Kirin, Suzuki Honami appeared for the same company in the series of baseball advertisements, discussed earlier in chapter three, which seemingly marked a more inclusive approach. Indeed, the increasing use of campaign girls was criticised by women's organisations, which saw these posters and their emphasis on certain body parts as related to earlier models of the sexual availability of women to men (Yunomae, 1996, 105). However, these tactics also served as publicity for the models

themselves and thus a means for additional employment and to further their careers. We can thus see a parallel, and almost contradictory, approach to presenting women at this time: on the one hand, women engaging in masculine, but now universal, pursuits were used to appeal to other women; on the other, the same industry depicted women in a manner which objectified and sexualised them. Despite the emergence of some progressive representations of women, beer companies appeared to be continuing old-fashioned tactics in attempts to appeal to (heterosexual) men by using campaign girls. Seen in this context, it might well have appeared as a retrograde step to many critics, but this picture is complicated by Suzuki's own career development. Starting as a campaign girl for the cosmetics maker, Kanebō, Suzuki moved on from her Kirin campaign to develop a successful career as an actress (Aoyanagi, 2001, 73). This example suggests that working as campaign girls was a step on the path that young women aspiring to be *talento* often had to take. Furthermore, the appearance of campaign girls was an important and significant tactic in the beer companies' promotional activities and one which was not without precedent. Having their antecedents in the poster girls who adorned the walls of drinking establishments across the archipelago, leaving 'no confusion as to which brand was on offer' (Alexander, 2013, 225), campaign girls appeared to be the latest in a series of activities which used women's appearances to sell beer. They were, in fact, somewhat different. More closely linked to specific companies with personal details featuring prominently, campaign girls were often seen as company representatives, rather than nameless models. Taga Kumiko, for instance, was described as the tenth Kirin campaign girl in 1996 (with this era beginning from 1986) (Tarzan, 1996), thereby situating her as

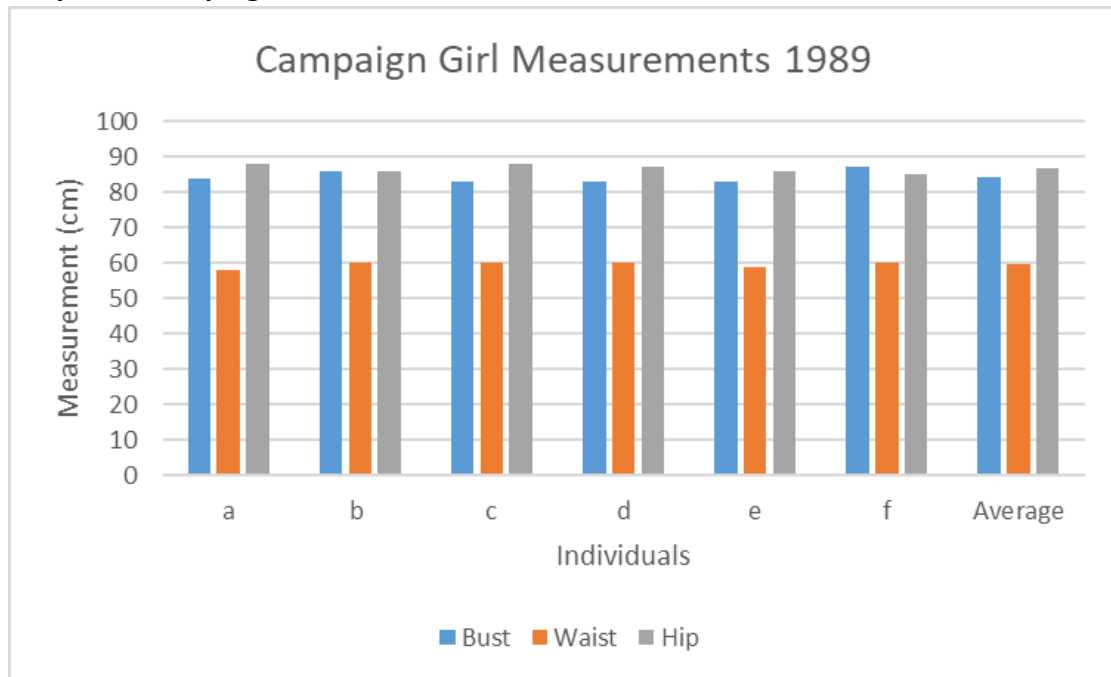
part of a dynasty of women who represented this company and its brand. Campaign girls thus came to be the embodiment of beer companies (Josei Seven, 1988).

Despite the relative lack of industry discussion of campaign girls, they do appear on occasion in the archive in ways that connect them to other performers and therefore reveal media attitudes towards women's bodies. One of the ways these women's bodies were categorised and positioned was through the inclusion of bodily measurements. The function of the campaign girls' measurements was significantly different from those of the Beer King.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the use of women's bodily measurements was a key point of differentiation in writing about women and men. Articles included the barest of details about male actors appearing in beer advertisements - Sugimoto Tetta, for instance, was described as having been born in Kanagawa on 21st July 1965 (CM NOW, 1992i, 82) while another article informed readers of Takashima Masahiro's place and date of birth (CM NOW, 1990b, 42). The story was significantly different for women with advertisers focusing specific attention on their bodies.

These details were also included even when the performer's body was not necessarily overtly displayed in the advertisement. The range of measurements of the performers who appeared in a 1990 *CM NOW* article suggests a preference for a common or shared body type (Graph 10). This indicates a set of shared characteristics of the women that the beer companies employed which helped to create an ideal image for men.

**Graph 10: Campaign Girl Measurements, 1989**



(CM NOW, 1990d, 7–9)

Measurements served as a standard which also informed viewers/readers when a model did not fit within these, very narrow, parameters. Of the six women who appear in this article, the average measurements are bust: 84.3cm; waist: 59.5cm; and hip: 86.7cm; with at most a 2cm deviation from this norm. Their heights were similarly standard: Nakamura Motoko is 167 centimetres while Iijima Naoko is 166, for instance.

The inclusion of women's measurements therefore categorised and defined women according to ostensibly objective criteria, situating them within a standardised system.

The introduction of standardisation measures to evaluate beauty has been traced to the appearance and growing number of beauty contests in post-war Japan which required some means to judge the female entrants (Cho, 2012, 248–249) especially given the greater focus on bodies rather than faces (L. Miller, 2000, 182). The use of measurements

within beauty contests meant that the criteria for judging beauty were established on objective, and thus recordable, grounds - namely the busts, waists, and hips of these women. The use of these same measurements for women who appear in these advertisements fulfils a similar function to these beauty contests, acting as a guide to judging women's bodies. Women's measurements in magazine articles about them (cf Shūkan Gendai, 1991a; Focus, 1996; Nakamura, 1996) therefore provided readers and consumers with access to the performer's body type so that the actual gender performance, those outward gender markers such as hair and make-up, dress and costume, is rendered almost unnecessary. It was the body, and this means of judging it, that was essential to popular understandings of how to evaluate a woman.

This documenting of physical attributes was not restricted to Japanese stars. Articles also documented the measurements of foreign models such as Maria Helvoe or actresses like Phoebe Cates (CM NOW, 1983c, 93–94, 1984, 100, 1985c, 25). One article highlighted the fact that she had appeared naked in the film *Paradise* (1980) and drew attention to her mixed-race ethnicity (Cates' mother was Chinese) (CM NOW, 1985c, 26), suggesting this as one possible reason for this differentiation. Cates' cultivation of a screen image that involved the public display of her body in this way seemingly provided critics and writers with enough justification to scrutinise her body through these measurements.

This scrutiny was not universal for all foreign performers, which indicates the importance of this screen image. When singer Cyndi Lauper appeared in a 1989 *Sapporo Can Nama* (draft) advertisement, only her date of birth was provided (CM NOW, 1989b, 17). Women appearing in advertisements that highlighted the increasing autonomy and agency of

women, however, were nevertheless described in accompanying articles with reference to their bodily measurements. As briefly mentioned in the chapter on sport, Suzuki Honami (26) featured alongside the actor Nakamura Masatoshi (41) for Kirin in an advertising campaign in which she joins an amateur baseball team as the only woman (CM NOW, 1992d, 12). Although there was some criticism of Suzuki's continuous repetition of '*nama bīru*' (draft beer) throughout the commercial (CM NOW, 1992a, 34), this series was well regarded, winning an ACC Prize (Kirin Beer, 1991a) and was considered the best of the year according to a survey of industry professionals (Shūkan Gendai, 1991b, 29). Even though her appearance was designed to broaden Kirin's appeal, a special article for CM NOW in 1991 which focused on beautiful young women (*bishijo*) included direct references to her bodily measurements (CM NOW, 1991b, 25). Suzuki was therefore positioned in industry discourse as akin to campaign girls, despite the fact that she was not appearing in this particular advertisement because of her bodily attributes.

Scholars have claimed that the inclusion of various personal details about models within men's magazines serves to personalise and bring to light aspects of these performers' lives, de-objectifying them so that they are seen as individuals with personalities and characters (Clammer, 1995, 200). The details accompanying Matsumoto Yoko in an article for *CM NOW*, for instance, included her measurements as well as information which distinguished her from other models such as interests in violin, kendō (in which she was a 7th Dan), and fittingly, according to the article, swimming (CM NOW, 1990a, 42).

Additional information that Matsumoto provided included her personal preferences for Japanese clothing to swimsuits. Other articles questioned performers on their knowledge



of beer (Tarzan, 1996, 96) or revealed insights via interviews about their lives and opinions which highlighted their dissatisfaction with conventional or traditional viewpoints of women's roles. For example, Hioki Akiko, who appeared in the 1996 Sapporo Beer advertisement *Natsu no Kaigan Monogatari* (A Summer Beach Story), discussed her lack of enthusiasm for the housewife role that her mother had inhabited, of wanting to achieve something different and to have a different relationship with her future husband (Josei jishin, 1997, 242).

In this way, these articles fulfilled a dual function of presenting these women as sexually available to (heterosexual) men, as had been a common feature of much postwar advertising discourse, while simultaneously reflecting the changing position of women in Japanese society by providing space for them to present at least a partial image of themselves. By depicting them with agency, independence and a desire to (continue to) work, articles such as this both support and undermine previous analyses of historical objectification and sexualisation within the advertising industry. While these examples appear to support Clammer's assertion that these women were personalised by the inclusion of these details, they are still situated as targets for male voyeurism, with men permitted to view and observe these women as they wished. One *CM NOW* article, however, indicates that these details fulfilled another purpose, one which was less obvious to the general reading public.

Rather than simply being included for the titillation of viewers and readers, these details can be viewed as one element within a complex system of publicity and intra-corporate consumption and publicity. The inclusion of these details helped to promote the beer

companies, the *talento*, and their representatives - the talent agencies. The inclusion of swimsuit-clad models, for instance, in many of these articles was often a collaboration between swimsuit makers, beer companies, and talent agencies (CM NOW, 1991b). The models' affiliation or agency was thus included to inform other potential clients about their availability while details about their skills and talents highlighted their individual abilities (CM NOW, 1990a, 7). An article featuring the model Nakamura Motoko, for instance, indicated that she was represented by the agency *Okinawa 21* and had worked for the airline ANA (See CM NOW, 1991b). The inclusion of physical measurements may therefore be provided less for the general readers whom Karlin considers as wishing to feel closer to these *talent* (2012, 84) than it is to provide specific details to other industry professionals and prospective employers. Beer campaign girls were not alone in this, with features on the campaign girls used by other industries also appearing, including the airlines JAL and ANA and the cosmetics maker Shiseido (CM NOW, 1993a). This is not, then, a simple case of objectification, but rather, a more complex, multi-layered process that reflects the intersections between corporations, the media in the form of advertisers and the talent agencies.

This view is substantiated by interviews with the beer campaign girls themselves, who highlight the importance of these roles as early steps in a career within Japan's celebrity-driven media. Many articles provide details of subsequent career paths (Shūkan Shincho, 2008, 143) demonstrating a clear progression from campaign girl to CM girl to actress. Yonekura Ryōko, for example, 'graduated' from being a Kirin Beer campaign girl in 1996 (Tarzan, 1996, 96) to acting in dramas such as *Monster Parent* (2008). Honami Suzuki also

started as a campaign girl, albeit for Kanebō, before appearing in Kirin advertisements and then later dramas such as *Tokyo Love Story* (1993). Indeed, *Asahi Geinō* notes that a role as a beer campaign girl was a clear and defined stepping stone (*tōryūmon*) that gave birth to many stars (2012, 248).

While these measurements provided information for potential employment, analysing this process remains important because it reveals how these bodily measurements were a systematic means of distinguishing women from men and also a means to define femininity through the female body. While these measurements could be linked to a wider understanding of women as being judged through their bodies, we can also understand these bodily measurements as fulfilling an industry function. These measurements were, in conjunction with other information on the skills of these women, key determinants for industry professionals in choosing campaign girls for new campaigns. It highlights how important these measurements were for women, while the criteria for men were entirely different. The ability to gain employment within the industry was reliant on particular bodies. Indeed, it was only through knowledge of the female body, provided by these measurements, that campaign girls were knowable as women and thus as potential employees.

The greater frequency of measurements of women's bodies in media on advertisements during this time was accompanied by an equal focus on women's physical form and appearance through the symbolic use of women's bodies as proxy for the beer.

Commentators' explanations and descriptions of female performers may have differed in their understandings of the body, but they shared one common characteristic in their

various treatises on the beer campaign girls and other female performers – their allegorical use of campaign girls' bodies as stand-ins for beer. Unlike campaign girls for other products, or male performers whose association with the product was much more aligned to their personality or character than physical appearance, campaign girls for beer possessed bodies which indicated to consumers and commentators alike the qualities of the product sold and consumed.

#### Campaign Girls' Bodies: Be Our Proxy

The introduction of campaign girls at this particular point and the subsequent increased focus on women's bodies raise a number of questions concerning the motivation for their introduction, degrees of sexualisation and objectification, and how commentators understood and analysed these depictions. Campaign girls occupied a particular function within the Japanese media landscape that was not a simple matter of objectification, though this undoubtedly took place. Instead, these women were embarking upon initial steps in their career and should be viewed in light of their own agency in making decisions regarding this. This is not to say that this method of entry should not be criticised alongside the ways in which women's bodies were categorised. Nor can it be said that this introduction did not result in an intensified focus on women's bodies in all media. The wider use of campaign girls led to a greater focus on women's bodies as possible topics for media discussion. These articles are invaluable for understanding both the agency of these women and various social attitudes towards the female body.

One of these attitudes was an acknowledgement that the female body was, by dint of

being on display and associated with beer, available for consumption. The introduction of campaign girls allowed many commentators to publicly evaluate the bodies of young women by comparing their body types and various elements to the beer products they were promoting. These interpretations of the body provided insight as to how the beer should taste and what sort of experience a consumer should have. Commentators thus understood the campaign girl selection process and the companies' competitive efforts as conducted through these, and other, women's bodies. This period has been described as 'the age when the beer war was fought via the body' (Shūkan Gendai, 1991a, 69) and this was specifically through the bodies of campaign girls and other female performers.

While a career as a campaign girl may have been a serious endeavour for young women who wished to embark on a career in the entertainment industry, campaign girls as a group were often lauded less for their acting or singing abilities than the qualities that they imbued through their appearance, described like jewels and other precious metals, as glittering (CM NOW, 1987a; 1990b) and 'dazzling beauties' (*mabushii bijo*) (CM NOW, 1985c, 1990d), individual models also tended to be described in ways that also referred to the product they were promoting. Nakamura Motoko, for instance, was chosen because she had a public image of being bright, healthy and pure (CM NOW, 1990a). The "freshness" (*sawayakasa*) that models brought to the beer, for instance, was seen as their most valuable contribution (Hōsō Bunka, 1997, 114) with the competition between two models defined in similar terms. One article described a performer as inferior because, although she had a splendid (*migoto*) body, she did not embody this idea of freshness to the same degree as her competitor (Shūkan Gendai, 1991a, 69) There is infuriatingly little

explanation of how this judgement was applied in either case and the elements which define one was “fresh” are left vague and incomplete. Critics nevertheless evaluated the bodies and personalities of the campaign girls in terms of health and purity and felt that the use of performers with these qualities imbued the beer products with similar qualities. The categorisation of ‘campaign girls’ was also applied by commentators to women employed to publicise new beer products through local marketing efforts. Critics discussed these young women’s bodies in a similar manner to how they described the main campaign girls. Before launching *Super Dry* in 1987, Asahi updated both their label and beer recipes for Asahi *Draft*. To promote their new taste, Asahi arranged parades with young women preceding vans that provided drinks to people to taste-test these changes (Ishiyama, 1987, 150). These “campaign girls” were mostly university students employed locally part-time for the campaign’s duration and were separated into ‘*koku gāru*’ and ‘*kire gāru*’, to represent the twin qualities of the new beer. *Koku* indicated a rich taste while *kire* referred to a fresh and smooth non-bitter after-taste (Yamada, 1999, 97; Mizukawa, 2002, 96). Although not important or famous enough for the company histories to record their names, they fulfilled a similar function to the official campaign girls having been chosen and categorised based on their bright and energetic demeanour which was, according to commentators, discernible from their physical properties (Ishiyama, 1987, 150). These selection criteria were entirely unremarkable to business commentators for weekly magazines like *Ishiyama Junya*, yet the uniformity and persistence across several different genres demonstrates the extent to which women’s bodies were both central to these publicity efforts, and equally subject to similarly

constructed external scrutiny and judgement.

What is striking about the discussions of these young women is how they differ in tone and focus from other representatives of this *koku-kire* difference. The performers previously used to represent this contrast in television and nationwide advertisements, the golfers, Aoki Isao and Ozaki Masashi, clearly embodied the contrasting *koku* and *kire* tastes. Commentators understood their appearance together exactly as the advertisers intended, as representing the equally differentiated qualities of *koku* and *kire* (Asahi Beer, 1987b; CM NOW, 1987c, 106; Kigyō to kōkoku, 1987a, 30). Critically, it was their disparate characters and personalities that were highlighted rather than any difference in their bodies. Men's characters and personalities stood in for the quality of the beer in contrast to the use of women's bodies to achieve the same aims. For the beer companies and critics, women's characters and personalities were less important than their appearance. This notion was also promoted in the media to young women who would have applied for these jobs. An article for the young women's fortnightly magazine, *Hanako*, which discussed men-only beer advertisements explicitly stated that the characters of the actors allowed one to imagine what type of beer was being offered (Hanako, 1995). While *Hanako* was targeted at women who were slightly older than the university students who appeared for Asahi, articles such as this indicate how prevalent this concept was and also how it was promoted socially to gain continued acceptance.

The disjuncture between the use of women's bodies and men's personal characters as stand-ins for products was not unusual, with similar perspectives also seen in other magazines, many of which were targeted at women. A *Josei Seven* article similarly defined

various women from beer advertisements by their bodies while using character as the point of differentiation for men (Josei Seven, 1988, 45–48). A *Sunday Mainichi* article, meanwhile, situated the use of Mike Tyson, Ochiai Nobuyuki, Gene Hackman and Yoshida Takurō in dry beer advertisements as character images acting as proxy for each company's thoughts about dry beer (Yamamoto and Hagiwara, 1988, 140). The characteristics of these actors were each used to represent a different function of beer consumption – Hackman, for example, represented beer for drinking with a 'special woman', while Tyson was a beer drunk alone watching sports. An Asahi appeal to men who "really" liked beer, meanwhile, apparently sought to represent the differences between the two characters of actor Yamazaki Tsutomu and talento-comedian Miyake Yūji, (CM NOW, 1993b) via the differently-shaped glasses that they each used.

Advertisers thus successfully used women's bodies to promote the desired qualities of their beer to consumers with critics and commentators in the media concurring and collaborating in this process. The lack of a similar focus on, and conceptualisation of, men's bodies at this time by creators and media critics is equally striking. The ubiquitous nature of this trend of describing women's bodily attributes and drinks in the same way, using the same terminology, that is, as rich or smooth, fresh-tasting or easy to drink, is one which raises a number of questions about the representation of women, particularly in the beer industry. Describing and understanding campaign girls in terms which were more applicable to the product itself cannot be said to be a universal trait applied to all women in advertising; it was seemingly absent for models in other industries. Campaign girls employed by sports drinks (*Calpis*) and petrochemical companies (CM NOW, 1983c,



93–94, 1987a, 34) were described in bodily terms but their specific qualities were not seen as transferable to the products they advertised. The discussions of beer campaign girls' bodies relied on beer's role as a consumable and on its personal and symbolic role within people's lives to conflate the two elements together. Both were clearly available within this narrative for men to consume in almost exactly the same way. This narrative did not only apply to beer campaign girls, however but can also be seen in relation to other (female) models and performers for the beer companies.

**Image 12: Campaign Girl Tanaka Hiroko with measurements included (1992)**



(Views, 1992)

Image 13: Various Campaign Girls with body measurements (Chest, Waist, Hip) included (1990)



(Shūkan Posuto, 1990)

This relationship between the characteristics of the product and the bodies of campaign girls was also applied to other women appearing in beer advertisements. A Suntory campaign featuring Akashiya Sanma, a comedian and variety host, saw him surrounded by a crowd of young women (*ōzei no wakai josei*) (CM NOW, 1988e, 109). According to CM NOW's exploration of this campaign, the three versions each foregrounded different women according to how they embodied different qualities of the beer. The first version featured those women with a 'deep flavour' while the second chose those who were 'thirst-quenching' and the third foregrounded 'experienced' models. The criteria for assigning these categories was left vague and assumed a reader who

understood these definitions. There is little explanation of what type of “experience” the third category of women possessed, for instance, whether it was sexual or merely age-based, nor how they exhibited it to others. Furthermore, despite this purported experience, these women remain described as *‘gyaru’* which thus undermines any actual experience that they may have.

Representing women’s bodies as a means of quenching men’s thirst is not without precedent. When discussing 1970s beer advertisements, for example, the advertising critic Mukai Satoshi described viewing “girls” in skirts as a sometime relief from the summer heat (Mukai, 1983, 44) (see chapter seven). In both cases, the metaphorical consumption of women apparently provides physical comfort and effect for men equivalent to drinking the beer itself. We can thus see here that critics’ categorisation of the appearance of these women, assigning them to groups based on relatively arbitrary and abstract metaphorical allusions rather than actual verifiable features, both assumed a shared system of understanding with their readers and was part of a system of meaning-creation which included corporate and media stakeholders. These examples demonstrate the existence of a voyeuristic system of consumption that tied together beer and visual consumption through an assumed imagery common to the audience.

Somewhat surprisingly, however, the industry largely avoided significant discussion of these campaign girls as women with individual agency, particularly when it comes to sexuality, or on issues of sexual objectification. Indeed, despite descriptions of these models as “fresh” and “pure”, the display of models’ bodies for male consumption is sidelined. A reluctance to mention the sexual nature of these depictions is common, but it

is not universal.

In explicitly understanding these models as available for visual consumption and sexual relationships, several authors positioned these women as objects of (male) fantasy, and through this, consumers at large. While noting their attractiveness to men (Shūkan Myōjō, 1990; Tarzan, 1996), various commentators saw the desirability of the campaign girls primarily in terms of a companion to drink with (Josei Seven, 1988, 48; Flash, 1994c, 21; Asahi Geinō, 2012). This enunciated desire to drink together was often expressed alongside the physical form of the campaign girls, with one writer noting the whiteness of the model's breasts, for instance (Shūkan Myōjō, 1990, 49) rather than any particular conversation that they might make. A retrospective in *Asahi Geinō* from 2012, meanwhile, discussed Itō Misaki's large breasts and how 'white-hot' bodies were to be consumed as a side-dish (*sakana ni*) (Asahi Geinō, 2012). Another paid especial attention to the 'slender bodies' on display (Yamazaki, 1996). Some campaign girls, meanwhile, were especially noted for their bodily attributes such as the pioneers of the early 1990s so-called huge breast boom (*kyo'nyū būmu*), Nakamura Aya and Asakawa Fumie (Asahi Geinō, 2012, 248).

These articles reveal a seemingly very different interpretation and understanding of the female body from the mainstream discourse discussed above. This sexualisation of these women was also expressed at times in more disturbing ways, such as a 1996 *Weekly Playboy* article which asked if the Asahi *Super Dry* campaign girl, Yanagihara Aiko, could feel the author's breath on her black hair (Pureiboi [Playboy], 1996, 2). Clearly there are fantasy elements at work here, which also function to creating a relationship with (male)

readers but by plainly articulating the sexual nature of the campaign girls' depiction, and by doing so in a manner which implied a sense of entitlement to those same bodies, this differs from the earlier examples discussed above.

The very attractiveness that was core to the campaign girls' employment nevertheless entailed a number of risks. Focusing on women's bodies sometimes worked contrary to the expectations and desires of the beer company with viewers increasingly distracted from the product by the sexualisation and objectification of these women. Sapporo Beer's 1993 depiction of Takeda Kimiko in swimwear, for instance, saw commentators focus on her cleavage rather than the beer (Asahi Geinō, 2012), which did not go unnoticed by the companies and their marketers. Advertisers also acknowledged the "tendency" of (heterosexual) men to focus on women and be distracted from the advertised product in a 1993 advertisement for *Ginshikomi* (Sapporo Beer) featuring the *talento* Higashiyama Noriyuki returning late from work (CM NOW, 1993b, 112–113). Within the scene, various advertisements, television commercials, and hanging posters in his train announce the new taste of this beer, but he misses them all because, this article explains, he is looking at 'girls'. This version is highly self-aware in showing how ineffective advertising can be because of heterosexual men's focus on, and thus implied right to observe, women's bodies. Looking at women, along with the male right to discuss and categorise them, clearly continued to be seen as normal, as it was at different points throughout the advertising discourse for much of the postwar period.

Yet the obsession with looking at rather than engaging with women was not always accepted unconditionally. The advertising commentator Amano Yūkichi was one key

example of those writing critically of men's obsession with campaign girls. Amano links the popularity of these unattainable women to the inability of Japanese men to talk to women in reality, preferring instead to look at images of them (Amano, 1994, 142–143). Amano understood men as generally socially inadequate, preferring to live within and through the fantasy world constructed by writers and copywriters rather than engaging with women on equal terms. For Amano, this inability to talk to women developed from the changing status and position of women within society. This decentering of the Japanese male in reaction to the elevation of women manifested itself for Amano in a loss of vigour amongst men and a desire among these men to switch to the virtual. Amano therefore links the popularity of an advertising trend to events within Japanese society itself. In doing so, the perceived improvement in women's position results in either active resistance on behalf of men or male withdrawal into fantasy. Amano's criticism in this instance, crucially, does not critique women's improving position but rather challenges men's inability to cope with this change. Amano identifies a failure within a particular model of masculinity that sees any improvement for women as a challenge to their position. This compares negatively to the discussions revolving around the 1970 Sapporo Beer *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign starring Mifune Toshirō, in which many commentators criticised this campaign as retrograde, thwarting the social advancements women were making. I explore this in more detail in chapter six, but what is relevant here is that many of the earlier critiques by men lacked the terminology and authority to be taken seriously by advertisers and were ultimately dismissed. By the time Amano was writing, however, it was both possible to criticise advertising depictions for their

objectification of women and to do so as a man.

Women in Body; Girls In Name

These campaigns, and the wider advertising discourse, also regularly position *women* as girls. Operating as part of the process of objectification and voyeurism of the female body, this infantilisation appeared universal. Within *CM NOW*, for instance, the usage of a number of terms to refer to these women makes it clear that age is an important element in their identities and in their femininity. Columns such as *Natsu no Onna no ko no cm* (Summer Girls' Commercials) and *Onna no ko daaaisuki* (We Looove Girls) (CM NOW, 1991b, 1993c) clearly infantilised fully-grown women, situating women such as Takahashi Rika (20) and Emi Wakui (22) (CM NOW, 1993c) as girls rather than adults.

A *CM NOW* special edition focused on the summer beer advertisements exemplifies this categorisation and infantilisation of women. The examination of 'beautiful young women' (*bishojo*) with focus on the swimsuit campaign girls and new idols with only superior "girls" selected (*tobikiri no onna no ko bakari*) (CM NOW, 1991b) shows a number of these processes at work. With beauty and youth closely associated, aesthetic labour was situated as an indicator of youth. This positioning of women as girls, or rather *gāru*, was not unusual with the many of the women working in greater numbers in the interwar period so described (Freedman, Miller and Yano, 2013, 6–10)

In some cases, such as the *koku/kire* campaign girls, this could be seen as related to their actual age. Indeed, staff clearly thought of them in this way, seeking as they did a "girl" (*onna no ko*) who would make the experience enjoyable for customers (Ishiyama, 1987, 150–155). This attitude was not restricted to those women employed within the industry.

Female consumers were also infantilised, with commentators' predilection for associating them with youth ever-present. Certain tastes and preferences were perceived to be held in common by the young and by women. Nakada, in his analysis of the beer industry, points out that beer became popular amongst women and young people (*josei ya wakamono no aida ni*) (Nakada, 1988, 12) while the popularity of Suntory's 100% Malt's amongst the "young and women" was deemed an impediment to heavy-drinking middle-aged men (Oka, 2000, 42–44). Suntory Beer, meanwhile, was known for its light taste and was therefore understood to be liked by the young *and* by women (Kigyō to kōkoku, 1987a, 30–31). In all of these cases, commentators conflate two very different groups who are seen to have similar tastes that differ from older men. These understandings rely on an assumed linkage between women and youth and assume a universal experience for all women. Merry White talks of consumption being one of the pleasures that women enjoy with 'women and teens in Japan... champion shoppers' (White, 1992, 71) though this obviously depended on the financial ability to do so.

A generous interpretation of this equation of youth and gender might be that women were seen to be lacking in experience with the bitter taste that characterised lager. Indeed, many men had grown up on bitter-tasting beer (Kigyō to kōkoku, 1987a, 31) and a bitter taste was constructed as particularly masculine (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1997, 791). The popularity of Super Dry in 1987 emerged specifically from its lack of bitterness unlike Kirin's lager beer which remained popular among people in their 40s (Yamada, 1999, 134), who had become acquainted with it. The mid-to-late 1970s, nevertheless, had seen an increase in preference for a bitter taste amongst young women (Uemura, 1978, 60)



implying that while women may have been originally turned off by it, there was now a cohort in the late 1980s whose tastes had changed.

This assumption that women do not drink beer because it is bitter also disregards the longer history of women's beer consumption, as we have begun to see. In previous chapters, I drew attention to the *banshaku*, the evening drink, which many housewives shared with their husband. These women clearly drank beer, but the existence of domestic cultural practices was disregarded by commentators. By the 1990s, knowledge and experience of beer was also part of the cultural cachet of office ladies. A 1994 *Flash* article which questioned different people on their impressions of Suntory's *Ice Beer* saw an Office Lady (OL) describe the beer as being clear and light with an *umami* taste while a male university student noted that its lack of bitter taste meant it could be easily drunk (Flash, 1994b, 34). In this case, the professional office lady, whose age is not given, is presented as more knowledgeable than the male university student.

Infantilisation of women was also accompanied by a change in the way that *salarymen* were discussed during the latter half of this period. The term *salarymen* did not appear to the same degree as it had prior to the collapse of the bubble, replaced instead by an increasing focus on "businessmen". Kirin, for example, sought to target this new demographic with a newly developed beer, *Golden Bitter* (1992), specifically aimed at those "businessmen" whose energy allowed them to enjoy their jobs (CM NOW, 1992g, 134). The *talento* Higashiyama Noriyuki is described in a 1993 advertisement for Sapporo as a businessman attempting to make a train on time (CM NOW, 1993d, 82). The description of these men as businessmen redefines how salarymen, their roles and

functions, are understood. This contrasts with the reality of this period when

‘shifts in corporate ideology, in the discourse surrounding the salaryman and what he stood for, as well as in terms of the changed day-to-day reality for large sections of the population were manifold’.

(Dasgupta, 2009, 84)

Despite growing uncertainty regarding men’s roles and identities as salarymen due to increasing unemployment and restructuring, this positioning of these individuals as entrepreneurs and titans of industry meant that men remained, overall, as adults capable of making informed choices around beer consumption. Women, on the other hand, were subject to negative criticism in the way that they were discussed which infantilised them by associating them with youth. This difference in descriptions was subtle but widespread enough to ensure that women remained subordinated in these cases.

#### Foreign Bodies: Exotic, Exciting, and White

Another segment of people also appeared in beer advertisements with their bodies widely discussed by critics and commentators. Advertising campaigns featuring foreign celebrities provide insight into how differently racialised bodies and modes of appearance impact on how gender is understood, in terms of how Japanese standards of beauty and presentation are constructed and applied to non-Japanese bodies.

Beer advertisements increasingly featured non-Japanese performers following the 1973 Oil Shock. For commentators, the use of foreigners fulfilled specific purposes, including exoticising and distancing specific actions from the quotidian life of the targeted demographic, the Japanese public (CM NOW, 1993e, 37). Although there had been foreign performers in advertising campaigns in Japan prior to the Oil Shock (Kondō and Kaji,

1975), this had been quite rare in beer advertising. Suntory's 1973 '*Wakasa da yo yama chan*' (It's youth, little Yama) campaigns set in Denmark and featuring Ōhashi Kyosen (All Japan Radio TV Commercial Council, 1978, 25; Okada, 2012) are one early example of using non-Japanese actors, specifically to differentiate Suntory's Scandinavian-style beer from their rivals' German style.

Seeking to explain the increase in both foreign performers and foreign locations following the Oil Shock, the advertising historian Yamaki Toshio has pointed to the increasingly liberated position of women. For Yamaki (1977, 42), the greater popularity of western items and stars was a result of women's greater financial freedom which enabled them to travel abroad combined with the Westernization of taste during the 1960s. The simplest explanation given, by the advertising expert, Mitamura Kazuhiko, was simply that the Japanese liked foreigners (Mitamura, 1977) but this was not accepted uncritically by all commentators. The higher wages paid to these international models were criticised on the grounds that there had been a concomitant increase in prices for goods (Fukuda, 1977, 20). While these interpretations suggest some possible reasons for an industry-wide increase in the use of foreigners, they do not address their function within the advertisements.

Lise Skov and Brian Moeran argue that foreign models and locations were a purposeful technique to avoid representing specific Japanese regions or classes over others. At the same time, this created a 'sense of transnationalism' that gave the appearance of all Japanese being part of global consumer capitalism (Skov and Moeran, 1995, 53–54). By avoiding recognisably Japanese locations, the advertisement was divorced from the

mundane, everyday situations of ordinary Japanese, creating a particular appeal to the audience. A notable example of this was a late 1970s campaign for Asahi that involved the conductor and oboist Mitch Miller and a chorus of non-Japanese people. Dressed in white, the chorus sings various songs, including the late nineteenth-century American folk song and Western classic *Oh My Darling, Clementine*, in locations such as the Grand Canyon (Asahi Beer, 1978) and at barbecues (Asahi Beer, 1979a) (See Image 13).

**Image 14: Asahi Beer - Mitch Miller and Companions sing (1978 approx)**



(1975-1990 *bīru CM shū* (Beer Ad Collection), 2014)

One chorus member, always a man, concludes by reproducing the 1950s tagline, '*Anata no bīru wa Asahi Bīru*' (your beer is Asahi beer) in poorly-accented Japanese. Another iteration of the campaign saw the chorus aboard a sailing ship accompanied by a blond woman dressed in a bikini (Asahi Beer, 1979b). The consumption of Japanese beer was therefore not tied to any one place within Japan but was instead consumed in locations

evocative of American traditions. This association and the lack of Japanese people present divorced this campaign from the locations and style of Japanese drinking, functioning as a fantasy-oriented campaign.

Creighton contends that the effect of foreigners as fantasy is to create and establish Japaneseness. The foreign contrasts with Japanese images of the self, and thus 'delimits Japanese identity by visual quotations of what Japan and Japanese are not' (Creighton, 1995, 136). While Creighton's analysis may work in the context of these 1970s campaigns, beer advertising evolved very quickly to include multiple examples of scenes in which non-Japanese and Japanese performers appear together, engaging in many of the same activities that had been clearly demarcated in earlier beer advertisements. Examples of this include an Asahi campaign which featured a Japanese man and a (blond) American man participating together in various outdoors activities including flying jets and riding horses, before sharing a beer (Asahi Beer, 1981b, 1981c). Ōhashi, as mentioned, socialised with a number of non-Japanese in Denmark in a Suntory advertisement (Suntory Beer, 1973) which won the 1973 ACC prize marking it as a well-regarded creation. In both cases, the locations were clearly marked as somewhere other than Japan, but the inclusion of a Japanese person meant that consumers (male) could place themselves in his position. The 1981 campaign is, however, unusual in that the non-Japanese companion in these advertisements is another man when in most cases it is either a group or a single woman. Although Ōhashi socialises with a huge crowd of Danes, they are, on the whole, peripheral to the blond woman with whom he was most closely associated. She spoke a small amount of broken Japanese, but unlike the American companion in Asahi's advertisement

played a supporting role to the star Ōhashi. This marginalisation was replicated in Minami Hiroshi and Etō Fumio's analysis where they described her as a golden-haired maiden (*kinpatsujō*) (Minami and Etō, 1980, 191). For these two critics, this woman was reduced to her most significant feature which was both a racial and gendered marker of difference. Another Asahi campaign from the mid-1970s also featured various non-Japanese accompanying and validating a slightly overweight and middle-aged Japanese man. In this campaign, Iwata Gaku partakes in a variety of activities with differing degrees of competency, sometimes alone, but when in groups always at the centre of a group of markedly non-Japanese people (Asahi Beer, 1974, 1976).

While some analysts consider the Ōhashi advertisement notable (Mukai, 1983, 232), there is unfortunately little commentary on these other campaigns in general and even less which explores their use of foreigners. The only criticism of the advertisements featuring Mitch Miller was not particularly remarkable with the advertising commentator Mukai Satoshi finding the foreign enunciation of the catchphrase '*Anata no bīru wa Asahi bīru*' distasteful because it erased the sense of nostalgia from when *Horoniga-kun*, the jug-headed puppet of the 1950s, had said it (Mukai, 1983, 117).

The Iwata Gaku campaign was exceptional, however, in that it was almost always a foreign woman who accompanies the Japanese man in these advertisements, as with the Ōhashi campaign. Skov and Moeran contend that the use of the western female body in advertisements in Japan is associated with nakedness and sex and creates 'a subtle but ambivalent message' to consumers to maintain Japanese standards of decency while at the same time indulging in western sensualism (1995, 54). In beer advertisements, this

partially holds true. Kirin's *Light Beer*, introduced in 1980 as part of a trend of severing links to heavy consumption and alcoholism (Amano, 1977; Arai, 1978, 62), used advertisements featuring a female model whose head was replaced with a beer label, in the process erasing her personal identity (Kirin Beer, 1981). This aspect of the campaign was criticised by Maeda Yoshikazu (1980a, 152) not because it objectified the model, but because the label itself was not sufficiently "beer-like". In fact, the model's identity was not important during the audition stage as the copywriter notes that they were looking for any "*onna no ko*" (a girl) (Higurashi, 1980, 50–51). Again, women working within the industry were being infantilised, but this erasure of adult agency is enhanced further as the foreign (female) body is foregrounded over and above any aspect of character or personality.

The foreign female body was not always an exotic and sexualised spectacle, however, despite such appearances to the contrary. In one of the most popular advertisements of 1982 (Yamakawa, 1987, 450–1, 468), Suntory featured a chorus-line of women who, as they revolved, transformed into dancing penguins (Suntory Beer, 1982). This ad went on to win the ACC prize for that year. A semiotic analysis as used by Judith Williamson may argue that this technique works because it transfers the qualities of the performer to the product (2005, 24). In this case, the positioning of the chorus line and the penguins as equivalents mean that they appear to share the same qualities of foreignness and the fantastical. Both the non-Japanese and the dancing penguins here are used to create a sense of the exotic, for which Japanese performers would be inappropriate (Clammer, 1995; Creighton, 1995). While the desire to create a positive feeling in audiences through

this fantasy sequence was evident, the creators focused attention on the main performer, Dianne Kay, an American TV and film actress, by presenting her as the only one to drink beer (CM NOW, 1983a, 133).

In this particular case, the star was lending her fame to the beer, but this was subverted by the unexpected popularity of the penguins, which unintentionally resulted in them becoming the topic of discussion. Originally a clever wordplay based on an earlier 1981 tagline, '*Eguin janai*' (It's not bitter) (Yamakawa, 1987, 450–451), these penguins subsequently became the anthropomorphic stars of a series of advertisements based on scenes from films such as *Casablanca* (1942) and *Big Wednesday* (1978), accompanied by the singer Matsuda Shōko (Yamakawa, 1987, 468). While it may appear that the aim was to exoticise the otherness and fantastical qualities of these non-Japanese women, penguins were intended to merely accompany this actress as her qualities were transferred to the product.

While exoticisation of western, primarily white, women was a feature, it was not always necessarily the most important element in how these advertisements were produced, consumed and critiqued. Race is almost deafening by its absence in advertising discourse. The almost exclusive usage of Caucasian actors and models is evidence across Japanese advertising as a whole and has been described as positioning white foreigners as 'representatives of an essentialized occident with frequent disregard for the diverse cultural and historic differences among Western societies' (Creighton, 1995, 155). The use of Caucasians like this excludes black and Asian non-Japanese while also subsuming diverse cultures into one mass identity, which is then seen as foreign. Whiteness comes to



represent foreignness. This exclusion of non-white foreigners has also been observed in cosmetic advertisements (Ashikari, 2005, 82) and was present in early 1990s magazines targeted at women (Clammer, 1995, 201–207). The use of mainly white foreigners has been attributed to various historical factors which established white models as standards of beauty. These include the lead role of white Western countries such as Britain, the United States, Germany and France in the Meiji Revolution when Japan embarked on a process of modernisation (which also saw a shift in beauty standards as a whole) as well as the United States' cultural role during its postwar occupation of the country (Creighton, 1995, 155; L. Miller, 2000, 178). Russell argues that Japan adopted racist paradigms and values based on Western conventions alongside the adoption and integration of white aesthetic standards, which in turn informed literary and visual representations of black people. This resulted in a decreased opportunities for black foreigners in the media (Russell, 1991) except in situations where their skin tone is overtly marked. The well-known African-American entertainer, Sammy Davis Jr, for example, appeared in advertisements for *Suntory White* whisky (Sejima, 1978), in campaigns which drew specific attention to the contrast between his skin pigmentation and the name of the product. It is important to note here that there is also an indigenous white beauty standard in Japan. This is seen by its practitioners as deriving from traditional or domestic aesthetic values and thus separate from the whiteness of Caucasians, which is seen through a different aesthetic framework (Ashikari, 2005). This would therefore imply that whiteness is valued in Japan in ways that are more complex than the simple borrowing of overseas typologies. Despite these indigenous standards of beauty, white foreigners came to be

seen as both exotic and as a standard of beauty, with *gaijin* increasingly used as bearers of gendered style. Not all white foreign women met this standard, however, and the way in which men applied designations of beauty within the discourse is instructive for understanding how women are categorised through their appearance and for understanding what factors play a part in this process.

#### [Beauty and the Yeast: Designating Women as Bijin](#)

The history of the main contemporary designation of beauty in Japan, the *bijin*, and its application to foreign women, preceded the Second World War. Obviously, few of the beer advertisement performers match the definition of classical *bijin*, which refers to subjects within *bijinga* (pictures of beauties), a genre of art that contains a reference to nature in some form (Cabañas, 2004, 79) and an adherence to a ‘traditional Japanese artistic lineage’ (Mizuta Lippit, 2012, 15). The designation of *bijin* expanded beyond Japanese women in the Meiji period (Mizuta Lippit, 2012, 18–19). Advertising critics came to use it in this more expansive way when referring to women in advertisements. Beauty standards, and the words and categories to describe them, are not static, changing based on current styles and values (Miller, 2006, 20; Mizuta Lippit, 2012) with *bijin* so ambiguous that almost anyone can define it (Mizuta Lippit, 2012, 1–7). Indeed, Shimamori points out that while only certain women can meet the social standards to be categorised in such a way, the categorisation itself remains fluid and protean due to the construction not being based on agreed universal values (Shimamori, 1984). Critics’ descriptions of *bijin* thus expand the boundaries to whom it applied and expand the uncertainty surrounding this description. For while it was clear to many of these writers on advertising who was a *bijin*,

the actual definition or qualities thereof very often eluded these men. It should be noted, of course, that just as the creators of classical *bijinga*, and thus definers of beauty, were men (Cho, 2012, 232), so too were many of these individuals defining beauty in this age. Yamakawa argues that through the 1970s and 1980s, defined as the 'age of women', depictions of *bijin* decreased (1991, 63). The increased use of 'non-*bijin*' suggests to Yamakawa that qualities other than beauty were beginning to be desired. However, Yamakawa's assertion rests on a classical understanding of *bijin* as referring to Japanese women; other critics applied the term more freely. These writers classified foreign performers in Japanese advertising in the 1970s - 1980s as *bijin* specifically because of their celebrity. For noted advertising commentator, Mukai Satoshi, some thirty different foreign celebrities were *bijin* with such "luminaries" as Catherine Deneuve, Lindsay Wagner, and Julie Andrews all qualifying through their participation in what he calls a 'dazzling beauty parade' (1983, 114). This categorisation stands in contrast to foreign men who were typically described as tough guys. In this way, this categorisation of men and women stars rested on differences in appearance versus performance. However, for non-Japanese women celebrity defined whether women met the expected beauty standard. Indeed, Cho has pointed out that in the post-war period the cultural power of Hollywood and the wide dissemination of beauty standards through American films, was not only central to establishing the Western type (i.e., white) as *the* standard of beauty but it also contributed to the equation of *bijin* as actresses where it had previously been a synonym for courtesans (Cho, 2012, 248–250).

Although actresses had become synonymous with *bijin*, beer advertisements also

contained images of non-celebrity *bijin*. The Kirin *Light Beer* campaign, discussed above, is one example. In one scene, a middle-aged, overweight Italian man sits by a pool with a cigar and can of beer, while his wife sits next to him. As a young foreign woman emerges from the pool, he sucks in his stomach while his wife laughs (Kirin Beer, 1980d). The copywriter's aim here was to depict a *bijin* in a swimsuit (*suichaku sugata no bijin*) (Higurashi, 1980, 50–51) which was clearly achieved insofar as industry insiders were concerned, describing this young woman as a *bijin* while the man, in contrast, is referred to as a *chūnen no ossan* (a middle-aged guy) (Brain, 1980c). Both creators and viewers in this case shared an understanding of what qualified a performer as a beauty which in turn reveals how the criteria used to judge men and women differed by age and aesthetic standards. In this case, it is the young woman's appearance that is used to define her while the man is defined by his maturity.

Despite this shared understanding, however, aesthetic standards varied widely. The copywriter, Tamura Yoshinobu, for example, did not consider this performer either a *bijin* or celebrity, but refuses to explain why (Tamura, 1980, 187) which therefore indicates that the categorisation of women as non-*bijin* is as arbitrary as the application of the term. The key elements in the categorisation of the model as a *bijin* are the displayed female body and the ways in which men used certain elements to categorise and contain the female body.

Miller has noted that during this period the bodies of Japanese women were less important in evaluating them than their roles as social actors as well as their 'character, abilities, and family standing'. Breasts, for instance, were not considered 'critical

attributes of womanhood, beauty or sexuality' (Miller, 2003, 271–273). When the body was eroticised, it was the Western *female* body, as noted above (Clammer, 1995; Creighton, 1995). The categorisation of this particular white woman as a *bijin* rests on a foregrounding of her body in a similar way. Although her gender performance includes long hair, it is her body, and the way in which she is actively using it in the swimming pool, which the critics are using to judge her. Her performance, both gender and athletic, also provides a contrast with the passivity, age, and body of the middle-aged, cigar-smoking foreign man who recognises his own body as being inadequate. The *youthful* female body is also similarly contrasted with the man's wife, a *non-bijin* according to the various commentators who fail to define her as such. This youthfulness contrasts with the standards of the aesthetic canon at this time when 'cuteness and ineffectual innocence' were endorsed by many Japanese men with the media flooded with images of 'childish-looking women who visually coded the desired traits of docility, naiveté, and powerlessness' (Miller, 2003, 274). The key difference here is the performer's non-Japaneseness – in Japanese men's magazines, a stronger female sexuality is implied by either older models, longer and unkempt hair or, critically, by foreign women (Clammer, 1995, 207).

Kirin *Light Beer* was clearly positioned as a light beer, but there was industry debate over whether it was therefore seen as feminine (Ishizuka, 1980, 107) or not (Kojima, 1980, 35). For the copywriter, Higurashi Shinzō, the key appeal of light beer was that it could be drunk at home with the family; Kirin wanted to capture a growing market of women drinkers (Higurashi, 1980, 50–51). On the surface, then, it may be thought surprising that

this advertisement depicted a *bijin*. However, because images of the female body have been historically used to promote consumption in Japan, either of services or material objects (i.e., to women) or as an image itself (for heterosexual men) (Clammer, 1995), the motivation here was two-fold: the model was attractive to (heterosexual) men as an image, but at the same time appealed to women – a point which is further bolstered by the fact that the advertisement mocks the middle-aged man’s desire to appear attractive. The non-Japanese *bijin* is therefore defined by celebrity or a female-sexed body which fits certain attributes. Aged or – as in the Kirin Light Beer advertisement – married individuals, lacking these, are excluded from this categorisation. These applications of beauty standards by men thus relied on a somewhat arbitrary combination of celebrity, age, and marital status. Yet while many women were thus judged and evaluated within a system based on these factors, other critics subtly judged and critiqued women on the abilities of their bodies to consume alcohol in direct contrast to male performers.

#### Bodies of Consumption

While critics and commentators categorised women as a bodily repository of taste in the latter part of this period, there is one other notable approach towards the corporeal form in the 1980s through which commentators differentiated men and women, namely alcohol tolerance. The increased number of advertisements during the 1980s led to a greater range and variety in the types of women that appeared and who were then discussed or referenced in the trade and popular press. These discussions categorised women in a much more systematic way, partly because the advertising discourse during

the 1980s to 1990s was also much more systematic. Beer advertisements were, as noted, increasingly the subject of public debates and common knowledge (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999a, 210; Nakada, 1988, 5–8) with the various opinions and perspectives on advertising that constituted the discourse now more accessible and diverse. The increased number of articles, and the analyses that they included, established parameters as to what was canon within these advertisements and how they could be discussed. One of the magazines that did this on a popular, rather than trade, level was *CM NOW*.

Articles within magazines such as *CM NOW* played a key role in constructing a world around the advertisements. Karlin has argued that viewers interpret celebrities in advertisements by applying their intertextual knowledge of them from other fora, including variety shows, dramas, gossip and alternative advertisements, which in turn provides pleasure through feelings of familiarity and intimacy (2012, 72–84).

Contemporary viewers currently seek information about advertising celebrities through visual media of the filming process provided on corporate websites which provides pleasure by allowing them to glimpse the “true” self of the *talento*, situating them as fans rather than consumers (Karlin, 2012, 84). As Karlin notes, these online videos are ‘highly edited’ (2012, 84) to create an illusion of the truth which viewers can use to understand both this advertisement and the *talento*’s next role. I argue that before widespread access to company websites and internet fora magazines such as *CM NOW* and *Junon* provided this access to knowledge about the *talento* and through this a greater engagement with the advertised products.

These magazines published details of shoots, including trivia of what the *talento* did and

said, what they achieved, and perspectives from the crew involved. Indeed, one article for *CM NOW* notes that many celebrities were known to consumers through their attitudes and lifestyles (CM NOW, 1990f, 40–41) which were publicised in the magazine itself. Filming locations were also often discussed in detail (Josei Jishin, 1994, 204–205) with hiking maps provided (Flash, 1994a, 57) so that fans could experience the actual locations in reality – an alternative example of Contents Tourism (Seaton, 2015; Seaton and Yamamura, 2015) and the desire of fans and consumers to experience the reality of what they consume visually.

These magazines discussed the roles, abilities, and performances of performers in clearly gendered ways, by discussing the appearance of women, their association with youths, or by what they were doing during the advertisements and during filming. Representations of women drinking were increasingly common in advertisements in the 1980s, however articles describing the making of advertisements undermined this apparently positive element in several ways. One element of this can be found in the representations of control over drinking, with women actors presented as less capable, while men were allowed a public persona of natural ability and insobriety. For Christiansen (2010, 45–47), the representations of consumption within advertisements promote the ability of men to consume with control. Yet when this is compared to these narratives, we can see that while drinking in advertisements is controlled and restrained, the actual excessive consumption of male stars is lauded within this constructed imaginary.

The comedian Tokoro George, for instance, who appeared for Kirin (1988), was described as a good fit as he really liked beer and imbibed so much that he became a little drunk as



the filming went on (CM NOW, 1988e, 112). There is little negative judgement of this drunkenness, which fits in with the general social acceptance of male insobriety in Japanese society. However, there is no sign of this in the advertisement itself. Instead, the provision of these details allows a pretence at intimate access to a private world in which the actors are everyday individuals, sharing common themes and characteristics with the fans in contrast to the advertisement itself which presents images of a reality which the viewers know to be constructed. This particular example is emblematic of a trend (See CM NOW, 1990a, 42, 1993b, 112) where the male performer's prowess at drinking in our "reality" is lauded again and again while female performers efforts at consumption are either undermined for not being adequate enough or praised for entirely different virtues. This undermining extended to foreign stars with articles documenting their inability to cope with beer consumption. The negative focus on actress Phoebe Cates's red eyes from having several cans of beer opened in her face during an Asahi shoot is one notable example (CM NOW, 1984, 100). In contrast, Sylvester Stallone was described as a '*dai no bīru tō*' (a big beer fan) with a particular affinity for Kirin whose campaigns he happened to be appearing in (CM NOW, 1985e, 8). Mel Gibson was similarly noted for his consumption of six bottles while on set (CM NOW, 1986, 110).

While the act of drinking in the advertisement is not excessive, the broader discourse lauds (male) performers who can or do drink significant amounts. The advertisers are thus able to praise these male stars for their ability to drink while avoiding representing them as such within what Mizukawa has noted is a relatively regulated medium of broadcast television (2002, 105). This results in a convention whereby male actors are understood to

have been chosen because of their affinity for beer, in contrast to female performers who have been chosen for their appearance. This behind-the-scenes look at the constructed world of advertisements therefore also creates, uses, and relies on an understanding of the body that also frames the interpretation of the advertisements. Viewers who have consumed this literature view these advertisements in the light of the knowledge of what these stars can do. This knowledge is differentiated by the gender of the performers with tolerance for alcohol situated as a trait associated with the male body.

By positioning men as drinkers with a high tolerance for alcohol, these descriptions are using physiological changes that the body undergoes as elements that attest to the character or gender performance of the stars in question. The effects of drinking, in physiological terms, are described for women in a way that is not paralleled for men. Phoebe Cates' face, for instance, was described as getting pinker as she consumed three or four bottles of Asahi *Can Boi* in 1985 (CM NOW, 1985a, 26) while male actor Takashima Masahiro's 1990 consumption of five litres of Kirin was positively described as '*sugoi*' (great) (CM NOW, 1990e, 119). Nakamura Masatoshi, in a Kirin campaign focusing on baseball, was equally lauded for taking the business of drinking seriously, with a particular point of praise being his ability to drink without his face changing colour (Shūkan Gendai, 1991b, 28).

While other articles included details about how certain performers persevered under different weather conditions (CM NOW, 1989a, 88, 1989c, 128), the restriction of praising stars' drinking to those who were male promotes normative assumptions about gendered drinking behaviours and gender. Intimate access to the purportedly real world of the set is

used to reinforce various understandings about men and women that may or may not be present in the final broadcast advertisement. By writing flatteringly about male performers' ability to drink while filming and only mentioning beer's negative effects on women, these writers play a small part in ensuring that excessive consumption continues to be seen as a means to demonstrate masculinity. Lemle and Mishikind have noted, in a different context, that increased alcohol consumption allows a male to appear more masculine as 'long as he does not show significant loss of control or dependence' (1989, 215). By describing women as not being able to consume or to not control their bodily reactions to alcohol, these descriptions also serve to further position beer as a man's product. The advertising discourse operated to undermine the increased representation of women in advertisements by showing how inherently different they were from men in their consumption habits and through this undermine the increasingly positive representations of women drinking and the right of women to drink.

Corresponding cases of men's inability to drink are not non-existent in the advertising discourse but are very rare and only mentioned in passing. Ogata Ken, for instance, is noted as a non-drinker in reality despite his appearance for Kirin Beer's Ichiban Shibori (Bishō, 1992, 251) but this is framed as a personal choice rather than situated around his body's ability. Instead, the trend is, on the whole, to laud male drinkers and their corporeal abilities.

### Conclusion

In this chapter, we can see the importance of the body to various critics and commentators and how it defines their understandings of gender in the postwar period.

Writers lauded, praised and used the assumed and innate ability of the male body to consume alcohol to differentiate men and women and position men as superior. These understandings of the body were present throughout the discourse and stretch from the Beer King competition of the 1950s through to the recent construction of the world of the advertising imaginary. Throughout these understandings, the male body has been central and essential to the performance of masculinity insofar as it is able to consume and consume heavily. The ability to consume alcohol, however, was already determined to be a masculine trait with the exclusion of individuals who did not match these preconceived notions. Discussions of women's bodies, meanwhile, have rested on their perceived innate inability to consume, precisely because of their bodies. On the occasions when the female body is not found wanting, those women are subject to a variety of critiques and criticisms for their adoption and usurpation of male rights and privileges which men utilise to define themselves as masculine.

Many of the perspectives on the body have been enunciated in reference to campaign girls who first appeared around 1983-1984 (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999b, 3–11). Functioning in a symbolically different way to the female actors and models who both preceded and operated alongside them, the bodies of campaign girls were increasingly scrutinised, while a greater range of depictions of women led to a recognition that there were diverse models of femininity available. Both types of performers, by appearing in advertisements, apparently opened their bodies up for scrutiny which took place through measurements and the use of personal details which both personalised these encounters while undermining their ability to be perceived as adults. Bodies – and particularly women's

bodies – were thus essential to understandings of gender throughout this period, with men's bodies not subject to the same attention and level of scrutiny.

While the bodies of individuals were essential to both constructing and understanding advertisements throughout this period, critics also depicted men and women in a number of settings which focused more on the social dynamics than embodied experiences. Due to increases in home consumption, one key site of representation was the family home.

## Chapter 5: Home, Hearth, and Drinks – The Never Constant Family

Even when I have bad experiences at work, I feel better by thinking of [the Asahi-sponsored] *Laramie*. When I hear the *Laramie* theme, I think of Asahi and have a drink during the [Asahi] commercials. Yomoda Yōko, Meguro Ward, Tokyo (Takayama, 1999, 253)

In 1960, Yomoda Yōko, a young female office worker, sent the above letter to Asahi Beer detailing the pleasure she took from the joint consumption of their beer and the show that they sponsored. Former Asahi Beer executives used Yomoda's letter some 40 years later in their unofficial history as an example of the more than 500,000 letters that they received in praise of the imported Western, *Laramie*, that they sponsored (Takayama, 1999, 126–7, 250 - 252). Yoshida's letter captures the growing integration of advertising within Japanese society and indicates the awareness of corporate entities regarding the effectiveness of their campaigns. More importantly, however, this letter illustrated the entwined and symbiotic consumption that was becoming more common at this time. Women were not only increasingly consuming beer, but they were doing so within the home while consuming television shows sponsored by those same companies. The development of durable consumables such as the television meant that the home became a primary site for beer consumption. Indeed, the home was a location where anyone, like Yomoda, could consume without public reproach. Domestic consumption meanwhile, was central to Kirin's growing dominance (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996; Kirin Bīru KK, 1999a; Takayama, 1999; Mizukawa, 2002): it was Kirin's focus on home consumption which enabled the company to gain ground, and eventually surpass, the other two, more established companies.

The home, and the family, were thus central to beer consumption and were duly depicted within advertising campaigns. Advertisers' depicted the domestic consumption of beer in family contexts in a range of ways, highlighting at times the role of housewife as purchaser, while the wider advertising discourse explored how the family should be structured and the differentiated roles that individuals should play within it by age, sex, and ability. However, changes in the kinds of families highlighted in the beer advertising of this period were rarely commented on. Despite this, each decade featured a different dominant representation. The 1950s marked the appearance of the salaryman, and the development of multiple forms of consumption within the home, before shifting to a depiction of men's hobbies rather than their occupations, in recognition of the growth in the desire for leisure time. The 1960s, meanwhile, saw advertisements promote a greater recognition of housewives' role in facilitating consumption and their integration into social networks, while the 1970s and 1980s recognised very differently structured families. Tracing these differences reveals shifts and evolutions in the idea of the family that are most notable in the advertising literature for their unremarkableness.

Advertisements in the immediate postwar period were characterised by their depiction of men, by their appeals to men and by a subsequent lack of discussion in the broader advertising discourse concerning these representations. While the range of masculinities on offer during the next two decades shifted from besuited salarymen and fathers at home to men drinking alone, there were few debates or comments on the meaning of masculinity present in commentators' concerns. Instead, discussions revolved around competing campaigns, advertising theory or trivia associated with campaigns. The Asahi

publicity staff, for instance, highlighted that the blindfolded man in their taste tests (1956) originated from a Dentsu copywriter and discussed the value of the accompanying slogan (Takayama, 1999, 38), but not why this man was selected. Sapporo, meanwhile, discussed the awards won by their beer, *Strike* (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 462), but not the representations within. Representations of gender were so unremarkable that there was no requirement to discuss them. Indeed, according to Shimamura and Ishizaki's work on advertising research and thought, the advertising industry at this time was not overly concerned with issues of gender representation but instead focused on persuasion and efficacy (1997, 236–252).

However, these advertisements can be categorised as being implicitly gendered in that the models and representations were not explicitly linked to their role or status as men. Instead, these representations emphasised elements that would not have been qualitatively different if they had been used for women. Even advertisements that featured more explicit models of masculinity, which tied the consumption of beer into the abilities of men's bodies or occupations reserved for men, were still characterised by a general lack of discussion of gender. Yet it is in being so unremarkable that we can see which elements were accepted and normative in this period. Foucault has noted the importance of those elements that are not said or spoken of; of how silence is part of discourse (2002, 27–28). Silence establishes the subjects that can be verbalised and those that should not. Since discourse necessarily defines what can be spoken about, the unspoken elements of representation within certain campaigns and the themes which appear to be neglected or forgotten are equally noteworthy and significant in that they



indicate what was so commonplace as to be undiscussed. It is the comparison between these spoken and unspoken elements within family depictions within these advertisements that I highlight here. I start with the 1950s family, depicted through the salaryman, the ubiquitous corporate worker, with his paid employment indicating his role within the family, and by the use of illustrated characters that depicted and defined consumption along gendered- and age-based lines. These two depictions, and their lack of discussion, provide insight into how the newly prominent nuclear family should look, work, and operate.

[Salarymen, Ribbons, Moustaches and Citron: Constructing the Nuclear Family](#)

From the 1950s onwards, the beer companies chose to target men as their main consumers with a variety of depictions of men at work, specifically white-collar work, and men at leisure, primarily in the home. Both seemingly replicated their targeted demographic, one by showing the newly emerging, besuited model of masculinity, the salaryman (Image 15) and the other by showing him in the home that this corporate work paid for (Images 20-21). By the end of the decade, this trend shifted with campaigns starting to depict wider interests that men engaged in, such as baseball, before diversifying to present a range of masculinities (Asahi Beer, 1964b). Early advertisements featuring salarymen at work and leisure not only constructed the ideal corporate and Japanese male, but also variously structured gender through changing representations of the family.

The salaryman was a relatively new development of the postwar period (Roberson and

Suzuki, 2003) and his appearance within these advertisements represented a new postwar modernity that featured an increasing emphasis on consumption. One 1953 Asahi advertisement featured a besuited man doffing his hat to assorted representatives of other nations who, in turn, doff their headgear back (Takayama, 1999, 45). These included India (by Sikhs who doff their turbans), Africa (by tribeswomen in loincloths) and a fantasy Japan (by *Kappa*, the mischievous water sprite of Japanese mythology). The salaryman thus represented a masculine modernised Japan in contrast to countries that remained traditional, and on a par with mythical creatures. A 1954 advertisement for Kirin, meanwhile, presented a similarly styled salaryman but positioned this protagonist more realistically within a Japanese setting. Returning home from work, this salaryman proudly announced his three ‘possessions’: beer, wife and son (Kirin Beer, 1954) (Image 15). Beer was clearly a central component of salaryman identity.

**Image 15: Kirin Beer - The salaryman and his possessions (1954)**



(Kirin Beer, 1954)

This was the period when the Salaryman ‘emerged as both the corporate “ideal” and the

masculine “ideal” (Dasgupta, 2013, 34). Given his primacy as an ‘ideal’ citizen, he was also the beer company “ideal” of the main consumer. The salaryman quickly became the “everyman” (Dasgupta, 2003b, 118) in Japan - a blue-suited prince (Condon, 1991, 18) and a latter-day samurai (Henshall, 1999, 2–3) who represented all men from across the country, despite never constituting a majority of the male workforce in Japan (Dasgupta, 2000, 192-194) The term ‘salaryman’ highlights the importance of the salary itself (Tubbs, 1993, 867) and often refers to a ‘white-collar organization man’ (Herbig, 1995, 271) with a home in the suburbs taken care of by a housewife who has no requirement to work. Working long hours, his loyalty and dedication is such that he is perceived to sacrifice himself for the company (Imamura, 1987, 2; Henshall, 1999, 2–3; Freedman, 2002) with this self-sacrifice a key component of his self-identity.

While actual definitions can be difficult (Dasgupta, 2003b, 119), the mental image of most salarymen is that of:

a neatly groomed, middle-aged, grey-suited, briefcase-carrying, white-collar male office worker who leaves his home in the suburbs early each morning, commutes in an overcrowded train to some faceless downtown office block and ends the day by lurching drunkenly back to the suburbs on the last train after a drinking session with colleagues or clients.  
(Dasgupta, 2003b, 118).

By the time of these scholarly analyses, the salaryman had already become established as the exemplar of postwar Japanese masculinity. The salaryman in the 1950s depictions with which I opened this section, on the other hand, was yet to gain the symbolic cachet that he would come to have. Focusing on these early representations of ideal masculinity reveals the formative elements of what came to be accepted as the norm.

Despite the prominence of the salaryman in 1950s beer advertising, neither his presence, his relationship to his family or his role in it through his (gendered) ability to earn a wage, are heavily discussed by critics or commentators. This is despite the fact that the style of life of the salaryman became more desirable and important during this time (Caudill and Plath, 1986, 249) with the salaryman model 'dominating the mass media, popular literature...and thus exerting an important influence on Japanese in the rest of society' (Tipton, 2002, 167–168), in the process replacing both the farmer and the soldier as idealised forms of masculinity (Dasgupta, 2003b, 122; Low, 2003, 95–96).

The newly prominent model of masculinity was not seen as contentious or requiring discussions at great length within the nascent advertising magazines and journals. The positioning of the family and beer as possessions to bolster one's own identity were apparently accepted and widespread. However, while the lack of discussion of these models indicates a widespread acceptance of these depictions, representational shifts nevertheless existed, as outlined above. These point to some instability in the model itself or in the use of this model of masculinity as a promotional tool. I argue here that the salaryman within these advertisements acted as a purveyor of identity, providing consumers with an image of themselves to consume. As Williamson notes, advertisements are 'selling us ourselves' (Williamson, 2005, 13) and these advertisements made clear to novice salarymen how they were meant to look and what they were meant to value in order to be successful. The home, a family, and beer were all the rewards of a successful salaryman. Or the converse may be the case with all three essential elements of being a successful salaryman. One key location in which these essential elements were staged in

these advertisements was the family home.

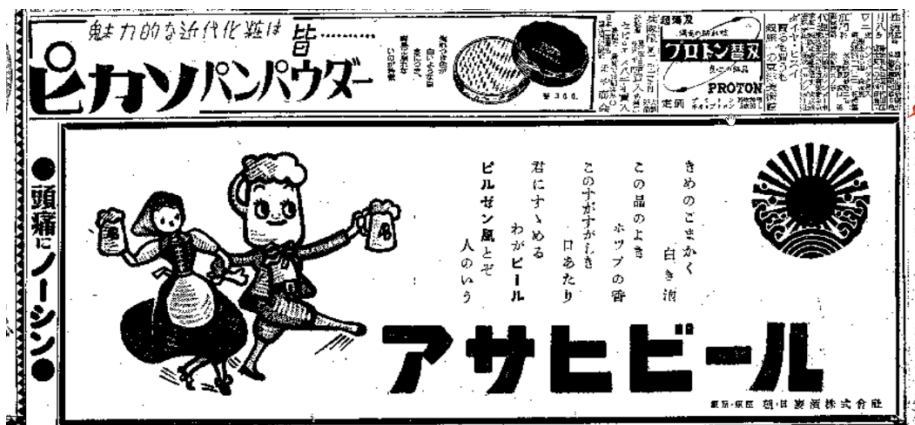
[Everything is illustrated: The Family That Consumes Together - Co-opting Soft Drinks and Beer](#)

Numerous 1950s advertisements depicted these men as illustrated characters consuming beer at home. These illustrated characters featured alongside ones representing the soft drinks which each of the beer companies also produced. At this time, it was soft drinks that enjoyed greater brand recognition and they were thus used to market the comparatively lesser-known beer products. This enabled a transferral of both brand recognition and trust by establishing a link between the beer companies that produced the soft drinks and their beer products. The illustrated characters clearly identified the intended consumer for each product along gendered lines with beer consumption marked as the preserve of men whether this was singly, within the family, or in a (heterosexual) relationship.

There were a number of cases where illustrated characters appeared in their own publicity materials with consumption patterns differing on the basis of gender. Sapporo, for example, used a character called *ribon-chan*, adorned with a bow in her hair, to market *ribon-citron*, the soft-drink they had inherited from Dainippon following the 1949 split. *Ribon-chan* appeared in television advertisements in 1958 during showings of the American TV show *G-Men* (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 409). Their beer, on the other hand, was represented by the *Beer King* (*Bīru no ōsama*) (1954) – a character dressed as a king with a barrel for a body who would be adapted for the eponymous competition discussed

earlier. Asahi deployed a jug-headed character, *Horoniga-kun*, who appeared alongside his girlfriend and eponymous representative of their soft drink, *Mitsuya Cider*, Mitsuya-jō (Hamada, 2009). Appearing initially as a waiter in a tuxedo carrying a serving tray (Asahi Beer, 1951a), *Horoniga-kun* soon developed into the more familiar consuming version (See Images 15 and 16) before coming to be seen as the representative of the company. While *Horoniga-kun* filled a marketing gap until television made it possible to advance into the home in more organised and innovative ways (Takayama, 1999, 42), his continued use alongside *Mitsuya-jō* emphasised heterosexual relationships and gender-differentiated consumption as normative. Discussion of this character was nevertheless marked by a lack of focus on the motivation for making him male, heterosexual, or a beer drinker with instead his creator, the puppeteer Kawamoto Kōharō, lauded for helping to make *Horoniga-Kun* instantly recognisable and subsequently popular (Asahi Beer, 1950b; Takayama, 1999, 35–43) as can be seen in images 16-17.

**Image 16: Asahi Beer - Horoniga-Kun prior to his alliance with Mitsuya-jo (1951)**



(Asahi Beer, 1951a)

**Image 17: Asahi Beer - Horoniga and Mitsyajō celebrating in summer (1953 approx.)**



(Takayama, 1999, 43)

Beer was marked as “naturally” masculine and adult in contrast to the feminised and infantilised image of soft drinks. Several advertisements featured illustrated characters appearing together to promote beer and soft drinks as a family or through kinship relationships. These examples are informative of how maturity defined gender, showing how consumption choices are chronologically marked. Several of these advertisements position boys drinking soft drinks alongside men drinking beer. Beer is therefore also presented as a means to perform and acquire masculinity.

Asahi, for instance, featured two illustrated characters in a 1952 advertisement, one large and moustachioed; one small, marked by a boyish haircut and notable for an absence of facial hair. The tagline reads *‘Otona wa Asahi, kodomo wa Mitsuya Saidā’* (the adult [drinks] Asahi (Beer); the child [drinks] Mitsuya Cider) (Takayama, 1999, 183) (Image 18).

Adults (*otona*) are standardised as men and children (*kodomo*) as boys with similar practices of consumption differentiated by age and by the development of secondary sexual characteristics, such as facial hair.

**Image 18: Asahi Beer and Mitsuya Cider - Adult and boy, (1952)**



(Asahi Beer and Mitsuya Saidā, 1952)

The differentiation of a man's consumption with that of a boy contrasts with other soft drink advertisements of the time, such as a 1956 Kirin Lemon advertisement which features a mother and child (Kirin Beer and Kirin Lemon, 1956) (Image 19). In this advertisement, the relationship is clearly marked with the woman's status related to her reproductive and nurturing role. In this instance, both the mother, who is designated as such, and the child share the same drink.

**Image 19: Kirin Lemon - Association of mother and child through soft drinks (1956)**



(Kirin Beer and Kirin Lemon, 1956)

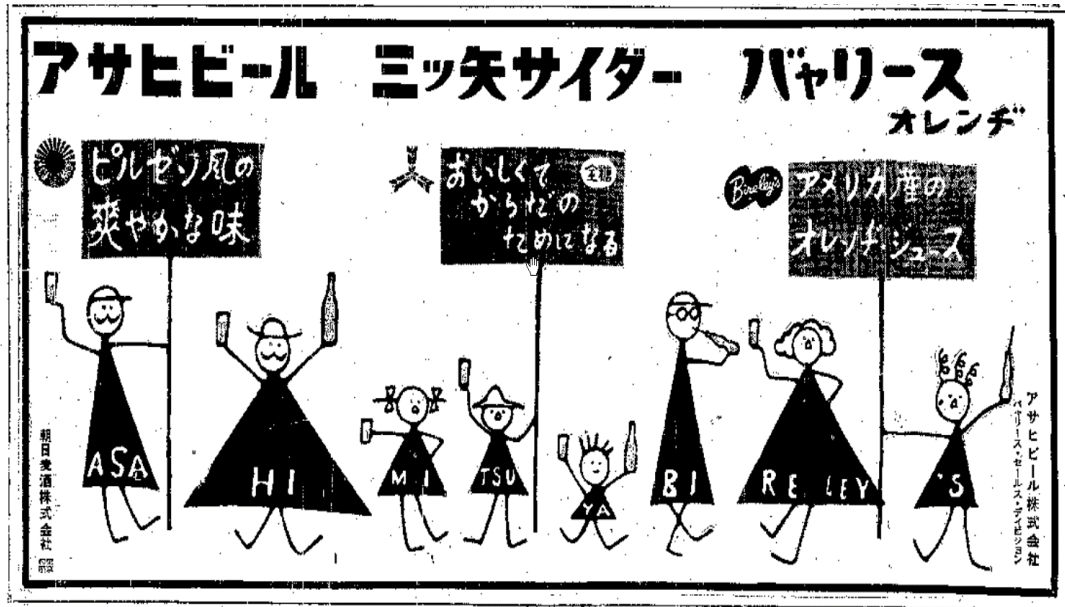
By comparing the appearance of children in these two different advertisements and their relationships to the adult with whom they appear, we can gain a sense of how gender is



constructed and how beer is used to define masculinity. Beer consumption is positioned as central to the performance of masculinity; it is through drinking beer and tonsorial flourishes that one is recognised as a man. A social, and at times ritualised, performance of maturity was central to constructions of masculinity in Japan, both historical (Nagano, 2011; Sakurai, 2011) and modern (Dasgupta, 2003a). In Tokugawa Japan, for instance, it was the adoption of certain behaviours, practices, and responsibilities disassociated from actual physical ageing that indicated the transformation of a youth to a man (Pflugfelder, 2012, 963-966). Rather than the ability to grow facial hair, the right to be marked as a man was through the adoption of a man's hairstyle. Once we move to the postwar, however, after the long period of modernization and contact with the outside world, more internationally recognised markers of maturity, such as facial hair marked a male as a man, alongside the consumption of beer.

Despite these clear representations of gender, the broader advertising discourse remains relatively silent on these elements. This also appears to be so with other advertisements and publicity materials that used illustrated characters to designate beer as masculine and mark soft drinks as feminine. These advertisements presented images of the family or of relationships where the women, like children, consumed only soft drinks (Asahi Beer, 1952; Nippon Beer and Ribon Shitoron, 1952; Kirin Beer, 1960) (Images 20 - 22).

Image 20: Asahi Beer - Situating Beer within the family (1952)



(Asahi Beer, 1952)

Image 21: Nippon Beer - Beer as the father's reward (1952)



(Nippon Beer and Ribon Shitoron, 1952)

Image 22: Kirin Beer - Beer as a drink for men (1960)



(Kirin Beer, 1960)

These campaigns establish the whole family as consumers but only the father, or the man within a relationship, as the beer drinker, and are based on new kinship units centred on the nuclear family following the abolition of the patriarchal *ie* (household) system. The *ie* system, based on a samurai model of an ideal kinship unit and instituted by the Meiji government despite the prior existence of multiple variants of marriage and family across the country, collated authority and power in the hands of the male household head and attributed primacy to this group over other family links (Nakane, 1986, 173–175). After 1945, and accelerated by industrialisation and urbanisation, a trend towards the nuclear family became more common, especially in Tokyo with the countryside slower to catch up. By the 1960s, the nuclear family had become a social and representational ideal (Hendry, 1995, 22, 27–29; Nonoyama, 2000, 29–30), as can be seen here, and the basis for political and social policy (Takeda, 2005, 102).

Yet there are crucial differences in how these advertisements depict the family from the earlier discussed salaryman-working campaigns, particularly in the presence of daughters and wives. Normative family relationships are presented within these advertisements with differences in consumption practice attributable to gender and status.

The family-based representation of Japanese masculinity became less frequent as we enter the 1960s, however, as advertisements shifted to depicting activities that men engaged in rather than their occupations. This was not because earlier representations were not working but rather, I argue, because this model became so ubiquitous that it was used and promoted everywhere and thus lost some of its power to influence

consumers. Diversification provided advertisers new opportunities to connect with consumers.

Men were increasingly depicted in ways that attested to the diversity within Japanese society while reinforcing the social function of men as arbiters of taste and as skilled in basic tasks. Men's increasing sense of consumer taste was seen in advertisements depicting taste tests such as an Asahi series featuring a blindfolded man wearing a sweater vest accompanied by the slogan "It's not the same taste" (1955-56) (Takayama, 1999, 37) while Sapporo made similar advertisements some ten years later in 1967 (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 788–789). Men also acted as guides as in advertisements instructing customers how to open the poorly-designed bottles of Sapporo *Strike* (1965) (Image 25) which had led to injuries and public condemnation (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 786). Asahi's *Steiny* advertisements (1964), meanwhile, also featured diverse models of masculinity who were not overtly marked as salarymen (Images 24) including a sexualised, muscular man in a vest (Image 23).

Image 23: Asahi Beer - Focus on the male body (1964)



(Asahi Beer, 1964b)

Image 24: Asahi Beer - A non-salaryman (1964)



(Asahi Beer, 1964a)

Image 25: Sapporo Beer - Another non-salaryman (1965)



(Sapporo Beer, 1965)

These depictions of men engaging in leisure activities and as arbiters of taste marked a shift in how men were represented but they were also distinguished by a lack of discussion of these representations. They were also marked by the absence of women. These included Sapporo's 1959 campaign that featured baseball, *kabuki* and *manzai*

comedy (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 784). Similarly, Asahi linked beer consumption to certain masculinised activities. A 1961 series of “prestige advertisements” featured celebrities from the world of skiing (Miura Yūichirō), film (Aoshima Yukio), and *kabuki* (Ichikawa Somegorō VI - a male role actor) (Takayama, 1999, 172). These various activities and the choice of stars all excluded women in a number of ways, creating an exclusionary drinking environment separate from the workplace or the family home and without the presence of women. The use of *kabuki* as one key setting in this period raises some interesting questions about how gender is represented.

We have already seen above how baseball, and sport generally, are gendered within societies. *Kabuki* is similarly restrictive with its development tied into prohibitions on the presence of women on stage (Jackson, 1989, 461–462; Mezur, 2005, 1). However the use of all male troupes is somewhat disruptive to the idea of gender as tied to the biological body. Female-roles, the *onnagata*, are played by male-sexed actors who create ‘their own many-layered “vision” of a constructed female likeness’ (Mezur, 2005, 2), acting as exemplars of proper and appropriate feminine behaviour (Henshall, 1999, 44–46). In this way, *kabuki* divorces the concept of gender performance from the sexed bodies that are often associated with them. Despite this disruptive potential, it is important to highlight that *onnagata* did not appear in beer advertisements, which focused instead on actors who played masculine roles. The comedy style *manzai*, was also performed only by men and this was also reflected in the Sapporo and Asahi advertisements.

Despite this diversification of masculine models, however, the emerging advertising

discourse did not discuss this shift in gendered terms. Neither Sapporo nor Asahi discuss why these performers were chosen, nor why they were chosen over women, in any of the available literature. In the unofficial history of Asahi's publicity section, for instance, there is little discussion of the selection process for these "prestige" advertisements (Takayama, 1999, 172), with the focus instead on marketing effects, the use of technology, or the degree of orthodoxy that was present in a campaign. While the 1964 Asahi *Steiny* advertisement mentioned above focused on the man's body, discussion of this campaign in the industry literature centred instead on other elements of the campaign, including how this campaign subverted the advertising convention of avoiding full-page advertisements (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 786); how the increase in television sets affected sales (Takayama, 1999, 104–105); and the campaign's innovative role as a frontrunner in the trend of five-second television advertisements (Mukai and Yamakawa, 1978, 170). Discussion of gendered representation was non-existent.

These advertisements depict a shift in the societal ideal of masculinity and thus in the ideal family structure, with less focus on consumption through family life. It could be argued that this trend recognised the existence of large numbers of diverse and multiple models of masculinity in Japan at this time including marginalised men operating outside of the societal norms that promoted marriage and the salaryman model. Indeed, the prevalence and valorisation of the salaryman model within the media contributed to the marginalisation and stigmatisation of other models of both masculinity and the family. Scholars have drawn attention to the overlap of working life

and family life in small businesses, which most people worked in (Sugimoto, 2003, 86–87), where the father is home for lunch and the “ideal” family where the other members are unconnected to the salaryman’s work (Caudill, 1973, 365; Moore, 1997, 372–374). Indeed, many in the workforce have fallen outside of this model of masculinity including part-time workers, day labourers, and farmers, and temporary workers (Jones, 1976, 590; Roth, 1983, 252; Linhart, 1988, 280; Tipton, 2002, 167; Dasgupta, 2003b, 119, 2009). Yet the prevalence of the salaryman as a model of masculinity at this time may itself have been the cause of this shift with few consumers wishing to see their own lives directly replicated in the advertising. Instead, advertising provided some form of escape from quotidian existence focusing on representing the men they could be rather than the ones that they were.

Regardless of the reasons for this shift, salarymen came to be represented less across this period, while their partners began to appear on their own terms within beer advertisements. The housewife was presented as the accepted form of femininity in the postwar, presenting everyday practices performed within community networks as essential to one’s identity with beer purchasing a key social function.

#### [Housewives: Purchasers, but not Consumers](#)

The salaryman model was constructed and performed through the ideology of the separation of spheres with certain duties maintaining and managing the home assigned to a professional housewife (White, 1987, 153; Hidaka, 2010, 2). One of these tasks was managing the household budget and thus being in control of purchasing decisions. As



the image of the salaryman became more widespread and established as a societal archetype, women were increasingly represented as housewives within beer advertisements, specifically as purchasers of beer rather than consumers. We have already seen the contrast between women explicitly positioned as non-imbibing nurturers of children in soft drinks advertisements. When appearing in beer advertisements, women were similarly not consumers but providing the various social functions to enable consumption by men. Examples of housewives depicted in this way include direct advertisements advising women how to transport beer (Asahi Beer, 1963; Takayama, 1999, 129); how to handle or store beer (Nippon Beer, 1954d) or what products could be bought to facilitate further (beer) purchasing (Yomiuri Shinbun, 1953b)

One notable advertisement featuring housewives demonstrated the way in which familial relationships were central elements in creating a sense of self and identity. In a 1961 Kirin advertisement, two women bond over the shared experience of purchasing the same brand of beer for their husbands (Image 26) (Kirin Beer, 1961). This version not only represented the ideal relationship as the heterosexual couple but also clearly demonstrated how their husbands' common consumption choice was a point of social connection between these women.



the raising of children, and duly accorded high status, while work, white-collar, office-based and salaried, remained the responsibility of the male who, as a salaryman, was understood to be the 'quintessential Japanese male' (Roberts, 1994, 158–159; Dasgupta, 2013, 1). The housewife role was essential for this system to operate with the aid provided in the domestic sphere enabling the salaryman-husband to perform more efficiently in the wage economy (Hendry, 1993, 235–237) with this contribution, in turn, recognised and supported by a number of government and corporate initiatives (Gordon, 2008, 423–4; Hendry, 1993, 232) which then impacted even those women who worked full-time.

Societal pressure to marry was high for both men and women (Coleman, 1983, 187–189) in this period. Marriage was an integral part of the dual spheres and for salarymen was the final definition of their masculinity, qualifying them for promotion (Chalmers, 2002, 63–4) and for life as an adult with breadwinning, heterosexuality, and domination over women the three characteristics of the salaryman/*senjyō-shufu* (professional housewife) model (Taga, 2003, 138). For women, the corresponding characteristics were housekeeping, heterosexuality, and subordination to a man. This work role meant that the salaryman was seen as a *daikokubashira* (the central pillar holding up the house) 'an image of reliability, of strength, of stasis' (Gill, 2003, 144). The wife/mother, on the other hand, was seen as supportive, enabling and managing the salaryman-husband to perform more efficiently in the wage economy (Hendry, 1993, 235–237; Borovoy, 2005) but crucially, socially legitimated only through the existence of a heterosexual male figure (Chalmers, 2002, 80). The purchase of beer in

the advertisements of this time was therefore an acceptable activity for women to engage in as long as it was not (marked) for their consumption.

This positioning of women as housewives and purchasers was not, however, unproblematic even if the lack of discussion seems to indicate its universal acceptance. That these women were not depicted as consumers reflects this postwar model of womanhood and was one that beer companies returned to at various points in the decades after. When Kirin was scaling down their activities in the 1970s, for example, these representations of women consumers reappeared (Kirin Beer, 1974a) suggesting that may have functioned as an easy trope for brewers and advertisers to deploy in times of difficulty. Regardless, women's roles as housewives meant women could only be depicted as purchasers.

Not all women could achieve this status, predicated as it was on a husband's salary (Roberts, 1994, 176; Dasgupta, 2013, 2) while for others this specific model was not desired (Roberts, 1994, 2, 32). Many women were receptive to these messages, however, because they were implicated in the very structures which this reinforced (Hendry, 1993, 232–233; Gordon, 2008, 443). The integration and wide acceptance of this ideal was such that 'a society where women of all social strata managed the home, while their men managed the workplace, came to be understood as the natural way things were and ought to be' (Gordon, 2008, 425). The spread of the professional housewife ideal to the rest of society impacted on working women in a number of ways. While gaining income to take care of their family had been the main priority for working-class women during the prewar period (Uno, 1993, 44), the focus in the

postwar switched to the home and the ability to manage domestic tasks by oneself. What was once a source of status and ideal practice for the professional housewife (Hendry, 1993, 224) was now idealised as the only way to be a wife and mother with working women subject to criticism should they fail to maintain the home (Roberts, 1994, 17) and especially accountable for their children (Borovoy, 2005, 149, 169). Indeed, essential to the maintenance of the home was an increased emphasis on responsibility for childcare which was both taken extremely seriously and became a source of pride (Hendry, 1993, 224, 227–229, 233–235; Allison, 1996, xiv; Borovoy, 2005, 20) to the extent that ‘fetishization of motherhood [became] normal’ (Borovoy, 2005, 167). It was through these roles that housewives constructed their own sense of selves, often identifying themselves by their relationships to their children or husbands (Borovoy, 2005, 148, 48), as we can see in the advertisement discussed above. It was through their husbands’ consumption choices that these women were meant to connect and build a relationship rather than their own thoughts, desires or political leanings.

Although this discourse of motherhood and the family was debated by and competed with women’s organised labour movements (Buckley, 1994, 153), I argue that it is this responsibility, and the importance placed upon it, which meant that housewives could not be depicted as consumers. Representations of ‘irresponsible’ housewives would have resulted in public criticism of the equally irresponsible beer companies. There are histories of this social policing of women’s drinking. Status- and class-based disapproval of wives’ and mothers’ consumption can be seen in the Embrees’ account of life in a

rural Kyushu village in the 1930s when the middle-class wives of teachers and public officials expressed criticism of working mothers' drinking (Smith and Wiswell, 1982, 72). The spread of middle-class ideals in the postwar made the representation of alcoholic consumption by housewives more difficult. Given the prevalence of this ideology, beer companies could not acknowledge, or promote, housewives drinking by representing them doing so alone in advertisements; instead, they emphasised their role as purchasers of the beer and the role that purchasing beer could play in social interactions. Other campaigns sought to alleviate the burden of shopping by promoting beer deliveries (Takayama, 1999, 129). This representation of housewives as buyers of beer rather than consumers was clearly seen as uncontentious, given the lack of discussion of these depictions. The Asahi publicity staff, for instance, were more concerned with advertising techniques such as the innovative use of colour or expense and quality issues (Takayama, 1999, 129) than with questions of these representations. These depictions can, however, be traced to women's expanded, and gendered, responsibilities within the family.

Part of the role of managing the household involved control of the household budget and thus purchases which made the housewife the de-facto head in terms of decision-making (Hendry, 1993, 225–226; Lam, 1993, 199). It is through this role of primary consumer that Japanese women are seen to wield power in the home and through this in wider society (Tanaka, 1998, 128) so the decision by the companies to appeal to women in this way was an astute one. Furthermore, as Borovoy notes, alcohol consumption in Japan has been structured around men's drinking with various

structures of support in place to facilitate this with the corporate environment, hostesses, train staff and housewives collaborating to ensure that men can drink and do so heavily without fear of either accident or censure (Borovoy, 2005, 42-56). These advertisements therefore acknowledged the role of the housewife in facilitating drinking. The role of housewives as household beer purchasers was also reinforced through television advertisements that appeared during the shows that they watched (Takayama, 1999, 140). The imported Western, *Laramie* (1960-1963), for instance, featured Laramie-themed Asahi advertisements during the breaks and enjoyed huge popularity amongst women with more than 500,000 fan letters received (Takayama, 1999, 126-127, 250).

The depiction of housewives within beer advertisements can thus be explained as a desire to appeal to the household budget decision-maker. This is despite the fact that beer consumption by women had increased markedly during this period. This increase appeared to be perennial with commentators drawing attention to women 'stepping into what had been men's world' (Kirin Bīru KK, 1984, 294). In 1968, for instance, The *Mainichi Shinbun* noted an increase in women drinking, at a ratio of 1:5, from the previous year by conducting a (highly unscientific) "survey" of three Tokyo establishments (Mainichi Shinbun, 1968). Despite evidence such as the Beer Queen and *Avec* competitions, and articles on women (actresses) drinking, female consumption of beer was still considered a new practice with the newspaper offering advice to women readers on how to drink in public while avoiding weight-gain and vomiting, and the importance of sitting at tables near lavatories for convenience. Broader alcohol

consumption was linked to an increased participation of women in the workforce (Alexander, 2013, 184), mainly by young professional women who embodied a wider shift from agricultural to white-collar and clerical work (Holden, 1983, 41–43). Because the increased consumption by these women ‘who had advanced into society’ (Kirin Bīru KK, 1984, 295–296) was visible, general consumption by women was seen to be increasing. Drinking by housewives, on the other hand, was relatively hidden taking place as it did in the home (Borovoy, 2005, 42-56).

While the advertisements could not necessarily depict women drinking due to broader social concerns, home consumption was widely documented. We have already seen how television provided an opportunity for women to consume, as per Yomoda Yōko’s fan letter to Asahi discussed above (Takayama, 1999, 126–7, 250). While it is not possible to draw out the degree to which home drinking was universal or widespread, the letter’s inclusion in this history is notable for indicating that women were engaging in a parallel consumption of television and beer both of which the beer companies were integral in facilitating. Kirin, meanwhile, referenced the *Mainichi Shinbun* article above, arguing that, at least by the late 1970s and early 1980s, housewives drank draft beer at home to access the taste of the public beer hall. This was then used to argue how far this consumption of beer by women had come (Kirin Bīru KK, 1984, 295). Kirin also noted an earlier increase in housewife drinking due to *banshaku*, the practice of salarymen drinking in the evening after work, which housewives also joined in with (Kirin Bīru KK, 1984, 295). This practice was reflected in a number of advertisements in the early 1960s that showed housewives consuming with their husbands – and their



husbands' acquaintances (Sapporo Beer, 1961, 1963). Given the easy access to beer that these women enjoyed -especially since they purchased it- it is possible that some housewives were consuming beer by themselves during this period. Indeed, this consumption pattern was problematised with media reports of increasing alcoholism by some housewives -so-called "kitchen drinkers"- which was seen as a result of being effectively "abandoned" by husbands required to spend excessive amounts of time at work to support this professional-housewife model (Shinfuku, 1999, 116). Female alcoholics, meanwhile, did not have the societal support structures in place that men did, but the ability to drink at home did mean that they could do so relatively un surveilled (Borovoy, 2005, 56).

Given the knowledge, then, that housewives did consume beer and were recognised as doing so in company documents, I contend that these depictions of housewives were more complex than a simple appeal to women as purchasers. Advertisers' decisions to focus on women were also subtle attempts to appeal to housewives as consumers while avoiding public concern that might have accompanied more overt depictions of domestic drinking. The beer companies could not be seen as responsible for contributing to, or normalising, this pattern of housewives' consumption of beer; instead, they were positioned as purchasers and only as consumers in conjunction with, or under the supervision of, their husbands. Indeed, even beers with low alcohol content, which might have been attractive to housewives as consumers, were targeted instead at men involved in sport or who wished to drink and drive (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 472).

Without actual reference to gender in these campaigns in the various discussions and commentaries, however, it is difficult to assess whether people understood these advertisements as being directed at housewives in this way. Advertisements can be subversive and complex because they are often designed to be polysemous, with several possible meanings embedded within them (Scott, 2012) so they can equally be read in a number of different ways (Knudsen, 2012) and thus appeal to a wider range of people (Arora and III, 2012) while at the same time defending the campaign against criticism (Tanaka, 1994, 56–58). In this sense, it is possible for these advertisements to have both been designed to target and to not target housewives. The housewife model did seemingly disappear from depictions by the 1980s. This could perhaps be explained by the change in purchasing methods of beer (Craig, 1996, 306; Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 591; Mizukawa, 2002, 113; Alexander, 2013, 228–233) and by the growth in married working women who were societally permitted to drink. Given the apparent declining popularity of this model - 1982 marking the first time in the postwar period when the number of professional housewives declined (Ueno, 1994, 23) – it might not have been beneficial to represent housewives in this way.

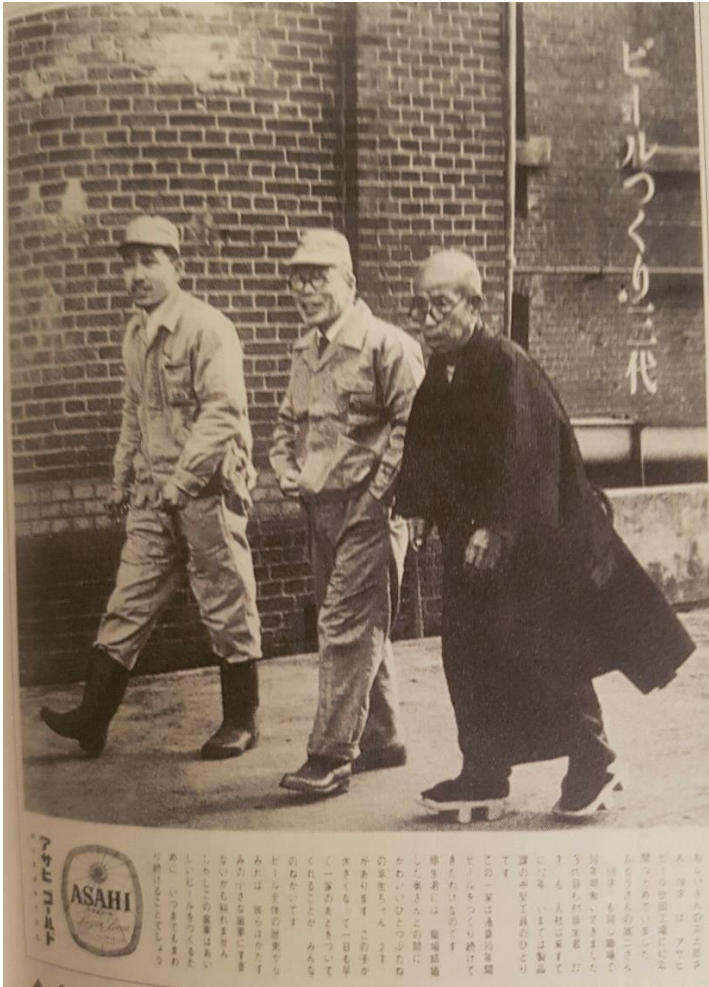
While overt depictions of the housewife declined, there was an increase in articles during the 1980s focused on making snacks (*otsumami*) for beer (Kigyō to kōkoku, 1988c, 34). This provided an alternative source of anxiety for housewives and continued to imbricate housewives within systems of consumption, ensuring that they played a role in facilitating their “husbands’” consumption. In other campaigns, women’s contribution to the family was erased, with a focus only on patrilineal lineage.

### 3G – or an Intergenerational Family of Corporate Masculinity

In 1960, Asahi Beer selected an image of their Suita brewery workers to use as an American-style full-page advertisement. The advertisement features an old man, bald, bespectacled, and dressed in traditional Japanese dress with *geta* (Japanese clog-sandals) walking alongside two others, one middle-aged and the other younger, in coverall suits and boots within the grounds of the brewery (Asahi Beer, 1960; Nakai, 1991, 396; Takayama, 1999, 110–111) (Image 27).

This corporate ad (*kigyōkōkoku*), so called because it promoted the company rather than a specific product, was titled ‘three-generations’ (*oyako-sandai*) as the three men were a grandfather, his son, and the grandson. The campaign was highly regarded with Asahi staff (Takayama, 1999, 258) noting that it featured in Dentsu’s “History of Advertising” (*Kōkokuhattenshi*) which described its function as to create trust with the company. Dentsu also discussed it as particularly representative of corporate ads appearing in the early 1960s (Uchigawa, 1976, 241.) and as a key example of the many works that its art director, Yamashiro Shōichi, was responsible for at the National Design Center (NDC) (Nakai, 1991, 396).

Image 27: Asahi Beer - Three generations of (male) brewers (1960)



(Takayama, 1999, 110)

This advertisement was thus highly regarded both by those who had created it and by influential voices within the industry. It was considered to be perfect (*saikō no sozai*) for representing Asahi Beer as a company that was both traditional but modern.

Indeed, the eldest man had worked for Asahi through the reigns of the Meiji (1867-1912), Taishō (1912-1926) and Shōwa Emperors (1926-1989) (Takayama, 1999, 256–257). It was lauded in design terms for showing the work of the company in an easily relatable way (Nakai, 1991, 396). It also established the company as masculine in character with employment determined by patrilineal descent.

Beer brewing in Japan had already been established as a masculine endeavour within a number of advertisements. Asahi's initial postwar advertisements did this by emphasising beer's German heritage with gothic typefaces and images of an older German man drinking beer atop a barrel (Takayama, 1999, 35). Barrels were a common theme within advertisements (Nippon Beer, 1952b, 1952a) to highlight the manufacturing process. The depiction of this three-generational family could therefore be seen as contiguous with this trend, but its localisation marked beer brewing as a *Japanese* masculine practice. In doing so, it humanised the industrial process, but at the same time also elided a variety of women's roles. The creation of beer was clearly the work of men and this advertisement removed any presence of the women who worked for Asahi, including those within the publicity department (Takayama, 1999, 73, 123) as I show in more detail below.

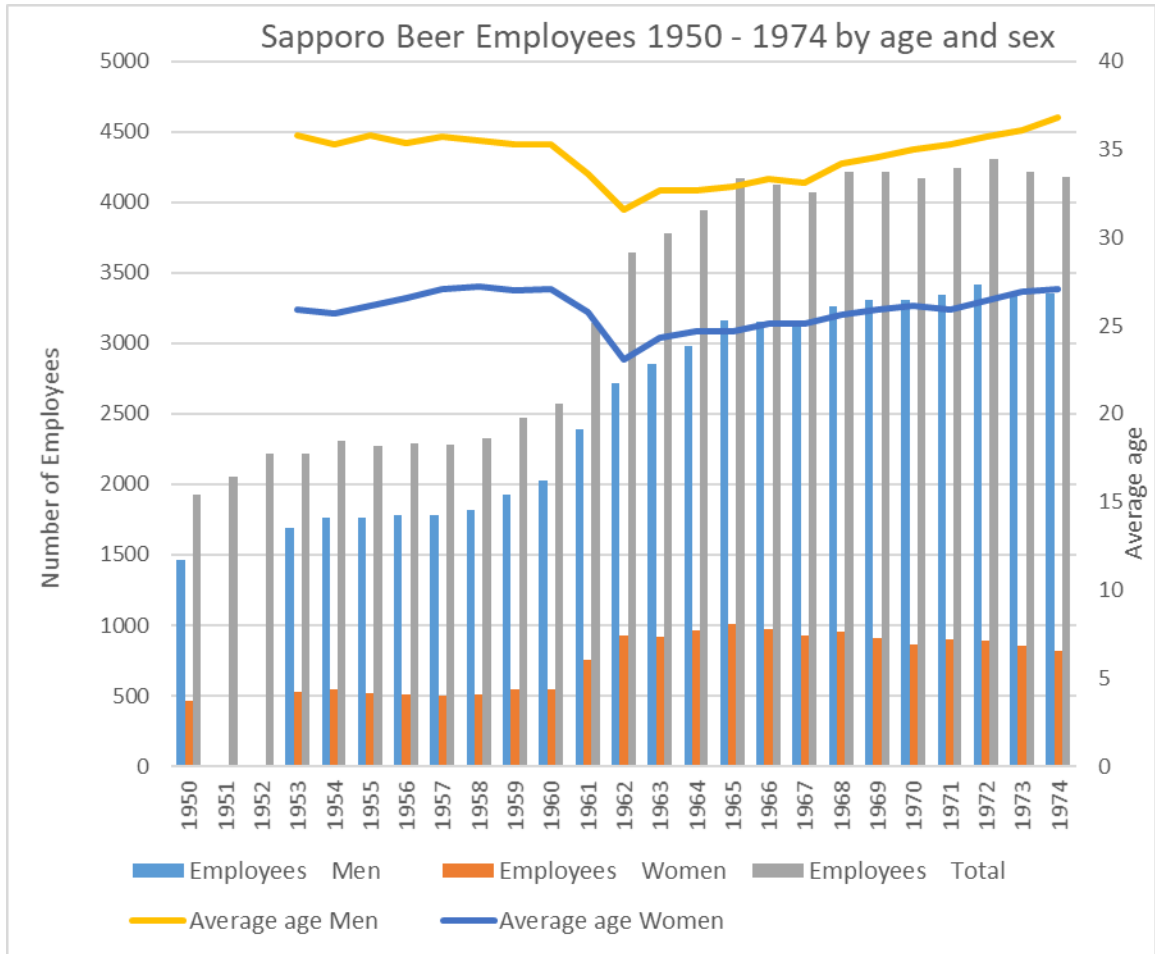
For staff within Asahi, this representation would have been unremarkable given the way that the company itself appeared to place only men in positions of responsibility in these years. According to the unofficial history of Asahi Beer's publicity section (*Asahibīru sendengaishi*), men occupied most of the significant positions with many of the people who worked directly on campaigns also men. A survey of Kirin and Nippon's company histories also reveals men in most positions of power (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996; Kirin Bīru KK, 1999b, 1999a). In some cases, these men were able to achieve success in these positions precisely *because* their access to networks of male patronage allowed them access to the key materials for success. To give one example, Asahi's president, Yamamoto Tamesaburō, leveraged connections he had with other men, including

Nagata Masaichi, the head of Daiei Studios, one of Japan's premier film studios. As a result, the company's advertising campaigns were able to feature film stars such as Okada Mariko, and Kyō Machiko, who had appeared in Kurosawa Akira's 1950 classic film *Rashōmon* (1950). Some of these bonds were formed during the wartime era when the trading company, Mitsui Bussan, helped supply beer to troops, while others were formed when staff had been at university (Takayama, 1999, 47, 49, 104). Regardless of when and where this occurred, their importance cannot be understated. Bonds were formed because of masculine homosociality, with the experiences and locations where it had taken place largely inaccessible to women. These bonds also indicate the extent to which men held positions and wielded influence in other spheres outside of the beer industry and, often, in authority over women.

While the image of the company may have been a masculinised one, women did work in the beer industry in a variety of roles. As the graphs below show, women constituted almost a third of the workforce for Nippon Beer (Sapporo) throughout this period, with their average age and length of service matching lifecycle patterns of women joining the general workforce before rearing children (Macnaughtan, 2005, 59). Figures for Asahi and Kirin are more difficult to obtain, but the trend that Harald Fuess notes of most women working in the bottling plants (Fuess, 2006, 54) is substantiated in newspaper photographs (Yomiuri Shinbun, 1952, 1953a, 1953c) and Kirin's company history, which shows women in these roles at the Yokohama brewery (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999a, 63, 64). By 1983, women were also working in corporate offices (1999a, 81) and on the can production line (1999a, 95) while men remained responsible for taste-

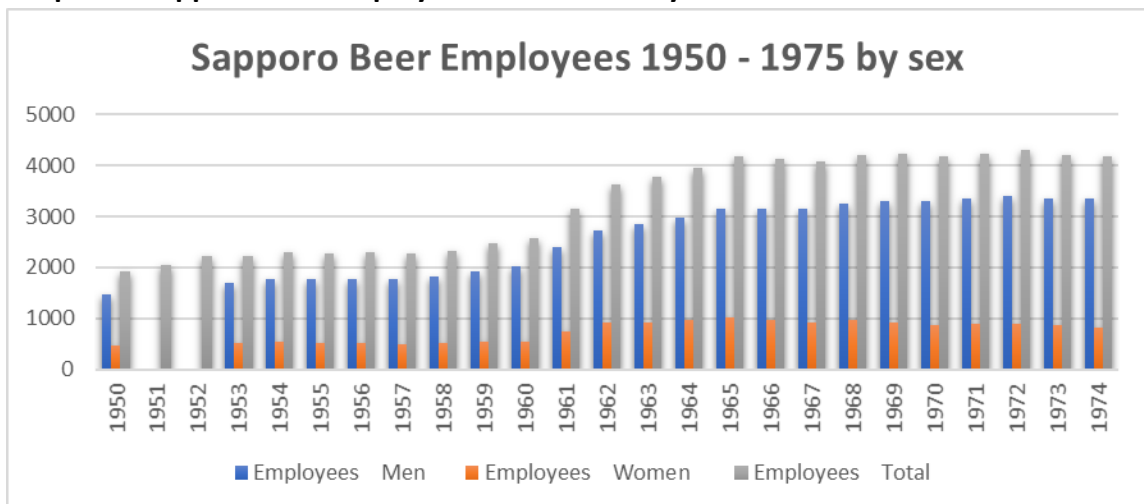
testing (1999a, 112).

**Graph 11: Sapporo Beer Employees 1950 – 1974 by age and sex**



(Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 912)

**Graph 12: Sapporo Beer Employees 1950 – 1975 by sex**



(Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 912).

Recent publications detailing increased opportunities for women in the brewing and marketing processes (Katsumi, 2011) indicate some degree of change in these areas too. The use of mainly young, unmarried women in relatively low-level roles is neither limited to the beer industry nor to this period of recovery and high economic growth. Despite the pattern of the professional housewife being promoted as universal and traditional in the postwar (as discussed above) women have always made up a significant fraction of the Japanese labour force though not necessarily in long-term employment or under the same conditions as men (Holden, 1983, 34; Plath, 1983, 8). Their participation was also crucial to the success that characterised the high economic growth period (Buckley, 1994, 154).

Women accounted for the majority of workers in the textile industry, for instance, in both the interwar period (Hunter, 2008, 365) and the postwar (Macnaughtan, 2005, 1–7, 11) while the proportion of women workers during the period of high growth increased across all manufacturing industries (Macnaughtan, 2005, 17). Increases in the number of women working have been traced to changes in employment type. The postwar period saw a shift from working in family businesses to working as employees, which accompanied the shift from rural to urban employment and which also made working women more visible (Shinotsuka, 1994, 96). The increase in women working in the 1950s was also linked to women's experience of wartime work, which reduced the stigma of women working outside the home, while increases in consumerism necessitated increased personal and family incomes (Buckley, 1994, 153-154).



In her work on women in the textile industry, Helen Macnaughtan shows how various companies initially relied on young women before switching to older, married women as the period progressed due to greater educational opportunities and a decrease in the need for children to supplement family incomes (2005, 1-7, 61). The temporary women workers included in this growing category in the 1960s were considered flexible (Shinotsuka, 1994, 96) and often excluded from benefits (Buckley, 1994, 156). Unstable and low paying employment (Ueno, 1994, 23–24) therefore resulted in the marginalization of women's labour, a process that is also reflected within the beer industry.

Although women's working conditions within the beer industry remain relatively unexplored, their marginalisation is reflected in some accounts. Unlike men who are referenced by their full names, the women are remembered as only having family names, while in some cases no honorific is attached. Discussing his time at the marketing department, for example, Asahi's fourth section chief Takayama Fusaji referred to two female colleagues only as Migita and Watanabe in contrast to the "san" he applies to his superior, Kawai Kōji and other men (1999, 72, 103). The suffix "san" is normally appended to all names unless diminutives such as *kun* (masculine), *chan* (feminine) or honorifics such as *sama* (Mr/Mrs - respectful) are used. To not do so thereby removes any status-identifier and any sign of respect. The belief that women should use honorifics more than men in Japanese society 'is widely promoted as a behavioural norm' and is often used to link women, class and status while being seen as an identifier of an essential gender difference (Okamoto, 2004, 43–45). Arguably

then, this lack of usage is relatively normative for men towards women.

Komeuchi Sadahiro, who worked within the publicity department, provides another example when he discussed the women employees meeting the star of the Asahi-sponsored Western series, *Laramie (1960-1963)*, by referring to them as *onna no ko* (girls) rather than women. In contrast, the photo anchor within this unofficial history uses more neutral language, describing them as '*honsha no joshi shain*' (our company female employees) (Takayama, 1999, 124). Endo (2004, 167) has noted that certain forms of words are discriminatory in Japanese in that they include evaluations of the looks or age of a woman, or because they include criticism of a woman's delay or failure to marry. Referring to mature adults as children infantilised them and contrasts with how other men who worked for the company at this time were treated.

By discussing the women who worked for Asahi Beer in this way, these recollections marginalise the work that these women did. Their contributions are forgotten with their efforts seen as less integral than that of the men who were involved. These recollections also suggest an explanation as to why the men who created this campaign would have approved of *Oyako-sandai* and found nothing remarkable to comment on in terms of its exclusion of women.

Despite women's participation in the labour force within the beer industry as a whole and Asahi specifically, this advertisement established the occupation of brewing as destined for, and inheritable by, men. Women's reproductive role within the family is also elided here with the family constructed as patrilineal. Both brewing and reproduction are thus established as patrilineal with women at best marginal to this

narrative.

While notable for its prominence, this 1961 advertisement was not unique in its elision of women from narratives of both reproductive and paid labour; beer advertisements with similar representations continued into the 1970s and 1980s. Those that did feature mothers and wives more prominently were in turn little discussed and highlighted within the wider advertising discourse.

[Fathers & Sons, Daughters and ... : Excising the Wife and Mother from the 1970s Family](#)

By the late 1970s, beer had been adopted and integrated within social customs to the extent that it was an indispensable component of Japanese social and family life, an 'everyday drink' (Kawazoe, 1979, 153–154). The company histories promote this narrative showing how it had become enmeshed within social relations with consumption at family gathering (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 794) and functioning as a unit of exchange as a gift for *Ochūgen*, the annual summer lantern festival featuring reciprocal gift giving, (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999a, 96) all socially acceptable.

One series of advertisements for Asahi in the 1970s featured what is meant to be an archetypal Japanese family - father, mother, son, daughter, and a dog. They engaged in various activities together such as cycling, picnicking and boating, boats (Asahi Beer, 1973) and at the conclusion of the advertisement, naturally, drank beer together. This family greatly differed from the three-generation Asahi family of 1961 in both the structure and the activities they engaged in, as well as the way this representation was positioned within advertising discourse.

The gendered balance of the Japanese family was evenly presented with a father, clearly in control; a mother, playing a subordinate role; one son; and one daughter who were both old enough to drink. This depiction thus marked the parents as having started a family in the immediate post-war period when the father would have entered the workforce. Unfortunately, this series of advertisements appear to be somewhat unremarkable within the advertising discourse with no critical discussion in the industry sources. There is little to recommend these advertisements on technical or aesthetic grounds, which may be why commentary is notably absent, but this might also be explained by the fact that this family is not a typical advertising family, at least according to the media scholar Katō Hidetoshi, but appears to instead resemble a more realistic family.

In a collection commemorating the 25-year anniversary of the introduction of television, Katō notes that the average family in advertisements is, on the whole, atypical in a number of ways. Not only are the accoutrements and products owned by families not consistent with the ages, and thus commensurate ranks and wages, of the wage earners, but the actual age difference between husbands and wives was often too great to be considered realistic (Katō, 1978). The family represented here, however, featured an older husband and wife who were similar ages. Equally, in doing activities and drinking together, this family was a cohesive unit that bore some similarities with the 1950s families that consumed soft drinks and beer together. Yet the lack of critical discussion otherwise suggests that this was not the most interesting of depictions with little of note, either positive or negative, for critics to discuss.

This contrasts with a Sapporo Beer family that appears during the 1970s *Draft Wars* that did come in for some extended critical commentary. Unusually featuring only a father and son living together in an apartment building, the lack of female representation in the shape of a mother, wife, or daughter is notable. The son seeks communication and affection from the father who only participates or engages with him by consuming beer provided through the keg (Sapporo Beer, 1981a, 1981b). This Sapporo campaign was discussed by analysts which ensured it became a more established element within the advertising discourse and revealed a number of social attitudes to family structures and what the ideal family should be despite it being an outlier. This may be partly because this advertisement's use of humour fitted within the norms and understandings of a good advertisement. Aizawa Shinzō, a TCC (Tokyo Copywriter's Club) member, for instance, lauded Sapporo's use of humorous elements, advising that this advertisement should replace guidebooks as a manual for fathers to talk to sons (1981, 110–117). As a manual for wives to talk to husbands or mothers to sons, however, it was deficient.

Within this Sapporo family, all hint of any woman related to them is erased, and the ideal family is positioned as urban and fractured in contrast to the unified and rural Asahi family. The mother is absent from this narrative and the family is seen to consist of two versions of masculinity that are often in conflict over trivial elements such as a refusal to converse without a beer to hand (Sapporo Beer, 1981a). The conflict between these generational variants of masculinity is, as Aizawa points out, resolvable via alcohol.

The difference in representation within these two advertisements can be explained by changes in the market. The original Asahi family appeared in 1973, the year of the oil shock, while the Sapporo family appeared a few years later following recovery from this crisis and an increase in advertising expenditure when a number of changes in advertising trends, conventions, and representation had appeared due to the effects of the Oil Shock itself, as can be seen in images 35-38.

There are other examples of advertising campaigns in which women are excluded from narratives of the family. Prior to draft's upsurge in popularity, Kirin's diversification attempts saw the release of a high-quality beer similar to Sapporo's *Yebisu* called *Mein Bräu*. In one particular campaign, the focus during a Coming of Age day ceremony, which marks young people in Japan's 20<sup>th</sup> birthday and their formal adulthood, is on the father and son's contrasting choices of beer to mark the transition from youth to adult; the son opts for *Mein Bräu* (Kirin Beer, 1980a). The generational conflict on display here is restricted to the choice of beer rather than any significant difference in attitude or values. This advertisement positions the first (legal) drink as a means to connect patrilineal relations and a marker of the transition from youth to man. This contrasts with the common belief that most young men learn drinking etiquette within *senpai-kōhai* (senior-junior) relations at work, or in training for work (Nishiyama, 1979, 127). This advertisement was criticised by the noted copywriter, Tamura Yoshinobu, but only because the Coming of Age day setting was simplistic and lacking in subtlety (1980, 187) rather than because it lacked the presence of a mother or wife within this scene.

In other advertisements, the mother remains absent and the transmission of family, or local, tradition occurs from father to daughter as in a Kirin advertising campaign which showed “traditional” summer activities. An ACC prize-winning advertising campaign from 1980, this “*Nihon no Natsu kirin bīru*” (Japanese Summer, Kirin Beer) campaign included various shots connoting summer such as *mikoshi* (portable shrines common in summer festivals) and *hachimaki* (headbands) (Kirin Beer, 1980c). One variant featured a father holding his daughter while make-up is applied for a festival (Kirin Beer, 1980b). The lack of discussion of this construction of families with no mother or wife present continues to be a prominent trend. This is even though many of these same commentators note the wife’s central role in the evening *banshaku*. The *banshaku*, as noted, is positioned as the conclusion to a quotidian routine, with the working day only complete with a bath and a beer (Sejima, 1976, 62; Nishiyama, 1979, 125; Brain, 1980c, 24). This routine, assumed to be universal, was predicated on the model of the salaryman with a wife available to serve the beer, or in some cases, join in (Gotō, 1981, 122). One of the reasons for engaging in this practice was to relieve the tensions arising from paid work however this also invited the risk of this stress-relief practice becoming habitual and unenjoyable (Nishiyama, 1979, 129). At the same time, these commentators denied the validity of domestic labour as work with only paid labour justifying this reward.

We can see throughout these campaigns and the advertising discourse on them that particular iterations of the family which excised the role of the wife and mother were apparently free from critique and seen as acceptable. The lack of attention paid to this

(missing) element is striking. Fathers and their roles within families have been emphasised at the expense of mothers; this is not seen as problematic in any sense.

One possible explanation for this absence relates to the concern, noted above, of targeting housewives or child-carers as a desired demographic. However this does not explain their complete absence from these advertisements.

While various campaigns depicted marriages and families, and have been discussed to a varying degree, few campaigns apart from the Asahi *Horoniga* one sought to depict the beginning stages of the family, courtship. However, by the late 1980s, this changed and companies began to depict dating and courtship, presented according to socially-sanctioned narratives of acquiescence and resignation. These stories were delineated and defined in then-contemporary advertising magazines which clarified the narratives for their readers.

#### Foundations and Stoicism: The Family in Genesis

The introduction of *Super Dry* exacerbated a shift in advertisement typology with a move from mood or information-focused ones to narrative advertisements featuring serial stories (Ishiyama, 1987, 213). These were seen as more informative in their depictions and thus clearer than the other two types. Narrative series also allowed advertisers to create stories and use characters across seasons (Yamada, 1999, 216) thereby creating the sense of familiarity and intimacy that brought viewers closer to the product.

These stories often depicted romantic scenarios with scenes of lost or abandoned love



between a man and a woman. Equally notable were conventions on how individuals should respond to heartbreak. For men, the abandonment of dreams and desires was seen as a particularly masculine way of coping. In depicting the after-effects of these relationships within the advertisements, the advertisers presented a masculinity crafted through failed relationships. In highlighting failure in masculinity, these advertisements bear some similarities with the *Otoko nara, Malt's* campaign.

Making an advert for Kirin *Lager* in 1992, the famed film and commercials director Ichikawa Jun crafted the tale of a love story (Kirin Beer, 1992; Aoyanagi, 2001, 96). Discussed in a later article because of its enduring appeal, it was described as being similar to a 'trendy drama' (CM NOW, 1992h, 8). Previous articles, meanwhile, had highlighted the advertisement's intended narrative in detail. According to these, aspiring actor Ono (played by Ōtsuru Gitan) meets a young violinist Kiyomizu (played by Zaizen Naomi); they begin a relationship, moving in together before eventually splitting up. The next iteration jumps forward two years to show Ono returning from overtime and buying the same beer they used to share, which triggers memories of this love affair. He visits Kiyomizu in Kyushu, Japan's southernmost main island, where she works as a music teacher. They spend some time together, chatting and drinking beer on the beach but accept that they have moved on and so decide to return to their independent lives.

Magazines that referenced this campaign included additional information and details, such as the characters' names, their ambitions and dreams, their new jobs and what they had become (CM NOW, 1992h, 1992g, 134; Junon, 1992, 156). In so doing, these

articles clarified and defined the story, reducing the range of possible interpretations while providing readers with greater knowledge than the average disinterested viewer. These additional notes, for instance, mention that Ono gave up on acting (*akirameta*) and became a salaryman.

Unlike the *Otoko nara... Malt's* advertisement that saw men redefining their masculinity by attempting to recapture the relinquished dreams of their youth, this interpretation makes it clear that this man has made a choice which is not reversible and which contrasts with the path that Kiyomizu took. Their nostalgic memories of this time allow the two former lovers to succour themselves against the realities and empty feelings of adulthood (Junon, 1992). In this sense, there is not the same regret of dreams unobtained which bedevils the men who failed at baseball, but rather comforting and happy memories to recall fondly. Despite the ex-lovers sharing this acknowledgement that the path to maturity is not necessarily as desirable as it may have seemed, there are significant differences in how this break-up affected them and which show us what is societally acceptable.

While Kiyomizu left the urban centre where their love affair occurred, she is able to incorporate some part of her interests into her career unlike Ono, who has given up on his completely and has instead committed to a more conventional life-course. There is little in the commentary which is critical of either choice that the characters make with praise heaped upon the various techniques used to tell the story instead. By making clear that he has given up on his dreams and become a salaryman, however, and by linking the events of the past to one's youth (*seishun*), it is equally clear that dreams

are understood as things to be set aside as one progresses towards adulthood. In this way, this advertisement, and the descriptions within these articles promote a chrononormative life course, that is, 'assumed and expected... trajectories that may include ... ideas about the 'right' time for particular life stages' (Riach et al., 2014, 1678).

Scholars have drawn attention to the way in which salaryman masculinity is constructed through the forsaking of youthful things, such as clothes, hairstyles, and hobbies (Dasgupta, 2000, 194; McLelland, 2005, 98). In order to be a responsible member of society, a *shakaijin*, one must give up "unrealistic" dreams and childish things with a 'great deal of stress ... placed on the need to rid oneself of one's *'gakusei kibun'* (loosely, 'behaviour/ values associated with being a student') and take on the serious responsibilities of a *shakaijin'* (Dasgupta, 2000, 194). Part of this is due to, as McLelland notes, the way in which Japanese notions of masculinity are 'closely tied up with roles men play in marriage and the workplace' (2005, 98) with maturity central to these. The surrender of youthful accoutrements indicates one's willingness to accept the path chosen and marks a change in one's life.

It should be noted that even the inclusion within the narrative of this series of the former relationship, although seemingly liberal and disruptive, is not contrary to the established order of marriage and family in its depiction. Ono, having set aside these elements of the past, has now taken the next step on this road to being a *shakaijin* by taking and accepting a salaryman position with all its associated benefits and duties (including, as the articles note (CM NOW, 1992h, 1992g, 134; Junon, 1992, 156), the

overtime he is returning from when purchasing the beer). The next step for Ono, as for all salarymen, is marriage and this requires putting aside longings for the past and unsuitable things, including the relationship depicted here (McLelland, 2005, 98). This particular woman, who started living with him prior to marriage is, subtextually, clearly not suitable as the *sengyō-shufu*, the professional wife, of a *shakaijin*. She has, however, made equally respectable choices according to societal norms. Indeed, prior choices are not necessarily barriers to acceptance and performing as dominant models within Japanese society as long as newly-made decisions imply acceptance of societal norms.

In their work on media representations of salarymen, Matanle, McCann, and Ashmore describe a popular manga and anime series in which a former motorbike gang leader, Yajima Kintarō, becomes a salaryman to both challenge the system and also be accepted by it (2008, 649–652). In this instance, Kintarō was able to bring his former skills to his new life, but they also did not preclude his entry as he had finally made the choice to be a responsible member of society. Youthful choices do not, therefore, necessarily define future career paths taken when an adult. The separate lives of these two protagonists, both spatially and in terms of employment choice, work to prevent any possible reconciliation and thus ensure that paths taken will be adhered to.

Criticism of societal structures or the way these impact on the characters are, however, absent from industry discourse. There is little reference to these elements, I suggest, because they are widely accepted. Instead, this love affair was described as a powerful first love (*hatsu koi*), an experience that the majority of people share in their own way

with different settings and locations, but which remains memorable because of its formative nature (CM NOW, 1992b, 35). First (heterosexual) love affairs were considered formative because they were understood as both universal and doomed to fail, particularly for men. In this understanding, they were a developmental phase in becoming a man. Later adoption of a conventional career path was the expected outcome for men, setting aside of immature things both a means of coping with loss and a way to enter society as a sign of a responsible adult.

Other advertisements featured such affairs and were also met with approval by industry sources. A similar narrative advertisement for Sapporo Beer's *High Lager* (1992) saw the actor Sugimoto Tetta drinking beer and reading a letter detailing the end of a relationship while sitting on a bench at a rural railway station with a bentō (lunch-box) made for him by his (ex-)girlfriend. The advertisement was created to show the appeal of a "hard" beer by focusing on Sugimoto's masculinity which had differentiated him from the other candidates for this campaign (CM NOW, 1992i, 82). Described as possessing a generalised 'stoic masculinity' (*sutoikku na otokorashisa*) (CM NOW, 1992b, 35), Sugimoto has a particular mode of coping with loss that is seen as masculine. Yet the use of *otokorashisa* here to describe a masculinity that suits societal expectations also indicates an awareness of the existence of other masculinities.

The lack of focus on the women involved, meanwhile, is notable because it establishes that overcoming emotional events such as breakups is not something that women do in the same way, and that women were not the desired demographic here.

Commentators therefore understood masculinity in this late postwar period as crafted and defined through emotionally traumatic events, with the ability to move on from setbacks integral to masculinity. Understandings of masculinity bore some similarities to that portrayed in the *Otoko nara, Malt's* campaign with both versions of masculinity coping with some form of failure by interacting with mainstream societal conventions. Masculinity – at least of the mass-market, mainstream kind – therefore rests on the surrender of youthful things such as love affairs or future dreams and is constructed by contending and vanquishing heartbreak of some kind, mainly through consumption of beer. The conquering of one's emotions is both *ipso facto* masculine but also demonstrates the means that one can continue on the proper path to manhood.

#### Conclusion

The family appears in postwar beer advertisements in a multitude of ways, most of which did not draw the attention of industry critics. The 1950s saw beer promoted by illustrated characters both within and alongside soft drinks advertisements. This collaborative marketing method with soft drinks brands had several benefits for the beer companies. It increased the recognition of the beer brands which was necessary for Sapporo (Nippon) and Asahi following their recent formation while reducing expenditure on their advertising campaigns.] These advertisements' explicitly gendered imagery, meanwhile, clearly constructed the idealised consumer for each product along gendered and age-specific lines. Nuclear families and heterosexual relationships based on the consumption of different products were prominent in these advertisements, functioning as a kind of normative signalling of how to behave in a changing society.

The lack of discussion of these elements within the wider advertising discourse indicates the extent to which these relationships and the accompanying consumption patterns were seen as normal. Indeed, this positioning of beer as a product for men only, whether this be as a reward for maturity or because of one's position within the family, was the overwhelming characteristic of this period's advertisements. A number of diverse models of masculinity were also absent from the industry discourse despite their supplanting of the salaryman model within beer advertisements.

The housewife companion to the salaryman also appeared in advertisements but in the specifically restricted role of the purchaser, despite the growing number of female consumers. This was, I have argued, a deliberate ploy to directly appeal to these women as consumers while maintaining the ability to deny doing so. These campaigns did, however, continue to promote this lifestyle choice as normative - a theme that reappears throughout these depictions of the family. The Japanese family, as seen through beer advertisements, was nevertheless variegated, diverse, and evolving through this period. Even when this diversity and variety was depicted, however, critics instead focused their attention elsewhere or discussed different elements of these advertisements. On the whole, then, depictions of kinship relations within beer advertisements were accepted uncritically by commentators despite their glaring variance from past depictions or from the societally-promoted ideal of the salaryman-professional housewife model.

## Chapter 6: Samurai/Hero/Actor/Star – National Myths, Icons, and

### Referent Systems in Sapporo's *Otoko wa damatte...* Campaign

The year 1970 can be considered a seminal year in Japan with the success of *Expo '70* in Osaka (*Osaka Banpaku*) apparently justifying the 'fixation on growth' (O'Bryan, 2009, 1–10) taken during the two decades following the war which established Japan's new place in the world (Okada, 2006). Yet this post-war order was rejected in a number of ways in the early 1970s: some were violent, such as the failed attempt to restore the Emperor by Mishima Yukio (1925-1970), the poet, writer, and ultra-nationalist, which resulted in Mishima's ritual suicide (Sharp, 2011, 165); others were less so, with critics simply re-evaluating the focus on GNP growth as a national policy objective to drive Japan's progress in light of the decline in quality of life (Kondō, 1971, 4; Taira, 1993, 169–172). This re-evaluation in turn undermined many of the taken-for-granted foundations of the postwar consensus including the role of work, consumerism, and lifetime employment. Japan therefore stood at a crossroads with high growth having brought economic success at the same time as a rejection of the ways in which this had been achieved.

This rejection also appeared in the advertising industry with a noticeable shift away from emphasising the product merits to explaining how the product fitted within a consumer's lifestyle (Aoyanagi, 2001, 8). Described as "feeling" advertisements because of the focus on sentiment, these campaigns made greater use of gender and gendered models. The representation of women, for example, shifted from the 1960s



“good wife, wise mother” (*ryōsai kenbo*), exemplified by the housewife as purchaser of beer, to a 1970s liberated woman who existed on her own terms (Takishima, 2000, 34–36). Within beer advertising, Sapporo Beer was at the forefront of this trend, creating a “feeling” campaign (Dentsu hō, 1970, 3) whose particular depiction of masculinity became a touchstone for Japanese manhood, serving as a standard to measure other men against - namely, the Mifune Toshirō starring *Otoko wa damatte... Sapporo Beer* (*Men are silent...Sapporo Beer*) campaign. This widely referenced campaign is extremely rich and dense in meaning with a number of critics and commentators assigning it great significance and relevance. I use this campaign as a case study here because it served as a critical touchstone for a range of writers — corporate, feminist and otherwise socially-minded — and because it contains a number of themes which re-appear at different junctures in this postwar period. Critics referred to this campaign to discuss multiple masculinities and hierarchies, to use star power to understand masculinity, to exclude femininity, and to neglect the role of militarism and colonialism within frameworks of masculinity. These various critiques, both positive and negative, reveal sophisticated and diverse understandings of gender.

Predicated upon the notion of silence as integral to masculinity, the campaign ran for two and a half years from 1970 with Mifune consuming beer in a range of locations: at the prow of a ship in the Sea of Enshu (off Shizuoka Prefecture); towering over the arid landscape of Monument Valley in the United States; sitting amongst yellow flowers in indistinct meadows; and riding horses in the fields of Erimo on Sapporo Beer’s home island of Hokkaidō (Kamo, 1975). These locations served to link Mifune’s masculinity

with spaces which were understood as free and independent, not only in terms of the actions he was able to do there but also in terms of what he was free from - the feminine and by extension, the domestic (White, 2007). Later iterations that focused on Hokkaido featured two additional taglines with one reading (in Japanese) 'Our heart is in the north. In the home/country of beer' (*Waga kokoro, kita ni ari. Bīru no kuni (furusato) ni ari*). The kanji for *furusato* (home town) was given the reading of *Kuni* (country) to link to the additional, English, tagline, which read 'The Beer Country. Sapporo' (Tokyo Copywriters' Club, 1972, 122). This iteration distinguished Sapporo's identity as connected to the northern island of Japan.

The slogan of the campaign, "Men are silent... Sapporo Beer", was both prescriptive and descriptive in its presentation of gender performance. It claimed that to be a man, to fulfil the necessary conditions to be considered masculine, one should be silent. It also described how men act, that is, that men *are* silent. The slogan therefore had a degree of ambiguity in meaning while remaining overt in its representation of a laconic masculinity.

This campaign became emblematic of Japanese masculinity by explicitly linking its protagonist's performance with the consumption of beer in the locations above.

Originally, however, it was to have looked very different. Mishima Yukio, poet and aspiring revolutionary, had been considered by Sapporo Beer for this campaign prior to his death. Kamo Hajime, who eventually headed the Sapporo Publicity department, believed the use of Mishima's personally unique model of masculinity in their advertisements would re-situate their beer as high quality and full-bodied (Kamo, 1975,

236). Kamo's recollection of these events is, however, vague about the details of how Mishima's depiction would achieve this and what specific aspects of Mishima's masculinity they hoped to emphasise in the campaign. In the end, Sapporo chose the actor Mifune Toshirō for his ability to embody these elements and in the hope that this campaign would re-brand the company's feminine image to a more masculine one. While differing in a number of ways, Mifune and Mishima shared a number of similarities including age and the popular recognition that each personified (mythological) "*samurai*" ideals. Mifune was well-known, 'legendary' in the words of film scholar Jasper Sharp (2011, 162–164), thanks to his numerous film roles which included noted collaborations with the acclaimed director, Kurosawa Akira. He was particularly associated with *jidaigeki* (period dramas) but also appeared in modern dramas and war films. It was the screen image constructed via his roles for these films rather than his actual personality that was both parlayed into this campaign and which has had enduring appeal for commentators.

#### Reputations and Realities

This campaign garnered a reputation both as one of *the* advertisements of the year 1970 and of this period. It is often lauded for its overt depiction of hyper-masculinity and different authors and commentators considered the campaign a success despite, or because of, its construction along overtly gendered lines. The *Tokyo Copywriters' Club* (TCC) ranked it as one of the top 11 advertisements for 1970 in their 1972 review of the past decade (Tokyo Copywriters' Club, 1972, 239) while it was also positioned as

particularly representative of the year, and period, in several later articles and books (Yamakawa, 1987; Aoyanagi, 2001, 8). Both Sapporo Beer and Jeffrey Alexander called it a 'huge hit' (*daihitto nari*) (2013, 225; Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 791) while its impact was seen as 'immense' (Aoyanagi, 2001, 8). Indeed, the catchphrase which this campaign used, 'Men are Silent... Sapporo Beer' (*Otoko wa damatte... Sapporo bīru*) was extremely popular that same year and has since been used in a variety of ways (Lebra, 1976, 78; JAC, 1991, 151). It appeared on a Judo club recruitment poster as *Otoko wa damatte...Judō* (Men are silent and ...Judo) in 1970 (Dentsū hō, 1970, 3); it connected silence and masculinity to the Japanese Self-Defence Forces (Securitan, 1998); and was also used to link the consumption of both meat and large amounts of food to masculinity. A Gifu rāmen (noodle) restaurant famous for its huge portions used it in its name (*Otoko wa damatte, mae o yuke*" (Men are silent and go in front)) (Otokomae300, 2016) while an Osaka restaurant used it to promote their huge meat servings (Image 28). The centrality of silence and meat consumption within masculinity is certainly seen as natural in these contexts. This is further emphasised by the way that more recent non-normative models of masculinity have been called *Herbivore Men* (*sōsokukeidanshi*), because of an apparent lack of interest in sex or in pursuing either the typical salaryman life-course or activities, actions associated with carnivorousness (Yuen, 2014, 222). This trend provides an interesting insight into how certain activities and interests are both seen as masculine and also connect to previous models of masculinity.

**Image 28: *Otoko wa damatte nikumori* (Men are silent and a place of meat) - an example of the inter-promotion of masculinity, meat consumption, and silence (Osaka 2014)**



(Wallace, 2014)

In claiming this campaign was well received, Sapporo promoted a narrative of success that helped embed this slogan within Sapporo's brand. It was still used as shorthand for the company some twenty years later as demonstrated by the 1990 'Mr President' column headline in the weekly magazine, *Sunday Mainichi*. Featuring an interview with the president of Sapporo Beer in the context of the then-current beer war, the headline directly referenced this campaign with, 'The Fierce Great Beer War - Men are silent and Hokkaido!?' (*gekiretsu bīru daisensō ni otoko wa damatte "Hokkaido"!?*) (*Sunday Mainichi*, 1990, 56–57).

Because of the significance assigned to this campaign from its inception, later commentators, along with narratives published by Sapporo Beer and creatives involved in the campaign, acted to valorise and emphasise this campaign over its competitors. In the process, the campaign came to be seen as the most iconic representation of idealised masculinity. In this process of canonisation, industry and social criticisms were neglected while competing campaigns were also moved to the periphery and eventually ignored, despite these being understood at the time to be at least as successful as the Mifune campaign. The narratives created by those involved therefore contributed to, and constituted, the advertising discourse that valorised Mifune's masculinity while marginalising both the other campaigns extant at the time and by extension, the gendered models contained within them.

Kamo Hajime, for instance, contributed to this valorisation by including details of its genesis in his recollection of his career. He attributed the cultural impact of the campaign to Mifune's "character", noting that it was accentuated by the gendered expression used. It was these two elements that successfully combined to change Sapporo's image to the desired high quality and full-bodied beer (Kamo, 1975, 249). Mifune's performance was indeed central to this reputation and he contributed to the campaign being seen as representative of Japanese beer advertising while becoming the representative of a transhistorical Japanese masculinity. The magazine *Focus* points out in a retrospective article that only Mifune's 'profound' campaign has remained in popular memory from this time (Focus, 1998, 51).

Yet this endurance is precisely because of the continual reiteration of this campaign

across a range of commentary, including recollections such as Kamo's above. It has even proven useful for scholars who have referenced it to illustrate different aspects of masculinity in Japan. This includes as an explanation for status-based behaviour, namely the appropriateness of silence for men (Lebra, 1976, 78) and to show the essential role that alcohol, particularly beer, plays within masculinity (Sugiyama, 2000; Christensen, 2010). These repetitive references in the media, in corporate recollections, and in academic commentary since its inception have contributed to the cementing of its reputation and its continued use as shorthand for the company and for Japanese masculinity.

Neglecting to analyse how this campaign operated in conjunction with those of Sapporo's competitors, however, means many of these commentaries share the same overemphasis on this single campaign and its representation of gender. The concept of manhood represented within is then seen as unchanging, as having what Ayako Kano has called a 'transhistorical and essential continuity' (Kano, 2008, 520) which denies that gender is historically constructed, while also positioning one model of masculinity as correct. I unpack this presentation of an unchanging masculinity in this chapter, situating the Mifune model of masculinity at a particular historical point in time and within the wider advertising discourse that the campaign emerged from and came to be representative of.

#### [Contesting and Challenging the Silent](#)

While later commentators assigned this masculinity a stable and reified status,

observers coeval with the campaign did not; they instead critiqued this campaign's depiction of masculinity because it conflicted with then gender relations. The year 1970 also marked the start of second-wave feminism in Japan, when a 'new kind of women's liberation movement exploded' (Shigematsu, 2008, 558–559). Called *ūman ribu* (Women's Lib), this movement critiqued existing systems that perpetuated exploitative forms, including images deemed to be sexist within the mass media. Sapporo's Mifune masculinity was one representation that came in for such criticism. Later commentaries, when approaching the various themes and concepts revolving around gender within this campaign, varied significantly from those written by contemporaneous commentators. In turn, the meanings, symbolisations, and contextualisation of this campaign by those earlier commentators also diverge in a number of ways from those who worked on the campaign itself.

In this chapter, I have split my analysis of this campaign into three sections. In the first, I focus on the ways in which the practices and gender(ed) representations of the advertisers in the 1970s took on meaning through the formation of an advertising discourse on gender. Varied narratives debated and contested what masculinity and femininity were, and how they were constituted in reference to this campaign and its relationship to other campaigns in a wider system of signification.

I then look at a number of themes that arise in relation to this campaign and recur in later campaigns. Mifune's star power was used to discuss his masculinity, while other features were ignored, in a similar process to how other actors in 1980s beer advertisements were cast, shot and critiqued.



Finally, I examine contemporaneous uses of this campaign within the media that undermined this depiction of Mifune's masculinity in response to actions by the sponsoring company in "reality". This provides evidence of a variegated, diverse, and critical media that sought, in contrast to our homogenised understandings of this campaign, to alter the meaning and interpretation of advertisements in order to highlight inconsistencies in corporate positions.

[Men Are Silent for Some Reason: Hyper and Hegemonic Masculinities, Competition](#)

Sapporo Beer's 1970 *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign featuring Mifune Toshirō is one of the most evocative promotional campaigns of the postwar. It has aroused a variety of critics to comment and to use it within a variety of writings. It encapsulated a number of qualities and elements that many felt accurately described Japanese masculinity in the postwar period. It was not seen in a vacuum, however. Other campaigns competed with it for the public's attention and any discussion of Mifune's masculinity or his depiction must be viewed in light of these competitors as it was created both to re-brand Sapporo Beer as masculine and to directly challenge, and hopefully undermine, Kirin Beer's dominance. The very exclusion of Kirin's advertisements from later debates is clear evidence of how this campaign captured the imagination of critics, but this was not necessarily so at the time. Within the advertising industry, it was the Kirin campaign that won awards and it was Kirin who maintained its market share. It is therefore necessary to examine how the campaign Mifune was challenging was understood and discussed. Or rather, what the meaning of the exclusion of this

campaign by creators, critics, and commentators means and how it alters our understanding of these discussions of Mifune's masculinity.

In 1970, Kirin opted to use the actor husband-wife team of Nakaya Noboru and Kishida Kyōko to promote their beer with the tagline '*do iu wake ka, Kirin*' (for some reason, somehow, it's Kirin). The presence of this couple in a variety of locations, taking train trips, or on the beach, contrasts starkly with Mifune's solitary presence. The adoption of these two performers was seen as a break from Kirin's previous advertising position which had favoured men (Dentsu Hō, 1970, 3), while for Shimamori Michico (sic), this campaign was a departure from the usual representation of *women*, veering away from the 'my home mama who was a good wife and good mother' (Shimamori, 1984, 122–125), that is, the professional housewife we saw in the previous chapter. This era was marked instead by a more liberated image of women who were free to travel or take the initiative (Takishima, 2000, 28–29) with the use of the non-traditional wife Kishida reflective of this. The *Dō iu wake ka...* campaign was clearly a departure from the norm and was recognised as such by various observers. It was seen as appealing to women (Sunday Mainichi, 1973, 135), specifically young women because of their proclivity for travel (Shimamori, 1984, 122–125), and to married couples (Brain, 1971, 123). Indeed, Kishida and Nakaya were considered an ideal married couple (*risō no fūfu*) (Josei Seven, 1977, 174) while their representation was considered nuanced in that it featured a husband and wife who recognised each other as a man and woman. As a new image of marital relations, it was revolutionary (Shimamori, 1984, 122–125).

The question of why this campaign featuring Nakaya and Kishida has been neglected in

narratives of the *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign and why it has been ignored in discussions of masculinity in Japanese beer advertisements in favour of an overemphasis on Mifune is attributable to Nakaya's particular model of masculinity which contrasts with, but does not apparently challenge, Mifune. Only certain models of masculinity, particularly the one embodied by Mifune, are viewed as masculine by commentators. Indeed, even Kishida's practices, such as the wearing of trousers, the drinking of beer, and the freedom to travel, are not viewed as masculine by creators, critics, and commentators in any way. Critics clearly defined masculinity and femininity in their discussions of these contemporary advertisements through these exclusions, demonstrating what elements are not deemed masculine or appropriate. I argue that the importance of this campaign lies in how critics are explicit in their use of gendered terms (if not the reasons why those terms apply). The differences in their discussions of these campaigns provide insight into how the idealised form of masculinity was constructed.

#### [Ivory Towers and Advertising](#)

Scholars have referenced the *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign to illustrate and reveal very different facets of Japanese society. These discussions reveal an interest within the academy with the minutiae of daily life and a greater recognition of the value of visual landscapes as a resource and tool for understanding social relations and interactions. For Paul Christensen, in his work on alcoholism and consumption in Japan (2010), this campaign promoted a particular narrative of men maintaining self-control when imbibing alcohol. Scrutinising images of consumption Christensen sought to

understand how they affect alcoholics' attempt to operate within society. Sugiyama Gaku, on the other hand, focusing on gender in advertising, used it as an example of how beer is a signifier of masculinity (Sugiyama, 2000). Both Christensen and Sugiyama used advertisements such as this to buttress their arguments laid out above but failed to take into account the depictions within competing advertisements. Despite an intention to critique the campaign for the way it represents masculinity, these two scholars actually serve to further emphasise and establish its pre-eminence. Were the competing campaigns to be taken into account the assertions that both Christensen and Sugiyama make about masculinity and beer would differ significantly.

Christensen, for example, contends that Japanese beer advertising operates in a similar manner to that identified by Strate in the USA (2010, 50–65). According to Strate, there is an absence in beer advertising of men who are perceived as less masculine, such as gay or sensitive men and of women as protagonists (1992, 78). Christensen accepts this, using the Mifune campaign as his core Japanese example. Yet the numerous examples of women and sensitive or cultured men in Japanese beer advertisements undermines and contradicts Christensen's application of Strate to the Japanese context and thus situates statements such as these as somewhat unfounded.

The appearance of Ishikawa Danjurō VII, a noted *Kabuki* actor, in 1980s Kirin advertisements (Kirin Beer, 1986b), for instance, is evidence of the many “cultural” (*bunkajin*) performers that appeared from the 1980s, including journalists, mathematicians, novelists, and theatre actors in a recognition that celebrities did not encompass all the qualities that appealed to people (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999b, 3–11). The

*Dō iu wake ka...* Kirin campaign meanwhile featured Nakaya Noboru as a more sensitive man. While Nakaya is not that dissimilar from Mifune, both in terms of dress – polo shirts and trousers – (Sapporo Beer, 1970; Kirin Beer, 1971b), action – Nakaya rides bicycles in contrast to Mifune’s horses – (Kirin Beer, 1971b; Sapporo Beer, 1971) and seems to embody stoicism and masculine silence at various points – idly smoking, for instance, as his wife plays hopscotch at a train station – (Kirin Beer, 1971a), his model of masculinity was very different. Indeed, neither Nakaya nor Kishida were necessarily considered appropriate for beer advertisements by some commentators. A 1972 article in *Brain*, for instance, on *talento* categorised performers and products into a typology of gender matching the gender performance of a celebrity to the product with the most appropriate gender classification. Based on a poll conducted in Tokyo which asked respondents to rate performers on a number of qualities, the results and methodology are intriguing. It calls for any performers connected to beer to be masculine, reliable, or powerful – qualities which appear to be restricted only to men and only “manly” men at that. Accordingly, those performers who embody these qualities are specifically not Kishida (feminine (*joseiteki*), knowledgeable (*chiseiteki*) and passionate (*neshin*)) and Nakaya (knowledgeable (*chiseiteki*), wise (*kenjitsu*) and refined (*johin*)) (Brain, 1972a, 9–26).

This poll appeared in 1972 some two years after *Dō iu wake...* first aired but reflected an ongoing industry ambivalence about this campaign. Nevertheless, the author of this article acknowledged their roles within this campaign and its connection to other companies - they were neither unknown nor ignored at the time of these

advertisements, which means that we have to acknowledge this advertisement as part of an advertising discourse that by the early 1970s was explicitly interested in gender, in contrast to earlier periods. This in turn undermines Christensen's use of Mifune as easily equatable to US advertising models of masculinity. Similarly, Sugiyama also fails to consider this campaign when analysing masculinity/discussing masculinity in beer advertisements.

Sugiyama uses the *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign to assert that it signifies beer as a drink explicitly for men; women who like beer were described as being like old men (*bīru o suki na josei wa oyajikusai*) (2000, 117). This approach obviously ignores the advertisements featuring Nakaya and Kishida that represent beer consumption as a shared activity between genders. In fact, the differentiated natures of the campaigns and the various demographics each company were targeting, was widely discussed in both the media and specialist advertising literature (Brain, 1971, 123; Sunday Mainichi, 1973, 135) as can be seen by the following explanation in the Sunday Mainichi:

Kirin is competing via the married couple Kishida Kyōko and Nakaya Noboru on the "women front" (*josei rosen*); Sapporo and Asahi are using Mifune and Takakura on the "men front" (*dansei rosen*); while Suntory is competing on the "young front" (*yangu rosen*) (Sunday Mainichi, 1973, 135).

Sugiyama and Christensen's failure to take this range of models and campaigns into account suggests that their conclusions are partial and inconclusive. It is clear from Sugiyama's approach that his conclusions are informed by normative assumptions about the nature of masculinity while Christensen has been influenced by the overt representation of masculinity which Mifune performs. Through these mutually

constitutive processes of exclusion and selection, the “*Otoko wa damatte...*” campaign has maintained its centrality in the history of advertising discourse and of gendered representation in Japan, a centrality that is also reinforced in non-academic commentary and in Japanese language analyses of beer advertising.

A number of retrospectives on the advertising industry (Okada, 2006) or advertising campaigns in general (Aoyanagi, 2001) valorised this campaign over others. A common way in which this happens is through a consideration of Mifune as the epitome of masculinity. The idea of Mifune as hyper-masculine used when referencing this advertisement originated from his film history. This *a priori* understanding of Mifune as “masculine” serves to further emphasise this model over the ones that appear in the other campaigns.

Regardless, both Mifune himself and the associated understandings of his masculinity were essential to this campaign. He was considered indispensable by Sapporo Beer (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 791) as there was no other man in Japan who could properly embody this idealised image of masculinity (Aoyanagi, 2001, 8). Indeed, Mifune’s uniquely masculine presence was referred to in critical commentary on a previous campaign he had appeared in which was less overtly gendered. In Takeda Pharmaceutical’s 1965 campaign for their over-the-counter anti-tiredness relief, *Alinamin A*, Mifune appeared in a variety of scenarios asking “*nonde masu ka*” (are you taking it?) (Mukai and Yamakawa, 1978, 180–181). Competing campaigns opted for models who were not from the entertainment world because it was understood that no man could stand against him (Asahi Shinbun, 1980, 124). Despite the lack of overt

masculine prescription in this campaign, Mifune's model of masculinity was understood to be hyper-masculine, situated at the apex of different types of masculinity. This understanding of his masculinity affected how the Sapporo Beer campaign and its depiction of masculinity is valorised. Two different articles are especially pertinent on this point.

Written some 18 years apart, these two articles, one from 1988 for the women's magazine, *Josei Seven*, and the other from 2006 for *Sendenkaigi (Publicity Council)*, a trade publication, differ from Sugiyama and Christensen in referring to other campaigns that were present at this time, but still marginalise alternative models of gender while doing so. The *Josei Seven* article describes various historical beer advertisements to contextualise the then-current *Dry War* that dominated the industry. The article categorises advertisements from different periods showing how some campaigns operated and exercised influence upon each other both diachronically and synchronically. Brief snapshots of the various campaigns enabled readers to see these relations along with a short description. The anchor used for the Mifune campaign is brief but informative. It considers the catchphrase *Otoko wa damatte...* to be perfect for this period, specifically the 'era when men were still manly' (*mada otoko ga otokorashikatta jidai*) (*Josei Seven*, 1988, 46). In revering the Mifune campaign in this way, this article draws direct (and negative) comparisons to the then contemporary masculinity of the 1980s, describing the men of the time as inauthentic and lacking in comparison to Mifune.

A similar categorisation of Mifune's masculinity is also present in Okada Yoshirō's work.



Writing in *Sendenkaigi (Publicity Council)*, a trade journal, Okada draws together the various beer advertisements from this period to analyse them in relation to each other. An advertising critic who had worked at Dentsu from 1956 until retiring in 1998, Okada calls this campaign 'a dynamic CM (commercial message) which reflects the feeling of an age' while the slogan itself became a 'symbolic phrase which expressed Japanese peoples' aesthetic virtue' (2006, 92). Okada somewhat problematically positions the entire Japanese population as sharing a common sense and understanding of advertisements here, but his perspective is noteworthy for the fact that he directly relates the Mifune campaign to its competitors and because he defines masculinity as performed only by certain men.

All the advertisements that were discussed in relation to *Otoko wa damatte...* also featured film stars. As noted, Nakaya Noboru and Kishida Kyōko, two actors of the less traditional *shingeki* (New Drama) school, appeared in a series of advertisements for Kirin with the tagline, '*Dō iu wake ka..*' (for some reason, it's...) followed by either 'Kirin' or '*Fūfu*' (husband and wife). This campaign saw the two actors interacting in various locations. Takakura Ken, meanwhile, star of various *Yakuza* (gangster) and *Jidaigeki* films, appeared for Asahi with the tagline '*Nonde moraimasu*' (now you will drink/I'll have you drink) (Asahi Beer, 1970) - a reference to the line that often preceded an antagonist's death in various films, '*shinde moraimasu*' (now you will die/I'll have you die now).

For critics such as Okada, it was Takakura and Mifune who personified masculinity while Nakaya did not. Okada situates this competition between the advertisements as

between that of Takakura and Mifune who duelled together (*shōbu ni deta*) when this ‘competition of two big stars became a contest of manliness’ (*otokorashisa*) (2006, 93). The description of Mifune and Takakura as “manly” (specifically, *otokorashii*) raises several questions concerning how masculinity is constructed and perceived. This particular term, ‘*otokorashii*’, was used within many of these discussions pertaining to Mifune but is notable by its absence from discussions of Nakaya. Commentators used *otokorashii* to discuss Mifune’s masculinity across time periods, but specifics as to how or why Mifune fits this description are often absent. We have seen previously how this description was used in bodily terms, but in this context, *rashii/sa* has been discussed in scholarship as roughly corresponding to the social frameworks of how men and women should perform socially, including in terms of gender, those appropriate behaviours and practices which are cultural, social and emotional (Itō, Kimura and Kuninobu, 2002, 7). Lebra uses *otokorashii* to describe appropriate behaviour for men, that is, behaviour that is like, or appropriate to, someone’s status (1976, 78) with a lack of loquacity in particular seen as manly within a framework of other appropriate behaviours. In a series for NHK, the Men’s Studies scholar Itō Kimio positioned various socially-accepted prohibitions, including men not crying or showing their weakness, as constrictions of *otokorashisa* (2003, 9) while Robertson defined the suffix element - *rashii*- as placing emphasis ‘on a person’s proximity to a gender stereotype’ (1992, 421).

For Lebra, the popularity of the Mifune advertisement is attributable to the way in which the same behaviour is embedded within societal norms. Mifune’s actions are

masculine because they fit preconceived notions of what is appropriate for men to do. In using *otokorashii* to describe Mifune's actions, this word equally defines other men who do not fit the expectation it entails. By not adhering to these social norms, these men are not necessarily seen as '*otokorashii*' regardless of what they may actually be engaging in or with whom. *Otokorashisa* is best translated then as manliness, the socially expected actions and practices that define one as a man, rather than masculinity, those behaviours that individuals actually practice in order to be men. This definition then allows a differentiation between practice and lived experience on the one hand, and representation and idealisation on the other.

In discussion of these ads then, the use of *otokorashii* to describe male actors serves to position them as performing or acting as they are expected to, fitting within definitions of what is to be expected of a man. Takakura and Mifune 'compete' (Okada, 2006, 92) based on their proximity to a gendered stereotype of how a man should be. Yet Nakaya's exclusion obviously raises questions. In these advertisements, Nakaya was apparently not performing as a man should. This is despite there being little in his actions which sets him apart from Takakura and Mifune. Nakaya is positioned as not fitting the appropriate social expectations of a man *despite* the fact that he is engaging in a variety of activities in conjunction with his wife. This exclusion is particularly noticeable given the role that marriage has played in mainstream narratives of being considered a (male) adult (Taga, 2003, 138). The fact that Mifune and Takakura both operate without connections to family but are deemed manly indicates how the idealisation of gendered models can vary according to where it takes place and is

predicated upon the image that they are seen to possess. That is, the practices promoted within what Taga calls the *sarariiman-sengyōshufu* regime (the professional salaryman-housewife model) (2003, 137), such as marriage, children, work, and home-buying, contrast with the practices lauded within the advertising discourse as manly. In fact, these responsibilities actually appear to preclude men from this definition within advertising.

While the term “*otokorashisa*” refers to those practices that a man is supposed to engage in to be a man, and its disconnection from those media and socially promoted familial responsibilities that many men take on, an additional similar term - ‘*otokoppoi*’ (lit. in the likeness of a man) also appears to describe Mifune’s actions. A *Josei Seven* article, for example, claims that the popularity of the *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign was due to Mifune’s *otokopposa* (manliness), which attracted many people (*Mifune no otokopposa ni shibireta hito ga aoku*) (*Josei Seven*, 1988, 46). This term appears to have less utility than the accompanying *otokorashisa* for scholars with it barely appearing in translations of various works on gender (Connell, 2000, 67; Leonard, 2000, 35–58; Itō, 2003, 44). Mezur, however, uses this term to differentiate the various performances given by *onnagata* in Kabuki. This role features male actors playing a woman on stage (and is recognised as such by the audience). The gender performance can range from *onnappoi*, what Mezur calls feminine, to *otokoppoi* (masculine) (Mezur, 2005, 34–35). Informed by Butler’s conceptualisation of gender as performativity, as repeated acts, Mezur notes the way in which these actors’ performance results in an enactment of gender. While this definition deals with a representation of women, the idea that these

-ppoi designations, (*otokoppoi* and *onnappoi*), are used to describe elements within a gender performance based on appearance (Mezur, 2005, 81) is useful when examining how *otokoppoi* is used in these articles. Within this context, then, *otokoppoi* offers an understanding that gender performances can vary across a spectrum and in simply translating it as “masculine”, serves to downplay the significance of its use within Japanese. Indeed, the fact that *otokoppoi* is used to refer to an individual performance reinforces this point. It is Mifune’s individual masculinity to which people are drawn (*Josei Seven*) and this is reinforced by the fact that Takakura Ken’s masculinity (*otokopposa*) was also seen as attractive in a contemporary account (Brain, 1971, 124). While some scholars translate *otokoppoi* as mannish and contend that it can only apply to women (Camp, 2009, 38), the evidence from my corpus suggests that it describes the gender performance of a number of different individuals, including men. A range of gendered performances were available, according to the industry discourse, but these performances needed to fit within defined frameworks of what could be considered appropriate. Nakaya, not unexpectedly, was not referred to with these terms indicating that they remain reserved for men whose performance fits preconceived notions of what masculinity is, specifically hyper-masculine men.

#### [The Masculinity Apex](#)

Commentators like Okada refuse, then, to define certain men such as Nakaya as fitting their definitions of masculinity. Instead, manliness remained the preserve of the competitive hypermasculinity of Takakura and Mifune with Mifune sitting at an apex of masculinity. Okada and these other commentators who laud Mifune’s masculinity in

this way thus recognise both the existence of multiple masculinities and a hierarchy amongst men.

This ranking of models of masculinity has been acknowledged by scholars who conceptualised the theory of 'hegemonic masculinity' which 'heralded a new era in studying men' (Wedgwood, 2009, 332). Developed most notably by Connell, hegemonic masculinity has been used to explain how gender relations work by culturally exalting and socially privileging one form of masculinity over others (Light, 2003, 103). Connell conceptualised hegemonic masculinity as a pattern of practice which allowed men's dominance over women to continue and which was privileged over other forms of masculinity with other men positioned in relation to this ideal, in subordinated, complicit or marginalised categories. With one model of masculinity normative, if not necessarily widespread,:

'Hegemony did not mean violence...it meant ascendancy achieved through culture, institutions, and persuasion.' (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005, 832).

The hegemonic masculinity is an idealised masculinity that is dominant to the point of being unquestioned (Light, 2003, 103). The theory recognises both the performative aspect of gender and the wide diversity of masculinities and femininities, differing across time, race, class, country and cultures (Demetriou, 2001, 340). The concept of multiple and varying masculinities is now widely recognised and much of the work on masculinity within Japan has come to recognise this (Dasgupta, 2009, 84–89).

Yet despite the positioning of Mifune as the most masculine of men, his actual model of masculinity does not match what many consider the hegemonic Japanese masculinity of the time. Instead, in post-war Japan, it was the salaryman (Hidaka, 2010,

2–3; Dasgupta, 2013, 118) who was ‘the principal normative embodiment of Japan’s post-war economic success...a cultural icon and ideological model’ (Matanle, 2003, 8–9). This obviously raises a number of questions about the relationship of Mifune’s masculinity to the hegemonic salaryman masculinity and how to categorise it considering the very different natures and characteristics of each model.

Part of the hegemonic masculinity framework involves a recognition that other men are constituted and situated in relation to the hegemonic ideal in subordinated, complicit or marginalised categories. Griffin contends that these three relational categories of complicit, subordinated and marginalised masculinities should be expanded to also include resistant forms in the shape of antipatriarchal masculinities (Griffin, 2018, 5) to accommodate those men who actively resist this model of masculinity.

I argue here that Mifune’s masculinity does not easily fit any of these four categories in relation to this campaign with the designation of Mifune as hypermasculine complicating both the positioning of salaryman masculinity as the hegemonic ideal and the categorisation of his own model. The praising of his depiction raises the question of how *exactly* the salaryman is considered the ideal or hegemonic when there is a more masculine, and ideal, model from which to draw upon. Yet Mifune’s model of masculinity offers an alternative interpretation and should better be described as a vicarious masculinity, offering salarymen a means to perform their masculinity slightly differently without risking any of the elements which actually defined them as a man. The *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign appears, on the surface, to challenge the salaryman

ideal by representing themes of escape as essential to performing masculinity. This stood in contrast to the salaryman model who would need to divest himself of the very accoutrements that constituted his identity to engage in these activities. Yet this divestment was not uncommon with this period seeing the salaryman model's contradictions becoming more apparent. Salarymen rejecting the constrictions and requirements of this lifestyle, the process of *datsusara*, was a noticeable trend at this time. Articles in weekly magazines subtly detailed the risks of abandoning elite positions for a life seemingly free from constriction running petrol stations and rāmen shops (Aono, 1972; Shūkan Sankei, 1972).

Yet this campaign was primarily designed to appeal to salarymen, according to Matsuura Iwao, the then head of the Sapporo Publicity Section (Matsuura, 1970, 51–53) and not to dislodge or destabilise their lives. The company specifically targeted hard-drinking men in their 30-40s, broadcasting on Sunday nights during baseball games because this was the time when they *were* free to watch television. The advertisers did not necessarily want these salarymen to engage in similar activities to Mifune, to abandon their work, lives, families etc to live a fantastical life, as this would remove their ability to buy this beer. Instead, the model of masculinity embodied by Mifune within these advertisements was a fantasy image, appealing to these men precisely because it *was* fantastical and thus unobtainable.

Mifune's sites of beer consumption, far from the urbanised centres of Japan in a variety of distant locations differentiated him from the inflexible masculinity of the desired demographic, the salaryman. Ambulatory fantasies contrast with the static in models of



masculinity in Japan, according to Tom Gill, with the central pillar in the home (the *daikokubashira*) often likened to the role that the salaryman plays, offering stability and endurance (2003). Mifune's performance is thus one embodiment of the many masculine fantasies, such as mendicant monks and wanderer poets, which Gill has noted, frequently stress the mobile in Japan.

As part of this fantasy element, Mifune's appearance in remote locations played another, possibly more important function. I argue that it is this function which means his model of masculinity cannot be categorised according to the four-relational schema associated with hegemonic masculinity. Instead, Mifune's model, operating in the service of a hegemonic masculinity rather than challenging one, can best be described as a vicarious masculinity through which men could enact practices that defined their masculinity differently to the hegemonic ideal that they were engaged in.

The rural sites where Mifune's masculinity was performed were similar to that of the locations of Tora-san's adventures, (1969 – 1995), the itinerant peddler whose travels around Japan in a long-running series of films (48) inevitably resulted in heartbreak and a return to the safety of his sister's Tokyo home. Ian Buruma has attributed the popularity of *Tora-san* to his ability to provide a means for those confined by regularity and routine to vicariously experience the pleasures and failures of travelling and to thus reassure themselves that their own life choice was a good one (1995, 218).

Dasgupta expands on this theory to situate the popularity of actors such as Takakura Ken and Ishihara Yūjirō as 'an alternative imagining to the increasingly bureaucratized, regulated reality of lives of the expanding numbers of salarymen and their families'

(2013, 35).

I argue that the Mifune model is part of this trend but that it differs on a number of points from the performers that Dasgupta groups together to form an 'alternative reimagining'. While the *Tora-san* films offered a partial respite from, and a culture reference for, the stresses of ordinary life, the Mifune model provided a means for salarymen, through their consumption (of Sapporo), to enact a stoic and laconic masculinity which would be recognised by other men. Mifune provided these men with a means through which they could perform their masculinity without risking any of the elements that define their core identity - job, home, or family. Essentially, it allowed men to live this identity through consumption. While beer brands were 'powerful symbols of professional identity and affiliation' for individual salarymen, (Alexander, 2013, 191), Sapporo were clearly hoping that their beer would become part of the performed identity of these men. Choice of beer becomes here a performative element by which these men aligned themselves with Mifune and demonstrated masculinity through consumption as a silent man, strong, free, and independent despite the reality of the various restrictions on their lives. This image of masculinity used certain themes of freedom and movement to convince men who did not enjoy such liberties that they could present an image of being so through consuming this beer. This small change in behaviour, the choice of a different beer, would apparently enable them to define their identity in similar terms to Mifune.

While Mifune's depiction offered a number of practices – beer consumption, silence, travel – that could be adopted and integrated to redefine one's masculinity, there is no

similar corollary in the case of the others of this 'alternative reimagining', apart from Takakura Ken's similar appearance for Asahi. While watching a *Tora-san* film may provide some of this vicarious experience, it is not performative or demonstrative in the same way that this choice of beer would be - enacted in, and to, the company of one's peers. This campaign thus recognised that the current hegemonic masculinity was not necessarily idealised by those men who were engaged in that process with Mifune's masculinity highly attractive.

I argue that the use of vicarious masculinity in this context is a valuable addition to understandings of hegemonic masculinity. Crawley, Foley and Shehan have previously used this term to describe a transferral process that occurs, often during sporting events, where the masculinity of athletes is transferred to male spectators through a similarly sexed body (2008, 132). Crawley has also applied it in other circumstances to describe how men employ certain physically-abled men instead of women in particular occupations (notably on yachts) to transfer or assume their qualities despite not possessing the bodily ability to perform the same work. She uses it to 'define how men align with other men whose bodies are more capable than their own' (2011, 111) stating that

'Vicarious masculinity derives from male-bodied people aligning themselves with that subset of men (especially elite athletes, actors, and working-class men who do hard labor) who actually possess the buff ideal of the strong man (2011, 111–112)

This definition of vicarious masculinity can be expanded in these circumstances to apply to those salarymen who align with Mifune's consumption practices to gain the

benefits of his masculinity and be recognised as such while maintaining their own status and privileges that are associated with their work. Doing so provides a number of benefits and, within the theory of hegemonic masculinity, helps to explain this use of a hypermasculine, but non-hegemonic, man to appeal to men situated within the hegemonic ideal. This helps to explain, in turn, why Mifune's masculinity appears both challenging (in that it undermines the salaryman lifestyle) and complicit (in that it upholds it). I argue that defining it as vicarious masculinity affirms the complexity of the depiction while acknowledging its role within gender relations. Beginning to define Mifune's model of masculinity through this term, combined with the way in which Crawley et al use it, contributes to a more nuanced understanding of gender relations and acknowledges the complexities and power relations of hegemonic masculine ideals.

#### Referent Systems: Selecting which a priori knowledge to use

While Mifune's freedom of movement appears as a core element of his appeal to other men in this campaign, commentators' understandings of his masculinity work on the assumption that Mifune is masculine without actually examining what masculinity means in this context. Neither Okada nor the *Josei Seven* article seeks to interrogate what makes Mifune more "manly" than Nakaya or any other men of 1988. Instead, gender is conceptualised as understood and natural - Mifune is manly because he is understood to be rather than because he possesses certain qualities or performs in a certain way within these advertisements. Understandings of Mifune as masculine existed prior to this campaign and these subsequently dominated the creation and

understandings of the campaign. Judith Williamson (2005, 19) has described this process, through which objects or people are used in advertisements in order that what they symbolise is transferred to the product, as a referent system. Most commentators' use of Mifune's referent system was partial, however, with only particular elements accepted and used while other characteristics and meanings were ignored or neglected.

A great deal of Mifune's resonance as a masculine icon was related to the roles that he had played during his film career up to this point. These roles ranged across Japanese history, nevertheless positioning his masculinity clearly within national frames. Yet there are several contradictions that exist both within the vast range of film roles that Mifune played and between the film roles and Mifune himself. While Mifune's own conceptualisations of gender informed some of his performances, notably refusing to depict a Japanese soldier display emotion in *Hell in the Pacific* (1968) (Shūkan Yomiuri, 1969, 104), his personal actions and screen image often conflicted with each other at different times. This created a paradox of which version of Mifune people were referring to.

Mifune's roles included both *jidaigeki*, where he played *samurai* (*Samurai I* (1954)), *rōnin* (masterless samurai) (*Yōjimbo* (1961)), and aristocrats (*Kumo no su jō* (*Throne of Blood*) (1957)); and war films, in which he played Imperial admirals and generals such as *Battle of the Japan Sea* (*Nihonkai daikaisen*) (1969) and *Attack Squadron* (*Taiheiyō no Tsubasa*) (1963). These various roles earned him global fame and apparently the moniker "The World's Mifune" (*sekai no Mifune*) (Shūkan Bunshun, 1972, 127;

Aoyanagi, 2001, 8), but they also ensured his image was indelibly associated with a nationalistic Japanese cultural archetype. One journalist, writing an article on the 1968 film *Hell in the Pacific* (1968), labelled him Mr Japan (*Misutā Nippon*) while his co-star, Lee Marvin, saw him as representative of 'the Japanese' and 'deeply connected to the image of Japan' (Shūkan Yomiuri, 1969, 104).

In being so deeply entwined with the idea of Japanese-ness, Mifune also came to represent all Japanese men, regardless of period, with his masculinity a mirror against which other men could measure themselves in relation to their own masculinity and Japanese-ness. Mifune represented and embodied a transhistorical Japanese masculinity unchanging across periods or regions: he was Imperial Japan (as Admiral Yamamoto Isoroku in 1968's *Admiral Yamamoto* (*Rengō kantai shirei chōkan: Yamamoto Isoroku*)); he was Edo-period Japan (as *Yōjimbō*); and he was modern Japan, playing salarymen (*The Bad Sleep Well* (*Warui Yatsu hodo yoku nemuru*) 1960), gangsters (*Drunken Angel* (*Yoidore tenshi*) (1948)), and policemen (*Stray Dog* (*Nora Inu*) (1949)). Mifune was presented therefore as a timeless embodiment of a (masculine) Japanese spirit. A key feature of this stable, national masculinity was silent stoicism. Despite this cinematic history, understandings of Mifune in relation to the advertising campaign were highly selective. While knowledge of the roles that idols and *talento* play in contemporary Japan is considered essential for understanding how they operate in a diverse media landscape (Galbraith and Karlin, 2012b, 10–11), this intertextuality has not been as clearly identified in earlier cases, such as Mifune. Despite the range of roles that he played, and the number of meanings that were available when accessing

his referent system, commentators focused on the “feudal” *samurai* as the key marker of Mifune’s masculinity rather than more controversial imperial or militarist masculinities he had represented. The advertising commentator, Okada Yoshirō, for instance, described him as an embodiment of ‘the samurai of Japan’ (Okada, 2006, 92) in reference to this campaign while others also connected the various advertising elements together to these screen roles. Yamazaki Masakazu, for example, linked this campaign focus on stoic silence to the way in which the samurai characters he had played silently cut through their enemies (Yamazaki, 1973, 148).

This connection was not undesired. In fact, the campaign actively sought to incorporate certain elements of Mifune’s film roles over others to create a stimulating campaign that would arouse discussion. Sapporo purposely commissioned the calligrapher responsible for the posters for Mifune’s 1954 classic *The Seven Samurai* (*Shichinin no Samurai*) to paint the catchphrase, “*Otoko wa damatte...Sapporo Bīru*” (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 791), creating a visual connection between the cinematic and advertising realms (see Images 29-30). Sapporo saw this particular calligraphic style as intense (*kyōretsu*) and hence appropriate for this campaign to “masculinise” their product. Sapporo used elements such as calligraphy to make this connection to Mifune’s *jidaigeki* screen roles clear to consumers and viewers. While the trope of the *samurai* has been quite important in Japan in helping to construct a national image that was both masculine and ostensibly universal (Mason, 2011, 68–70), it was also instrumental in creating Mifune’s image which the Sapporo Beer marketers parlayed into this campaign. The importance placed on highlighting this element, and the lack of

reticence with which creators, critics, and commentators used this referent system, reveals the relationship between masculinity and national myths and narratives.

These discussions of Mifune which reference his samurai roles reveal how restricted a referent system can be. Williamson (2005), originally writing in 1972, used the concept of binary oppositions to develop how referent systems work in advertising, that is, a person or an object gained its meaning through opposition to only one other element. This approach has been criticised for its reliance on binaries, which result in a narrow interpretation of an image (Cook, 1992, 63–65) and failure to acknowledge multiple possible meanings. Stars such as Mifune had multiple public presentations in circulation.

Yet the multiplicity and availability of multiple referent systems does not necessarily mean that they were all available or desirable to use. Commentators on this campaign traced the connection between Mifune and silence to his laconic roles as samurai, while completely avoiding one particular referent in their analyses, namely the link between militarism and masculinity.

This avoidance of Mifune's militaristic roles reveals how certain elements, such as militarism, are incommensurate with desired models of masculinity. This avoidance was not unusual. The postwar rehabilitation of *bushidō* from the wartime imperial version relied on the popular understanding that it was 'an ancient tradition corrupted by militarists' during the early Shōwa period (Benesch, 2014, 222, 241). Reverting back to an 'uncorrupted' Meiji-era version period thus meant that critics could reference *samurai* (and Mifune) as exemplars of *bushidō* and avoid any associations with an



uncomfortable wartime past. Yet this meant that critics subsequently ignored the problematic aspects of the samurai, such as their exploitative role within the social system as well as the artificiality of *bushidō* itself (Benesch, 2014), which thus contributed, much as was the case with this campaign, to their continued valorisation. The lack of reference to militarism is particularly discordant, however, when the genesis for the slogan is examined. Despite the calligraphy used, and the understanding of Mifune as a silent samurai - the taciturn lone killer - the idea of highlighting the importance of silence to men within this campaign apparently originated from a 1965 film set during the Second World War, *Taiheiyō Kiseki no Sakusen: Kisuka* (Miraculous Military Operation in the Pacific Ocean) (1965). According to Kamo Hajime's recollection of creating this campaign, the creative catalyst came from a scene where Mifune's character, Admiral Omura, takes a moment of silence to ponder his options before taking decisive action (Kamo, 1975, 240). This action was, of course, in the wartime service of the Japanese Empire. The model of masculinity that Mifune portrays in the advertisement is therefore directly drawn from a representation of militaristic and imperialistic masculinity, a point largely overlooked in the critical commentary.

Image 29: Sapporo Beer - Otoko wa damatte's similar calligraphy



(Sapporo Beer, 1970)

Image 30: Shichinin no Samurai (Seven Samurai) (1954)



Seven Samurai (1954)

#### Critiques and Dissent: Garrulous Men, Voluble Women

Despite the absence of discussion of militarism, the advent of this advertisement aroused discussion of various other themes and how they related to masculinity. The social critic, Yamazaki Masakazu, then an assistant professor at Kansai University, commented upon these in his analysis of this campaign in his co-authored book with Komatsu Sakyō, *Gendai no Shinwa* (Modern myths). Adopting a Barthesian notion of myths as constructed narratives, Yamazaki questions how accurate this model is for Japanese society both at that time and historically. Yamazaki sought to explain the

popularity of the advertisement because it somehow appeals to the 'latent aesthetic values of Japanese' (1973, 148–149). While this may be a reductionist explanation in its positioning of *all* Japanese men, regardless of age, status or sexuality, as sharing the same values, Yamazaki offset this by providing examples of men's dual silence and loquacity. He showed how silence was not necessarily integral to masculinity, highlighting the dangers of positioning it so intimately. Drawing attention to the quiet office workers who complete their tasks without complaint, for instance, he noted that this was also how perpetrators of massacres are described after the event (Yamazaki, 1973, 148–9). Yamazaki contrasts these unassuming workers with men whose volubility was integral to their use as exemplars of masculine virtue, namely the male leaders of the Meiji Restoration who spoke out and made modern Japan. He then discusses how silence has also been espoused by those in power in different contexts to ignominious and tragic results. In this way, he shows the ahistorical nature of any simple equation of silence and masculinity. Finally, Yamazaki brings his analysis up to date, showing how, in companies, the courts, and in journalism, talking and communication remain essential to Japanese men (1973, 150).

Yamazaki's analysis suggests a more critical take on the *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign's meaning. Not only was it popular enough to be a topic for consideration, but the linkage of silence with masculinity was problematic, at least for some critics. For Yamazaki, silence was not something that made one into a man, nor was it necessarily a desirable trait. Drawing on national historical events, Yamazaki also undercut the idea that silence was a transhistorical ideal practice for Japanese men.

The writer Niki Etsuko was equally critical of this marriage of silence with masculinity. Niki gives a damning analysis of how masculinity is represented in advertisements, asking bluntly why they sweat so much and run around in fields all the time (1980b, 32). Identifying five types of men who appear in advertisements, she questions both their representation and how they fit into society. Niki's five types are: strong and resolute, a man amongst men; the 'my-home type', represented eating at home with children, for example; salarymen who are selling office products; celebrities; and exhausted men who need revitalising. Niki decides to concentrate upon the first and fifth types, the man amongst men (*otoko no naka no dankei*) and the exhausted (*kutabirekei*) as these two are situated for her at either end of a spectrum of masculine representation.

Niki's focus on the first type of man, the *otoko no naka dankei*, uses a number of examples across time. One of these was a predecessor to Takakura Ken's Asahi Beer advertisement that featured a man in a *kendōgi* (kendō uniform) grasping a jug of beer and gulping it down. Other representations of masculinity she focused on included a professional baseball player consuming sake; and a foreman on a building site. Niki positions the emergence of this trope as a reaction to the ameliorating position of women within Japanese society. Each example had what she calls an imperious attitude towards women, including Mifune's *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign, a point that had been addressed by the creators.

In 1970, an *Asahi Shimbun* columnist apparently suggested that the campaign was a reaction against 'the tide of society' and was thus thwarting and neglecting the age of

women by limiting beer to men. Writing for the journal, *Kōkoku to mākētingu* (Advertising and Marketing), Matsuura Iwao, the head of the Sapporo Beer Marketing Department, introduced and then summarily dismissed this criticism on two grounds: that it was not valid because it came from a man; and that many women seemed to like this advert, as the company had received no complaints (*hitotsu mo yoserareteinai*) (Matsuura, 1970, 51–53). Women, he argued in part, enjoyed transgressing what they saw as gendered boundaries because they were able to gain a feeling of masculinity when they drank. While seemingly progressive in his understandings of gender, it is equally clear from Matsuura’s dismissal of the generalised complaints that his stance on gender was highly selective. Concerns that men may have had about this representation of masculinity as it impacted them were not considered valid and, in fact, were not necessarily enunciable via the frameworks available at the time. Growing attention on men as a subject in Japan only really started from the 1990s (Dasgupta, 2009, 89) with the focus of scholars such as Itō Kimio while the 1970s was the decade of “women’s issues” (1996, 1). For men concerned about representation, expressing criticism on behalf of women rather than their own masculinity may have been the only means to arouse dissent.

Matsuura’s counter-criticism that only men were complaining also highlights who had the power to speak. In dismissing these concerns Matsuura declines to acknowledge the privileged position that men occupied at this time. His response suggests that women were in his view permitted to raise gender issues and yet they did not necessarily have platforms to verbalise their complaints. Despite this period being

popularly perceived as the age of women's liberation, which was the basis of one of the criticisms of the campaign (Matsuura, 1970, 51–53), women's ability to criticise and be listened to in the same way as men was lacking, indicating women's continuing subordinate social position. Niki's criticisms, for example, first appeared in a publication targeted at women, *Fujin Kōron* before being reproduced in *CM Graffiti*. *Fujin Kōron* was a valuable forum for the so-called housewife debates of the 1950s which discussed whether the focus of the women's movements should be on motherhood or work while 1960s debates centred on motherhood and feminism (Buckley, 1994). While the re-publication in *CM Graffiti* indicates that her concerns were ultimately considered, the lack of reference to these complaints or concerns including in company narratives, recollections and general works on advertisements indicates that they weren't given a prominent place in the advertising discourse. Regardless, Niki's article does contradict Matsuura's contention that all women necessarily liked the campaign.

Niki saw this campaign as one of several that were a 'sharp reaction to the movements within society'. Describing this trend as an '*otokorashisa* movement' which depicted *otokorashii otokotachi* (masculine men) who shared a kind of idealism where 'a man is one who silently and earnestly walks his own path', she contrasts this freedom to how impossible this is for women or children (Niki, 1980, 32-33). For Niki, Mifune's masculinity as depicted in this campaign is situated within a system of independence composed of themes of loneliness, isolation, and hardship that, while bearing similarities to Sapporo Beer's evaluation of the campaign, differ in degrees of positivity. Sapporo's corporate history identifies the success of the campaign as connected to its

representation of the sorrow of being a man (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 791). The ideogram used for *kanashisa* - loneliness - is [哀] which translates as sorrow or pathos. This is not, however, seen in purely negative terms by the corporation which emphasises and highlights these moments throughout the campaign by situating Mifune away from social networks or urban locations. By contrast, Niki argues that this was part of an ongoing reactionary trend that operated within a system of oppression. Contrasting the Mifune model of masculinity with the other models of masculinity she identifies in advertising, Niki, like Okada and the *Josei Seven* article mentioned above, also positions this “man amongst men” in a hierarchy but one that is more aligned with frameworks of hegemonic masculinity. Noting the existence of one idealised masculinity to which both other men and women are subordinated, Niki considers the “tired-men” to be pressured both by the existence of these strong men and also by women’s recent improvement in their social position (1980, 32–33). Niki thus identifies the existence of multiple masculinities while recognising the stresses that dominant models, that is, hegemonic masculinities, can exert. In addition, this stress is not singular but also related to the increasing status of women. Ultimately these models of hegemonic masculinity are fragile, under perceived threat from various external pressures.

Niki provides an example of this recognition of multiple masculine models by contrasting Mifune with the Kirin campaign featuring Nakaya Noboru. Arguing that Mifune in *Otoko wa damatte...* represents a form of dominant masculinity, in which, typical of alcohol advertisements, the man goes alone (*otoko hitori yuku*), she draws

attention in contrast to Nakaya's physique and actions. Nakaya is not 'one of those burly men, swelling with muscles,' she writes, 'but instead gives off a refined air and, most importantly, his male image is one type of masculinity' (1980, 32–3). Niki attests to the variety of masculinities that are presented and that are available while at the same time critiquing the hegemonic version of Mifune and its depiction through bodily refinements. Nakaya's refined air was also mentioned in a *Brain* article looking at *talento* in advertisements (Fukunaka, 1971), but it is Niki's promotion of this as one example of multiple masculinities being performed in different ways and its presentation to a general audience in a women's magazine that is unique and notable. The critiques of the *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign that Niki and Yamazaki enunciated here provide evidence of the importance of the approach that I have taken in this study in examining the advertising discourse. There were clearly challenges to Mifune's model of masculinity that drew attention to wider trends within society and within advertisements themselves. Advertisements *were* understood at the time of their production through links and connections to the everyday relations of men and women, a 'cat-cradle of texts' (Smith, 1993, 167) that helped critics to organise and understand the visual images before them.

The model of masculinity presented in the Sapporo Beer campaign was therefore criticised from a range of positions. The connection of silence to masculinity was considered suspect because of the historical role that it played in enabling elites to retain power. In addition, the model of masculinity presented in this campaign was understood to be a reaction against the advances that women were making at this



time, in the process furthering the subordination of women and non-normative models of masculinity. The debate and dissent this campaign aroused at its time of production and broadcast is notable for its relative absence in later commentators who have since relied on personal, subjective analyses. Examining these particular critiques reveals not only how advertisements are understood in relation to wider societal and media trends, but also a diversity of thought and perspective on the role of silence within masculinity, hegemonic masculinity and its relation to other men. Yet this was not the limits of criticism of this campaign. Those same critics who were wary of the gendered depiction within this advertisement because it was seen as reacting against advances made by women were equally wary of it because it was regressive, appearing to laud elements of a previous masculinity which was problematic, that of militarism.

#### Fears of Militarism and Masculinity

Given the clear links between militarism and the genesis of this campaign, the continual references to samurai are somewhat discordant. The linking of silence with militarism and masculinity in the advertisement was not ignored by all commentators, however, with critics situated closer temporally to the campaign more likely to critique and problematise this depiction.

For Yamazaki Masakazu, the promotion of taciturnity within this advertisement was problematic because silence itself was inherently dangerous, as it had been during the war when keeping silent allowed for those with louder voices to rise to positions of dangerous power (1973, 149). For Niki Etsuko, writing in 1971 for the women's

magazine, *Fujin Kōron (Housewives Forum)*, the promotion of this silent endurance was also fraught with danger, carrying with it the risk of increased nationalism. Niki specifically warned that this campaign's depiction of silent masculinity was one step towards Yasukuni Shrine (1980, 34), the site of the enshrinement and veneration of Japan's war dead and consequently the subject of numerous controversies relating to Japan's wartime endeavours. Niki felt that this campaign was helping to shift the parameters of what was acceptable in popular discourse by helping to rehabilitate pro-militaristic perspectives.

Yamazaki and Niki's criticism combined with Kamo's recollection of this campaign indicates that there was an understanding at the time of the campaign's production of the link between militarism, masculinity and this model of behaviour and there was a willingness to utilise these elements in a bricolage that both created and promoted a model of masculinity that concealed these influences. These two contemporaneous critics' interpretation that the silence-masculinity nexus is directly linked to militarism contrasts with the elision of this connection by later commentators who instead, distanced from the war and discussions of defeat, laud this depiction.

When viewed against these cautionary critiques, the *Josei Seven* article's claim that this was an age when men were manly requires an equal acknowledgement that pre-1945 practices of masculinity continued to be implicated within this postwar manliness. The men deemed most manly at this time had been involved and participated in wartime activities while representations utilised a number of tropes and values leftover from this period to inform their then current advertising campaigns. Mifune himself was

linked to militarism not only by his film roles but also through his wartime service in the Imperial Forces. This was not necessarily by choice (Wise and Baron, 2002, 132) as military service in some shape or form was part of a normative life course for men at this time (Sewell, 2003, 99; Cook, 2008, 260). His apparent lack of wartime agency did not, however, affect Mifune's decisions to make war films and his attempts to directly influence the ways in which the war was presented. Mifune played a significant, active, and voluble role in creating a militarised model of masculinity that became a key part of his referent system. A *Shūkan Yomiuri* article reports that when making *Hell in the Pacific* with his co-star, Lee Marvin, Mifune complained about a number of elements to ensure that 'no damage was done to the prestige of the Japanese military... [it was] one way to repay the spirits of the war dead who remain in this place'. He also rejected a directorial instruction to cry, saying that 'Japanese soldiers don't cry; they cry only in their souls' (*Nippon gunjin wa nakan. Kokoro no naka de shika nakan motsu da*) (Shūkan Yomiuri, 1969, 104–105).

The links between militarism and masculinity in this campaign can thus be traced to Mifune's film roles - not only did they influence the genesis of the catchphrase, but they were also influenced by Mifune himself. The neglect of these links in canonical interpretations of the campaign shows how uncomfortable associations could be avoided and controversial issues remain unaddressed. While commentators, such as Yamazaki and Niki, who wrote closer in time to the campaign, and to the war itself, did address these connections, on the whole the analyses of gender in this advertisement rested on the samurai as the mythical epitome of Japanese masculinity. Part of the

reason for this continued use of Mifune as Samurai and as masculine is because of his referent system and his star power — this use of a screen history to define performers as masculine is also evident in discussions of other actors of a similar age from a later period.

[Star Power: Age, Gender, and a Backlist.](#)

There are numerous reasons for the use of celebrities in advertising. Called *talento* in Japan, these ubiquitous stars of the Japanese entertainment world range in age, ability and recognition, from the well-known to the minor (Brain, 1972a; Galbraith and Karlin, 2012b, 6–10). The main reason they appealed to advertisers was through the tying of their image to that of a product or company (Brain, 1971, 122). While the use of *talento* in advertisements is now considered normal in Japan (Galbraith and Karlin, 2012, 4–8), at the time of the campaign it was relatively new and had been considered unthinkable only ten years before (Brain, 1972a, 9). The spread of television was partly responsible for the growth of *talento* (Galbraith and Karlin, 2012, 9) as it accelerated the acquisition of fame and recognition compared to motion pictures (Brain, 1972a, 9). Advertising professionals Kondō Reiichi and Kaji Yōsuke note that integrating *talento* into a campaign was not always appropriate and required careful consideration. They were most effective and their use most justified within a mature market with little product differentiation; to change the image of either a company or product; or to target a new demographic (1975, 54–55). These three conditions were all present prior to the conception of the Mifune campaign. It was well recognised, for instance, that Japanese

beers differed little by taste. In an article for the *Sunday Mainichi*, noted composer and jazz critic Miki Ayurō (1924-1997) commented that 'if you remove the label, then there's no difference' (Sunday Mainichi, 1973, 135). This meant that the only option left, especially given the failed beer experiments, was to use advertising to differentiate via advertising (Kamo, 1975, 233; Alexander, 2013, 224).

A focus on star power and referent systems is important for understanding how masculinity is conceptualised for both foreign and Japanese stars. By 1987, Asahi had upset the order of the beer industry with their dry beer. This revolutionised the market and irrevocably altered it. Dry beer itself was understood as masculine by a number of commentators due to its defining feature, the dry aftertaste (CM NOW, 1988a, 49). To highlight this masculine image, Sapporo made the decision to replace its original star, the musician Yoshida Takurō, who had been included to add a feeling of freshness, with Hirooka Tatsurō, a former baseball player and current manager in the first year of the new beer's release, 1988. Yoshida was seen as 'soft' (*yawarakai*) whereas Hirooka more suited the 'masculine' taste (CM NOW, 1988a, 49).

Different tastes were clearly gendered, then, with performers who were seen to embody the correct gendered attributes chosen to advertise them. While certain qualities, tastes, and attributes are associated with masculinity or femininity, there are explicit references by companies and the advertisers to certain men as less masculine than others. For many commentators writing within popular magazines at this time, this was also the subject of debate.

The label of 'masculine' was only applied to certain men who fit certain criteria or had

certain qualities firmly based on screen image and age. However by this period representations of masculinity were expanding to be more international and include foreign celebrities. An article for the women's magazine, *Josei Seven*, provides a clear example of this (Josei Seven, 1988). The season's new advertisements and their place within the pantheon of past attempts to publicise beer are discussed, with a particular focus on Mifune's masculinity, alongside those of several older actors whose masculinity, I argue, was shaped more by their screen image rather than what they do in the advertisements – Gene Hackman for Kirin Dry (Josei Seven, 1988, 45) (Image 31) and Ogata Ken for Kirin *Ichiban Shibori* (Kirin Beer, 1991c). Both men were described as manly, with Hackman categorised as *otokoppoi* and powerful (Josei Seven, 1988, 45). Hackman was one of many foreign stars who appeared in beer advertisements at this time but was one of the few to be described explicitly as masculine.

Francks has argued that 1980s Japan possessed a newfound national confidence which, through unprecedented access to money, was expressed in a variety of ways including new buildings by celebrity architects and land reclamation for new resorts (Francks, 2009, 188). This financial wealth also played a part in the increase of foreign stars and locations within beer advertisements. The high yen exchange rate provided Japanese companies with surplus capital and meant that filming abroad was both more favourable and cheaper than domestic locations (CM NOW, 1990c, 30). Advertisements in which foreign celebrities appear are also discussed in the literature disproportionately to their share of the market (Prieler and Kohlbacher, 2016, 39–41). Various magazines and journals at this time found these stars to be effective at

catching consumers' attention, appealing to them, and being memorable - all elements necessary for a good advertisement (CM NOW, 1985b, 38). These advertisements were also beneficial for these stars in that they received extra publicity in a market where they might not be as exposed as elsewhere and they obviously also received remuneration. One hotly debated issue was whether they were money eaters (*kinguimushi*) or golden geese (*kane no tamago umu gachiyō*) (CM NOW, 1985b, 38).

**Image 31: Kirin Beer - The masculinity of Gene Hackman (1988)**



(Kirin Beer, 1988)

In addition to Hackman's appearance for Kirin Dry, a number of foreign stars promoted beer products including actors such as Sylvester Stallone (*Kirin Can Beer*, 1985), Kevin Costner (Suntory *Malt's*, 1988) and Harrison Ford (*Kirin Lager Beer*) (1994); the golfer Seve Ballesteros (*Sapporo Draft*, 1988); and singers such as Sting (*Kirin Can Beer*, 1987), Placido Domingo (Asahi), and Cyndi Lauper (Kirin Beer, 1985a; CM NOW, 1988d, 112; Josei Seven, 1988, 45–52; Nakada, 1988, 5–6; Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 798; Kirin Bīru KK, 1999b, 3–11). The different qualities, and gendered meanings, of these stars resulted in very different images for similar products. These then operated within the competitive

networks that existed between the beer companies with stars often chosen to compete with Japanese celebrities to provide contrasting and alternative models of gender. Hackman was Kirin's main choice to challenge *Super Dry*. Many of the articles that highlight this and mention his masculinity also reference his body of acting work, his industry acclaim in the form of Academy Award nominations, and his film role as Popeye Doyle in *The French Connection* (1971). As a major actor (*daibutsu haiyū*), his use was seen as a notable tactic (Nakada, 1988, 5). By contrast, Asahi's *Super Dry* advertisements featured Ochiai Nobuyuki, an international political journalist, in various locations around the world: oil rigs in the bay of Mexico, Mayan ruins on the Yucatan peninsula, and waiting before a meeting in Spain (CM NOW, 1988d, 112) (See Image 32). These locations apparently contributed to the campaign's popularity because of the perception of danger (Yamamoto and Hagiwara, 1988, 140). A *CM NOW* article which claimed that these advertisements depicted an orthodox man's world (CM NOW, 1988a, 48) obviously raises questions about the definition of orthodox and which element it refers to. Apart from this, there is little to no overt discussion of his masculinity, either in the depiction or in the part it plays within his role as a *kōha* (serious) journalist. Commentators fail to draw attention to how he is able to access these sites and do his job and the role that his masculinity plays in this. That he can do so is accepted as natural rather than as a result of being a man.



Image 32: Asahi Beer - Super Dry's international journalist Ochiai Nobuyuki (1987)



(Asahi Beer, 1987a)

Hackman, meanwhile, was chosen because he was seen as a man with presence, according to Kagami Shō, a supervisor in the Kirin PR Department (Yamamoto and Hagiwara, 1988, 140). His masculinity was also directly commented on and was used to explain why he was employed to appeal to young men in their late 20s and early 30s, specifically “businessmen” (Yamamoto and Hagiwara, 1988, 140; CM NOW, 1989b, 17). This description of Hackman as masculine was based on his screen image rather than anything he particularly did in the advertisement, which constituted a simple act of drinking from a glass, a scene that was shot to clearly distinguish the beer from a soft drink (Yamamoto and Hagiwara, 1988, 140).

That Hackman’s screen image is the key determinant of masculinity in this case is more evident once we compare other actors working in similar advertisements around the same time. Several commentators discuss Kevin Costner’s career highlights upon his appearance for a 1988 Suntory Malt’s advertisement but he is never defined explicitly

as masculine (CM NOW, 1988d, 112, 1988e, 120) and neither is Mel Gibson (Asahi, 1986) (CM NOW, 1986).

Even stars intimately associated with an image of “hardness” – and employed explicitly to connect this with the “hard” attributes seen as core to dry beer – were not discussed in this way. Mike Tyson, the then heavyweight boxing champion, was employed by Suntory alongside an Australian Rules Football team to evoke this hardness (Yamamoto and Hagiwara, 1988, 140), yet despite the physicality of their chosen sport and the centrality of sport in general to masculinity there is no overt discussion of any of these individuals in terms of masculinity (CM NOW, 1988d, 112).

It was, instead, Hackman’s image, garnered over a number of decades that led to a gendered discussion amongst commentators. The similarity of Hackman’s age (58) and body of work by this point with Mifune’s (50) also suggests a similar focus on Hackman’s referent system. Actors’ bodies of work influenced critics in their understandings more than anything else.

This was enunciated quite clearly when discussing another “masculine” star appearing in a mid-1980s beer advertisement for *Kirin Can Beer*, namely Sylvester Stallone (*Kirin Can Beer*, 1985). This campaign combined a variety of concepts to demonstrate the theme of *Together* with Stallone’s version featuring “courage” (*yūki*) and “love” (*koi*) (See Images 33 and 34). *CM NOW* considered Stallone appropriate for this role because he shared similar qualities to that of his most famous screen character *Rocky* (1976), specifically being manly (*otokoppoi*) (CM NOW, 1985e, 8). For the anonymous *CM Now* commentator, Stallone’s version of masculinity directly stemmed from his film roles

even though he lacked the longevity of Mifune or Hackman. Yet this use of Stallone's screen role to influence interpretations of his advertising depictions is rather paradoxical.

**Image 33 Kirin Beer - Sylvester Stallone in a hypersexualised pose (1986)**



(Kirin Beer, 1986a)

**Image 34 Kirin Beer - Sylvester Stallone engaging with the viewer, barechested (1985)**



(Kirin Beer, 1985c)

Describing Stallone as masculine because of his most famous screen role playing a boxer while an actual boxer, Mike Tyson, is not described in the same way (Yamamoto and Hagiwara, 1988, 140) indicates a dissonance in this thinking and highlights how these interpretations can be attributed to the particular nature of film roles with Rocky and Rambo particular representations of a unique, working-class hyper-masculinity. Ogata's debut film performance (*Tōi hitotsu no michi* (released in the United States as *12 Ounces to Glory*) 1960) was described as energetic (Watanabe, 1990, 254) but he came to particular prominence by appearing in a number of *Taiga* dramas such as his

role as Benkei (1155-1189), the fierce warrior-monk and companion to the 12th century warlord Minamoto-no-Yoshitsune in the eponymous 1966 period drama. These lengthy historical drama series for the national broadcaster NHK are 'prestige productions with big stars and big budgets' that are both immensely popular and, more often than not, focused on Japan's feudal past (Schilling, 1997, 244–246). Ogata became famous for his air of mystique when playing heroes from Japan's past (Bergan, 2008). He also played more controversial roles such as the author and right-wing nationalist Mishima Yukio in Paul Schrader's *Mishima: A Life in Four Chapters* (1985). Like Hackman, Ogata was critically acclaimed with, for instance, *The Ballad of Narayama (Narayama bushikō)* (1983) winning the 1983 Palme d'Or at Cannes. Like Mifune, Ogata's screen image was based on playing a number of warriors and warlords over several decades, positioned him as masculine in the public eye. However, in contrast to Mifune, Ogata's masculinity took on a more intellectual or rarified air, such as in his portrayal of Mishima, leading to the 1992 description above. Regardless, the scenes used in the Kirin campaign contrasted markedly with Mifune in their focus not on the fantastical but the everyday; they were routine to the degree that nothing particular that stood out to commentators. In contrast, similar banal scenes for rival companies featuring *talento* and comedians such as Sanma Akaishi and Tokoro George were discussed in reference not to their masculinity but their fresh (*sawayaka*) image (CM NOW, 1988c, 46–47).

However one commentator discussed Ogata's gender presentation in this campaign overtly. This anonymous author lauded the very banal and quotidian nature of Ogata's

activities and justified using them to describe Ogata as masculine (CM NOW, 1992d, 16) because they were practices shared by most men. According to this understanding, Ogata was masculine because his everyday practices were universal practices that all men engage in regardless of any other factors, be they regional background, class or sexuality. In this sense, these seemingly banal and quotidian acts performed by Ogata are, in fact, what defines him, and thus others who engage in similar or identical practices, as a man. The commentator, then, sees gender in a similar way to Judith Butler who understands it as performative and a series of repetitive actions:

Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being' (Butler, 1999, 43–44).

In Ogata's case, while his screen image was significant in defining an 'intellectual masculinity' in contrast to other popular advertising representations of masculinity, for at least one commentator the quotidian practices of the 'everyman' Ogata were most important. Yet, on the whole, most commentators heavily relied upon stars' screen images to inform their idea of who was masculine to a greater degree than the actual depictions that appeared before them. Certain actors were masculine because that was how they had been depicted in films.

While there was a clear image of who fitted within this category of masculinity based on screen images, the actual definitions used to define these people were less clear. Masculinity was presented in the cases of Hackman and Ogata as a *fait accompli*, with readers invited simply to accept this conclusion. Where additional information was

provided, it tended to centre on the actors' screen images and careers details rather than the advertisement itself. As with Mifune, the screen image of these performers was used to define their gender performances and roles within these advertisements. It was therefore almost insignificant what performers do within advertisements so long as it does not overly contradict with their screen image. Some commentators did, however, apply this label of masculinity to stars because of what they did within the advertisement, focusing on categorising certain everyday, and banal, activities as masculine.

While it may have been insignificant what performers did within advertisements, what the companies did in reality was not. Sapporo's attempts to be competitive in the beer market by challenging Kirin actually served to undermine the campaign that they had invested so much time and money into.

[Undermining the \*Otoko wa damatte...\* campaign: Price Rises, Protests and Media](#)

[Messages](#)

Any analysis of Sapporo Beer's iteration of gender in this campaign also requires an understanding of how Kirin's market share influenced the market and the composition of advertising campaigns. The greater market share that Kirin enjoyed at this time can be said to be the main reason why a variety of gendered models were chosen by the three competing companies. Explaining this connection reveals how and why key players in the beer industry used variation in representations of gender as a means to differentiate themselves from competitors. It also explains the various other tactics and

methods that the three companies used to halt their declining shares.

In addition to their advertising campaigns, the three trailing beer companies also sought to compete with Kirin's superiority through non-promotional market-based activities, such as price rises. This inadvertently aroused consumer anger which, expressed in popular protests participated in by both salarymen and housewives, resulted in the media highlighting the dissonances within the *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign. The reporting of these protests that contradicted Sapporo Beer's idealisation of silence as an integral performative element of masculinity was unfortunate, but not wholly unpredictable. Price increases were highly contested in this period and a source of consumer and government ire. It meant, however, that gender, instead of being used to increase market share, became a problem for Sapporo. Examining consumer protests against these price rises as reported in the news media thus reveals a relatively unexplored stream of popular thought regarding the masculinity created for this campaign and complicates our historical understanding of how representations of gender within advertisements were interpreted. While the screen images of actors and existing advertising discourse were important in shaping representations of gender, broader commercial forces in operation in the beer market were also significant influences on campaigns. Market-driven increases in beer prices highlighted the dissonances contained within representations of gender.

By the time that Sapporo Beer embarked on their soon-to-be world-famous campaign starring Mifune Toshirō, Kirin's dominance of the beer industry was almost complete. Their approximate 60% market share (60.1% in 1972 according to Alexander (2013,

224); 61% in 1973 according to the Sunday Mainichi (1973)) was explained by marketers as attributable to consumers' natural conservatism and thus reluctance to switch brands (Brain, 1972b, 49). In this understanding, Kirin's dominance and market share were due, in a circular fashion, to their pre-existing market share and dominance, a direct result of the 1949 break-up of Dainippon Beer that had left Kirin as the only brewer with nation-wide recognition, distribution, and brewing facilities. Sapporo and Asahi sought to innovate in order to compete against these advantages, including by introducing products designed to appeal to women, such as the 1969 *Sapporo Light*, along with a range of commercially beneficial arrangements for retailers (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 791; Sunday Mainichi, 1973) but still lagged behind. It was against this difficult commercial background that Sapporo decided to utilise the services of Mifune to appeal to heavy-drinking men.

As noted, this campaign chose an overtly gendered message that defined how men should act *and* how men acted in order to define their beer as masculine. While this campaign has been lauded by more recent commentators and criticised by then contemporaries such as the writer Niki Etsuko and social critic Yamazaki Masakazu, its recognition and reference within the print media at the time is notable for offering an alternative viewpoint of how masculinity was viewed and how corporate representations were contested and challenged.

Asahi beer, as the third-placed company, sought to challenge Kirin's market dominance and counter Sapporo's efforts by following a similar pattern, deploying gender as a mechanism through their choice of the actor, Takakura Ken. The influence of Mifune's



image in employing a similar hyper-masculine model was clear to industry insiders (Brain, 1971) who criticised this comparative use of a hyper-masculine star for being reactive and less competitive as it was released a year after the Sapporo campaign (Fukunaka, 1971, 77).

Asahi and Sapporo both sought to appeal to men using images of hypermasculine men. Kirin's market share was so overwhelming that all the beer companies adopted highly gendered campaigns in an attempt to both appeal to, and reject, heavy drinkers.

Gender was clearly seen as an effective marketing tool in an attempt to effect change in the market structure.

The choice of Takakura differed, however, from the *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign, because it did not utilise an explicitly gendered version of masculinity with prohibitions or prescriptions, but merely an invite to consociality, with the phrase "I'll have you drink". This is important because while Takakura was understood as hyper-masculine, the campaign itself was not. Subtler than the Mifune campaign, the *Nonde Moraimasu!* campaign lack of gendered proscription meant it was thus less susceptible to modification or criticism within the media. The Mifune campaign, on the other hand, provides an example of how the use of an overtly gendered model gender also carried with it a number of risks as manifested in the media reports of price increases and subsequent protests. The composition of these protests, combined with the intertextual nature of the Japanese media landscape (Galbraith and Karlin, 2012b, 8) created a dissonance in the model of masculinity Sapporo was using.

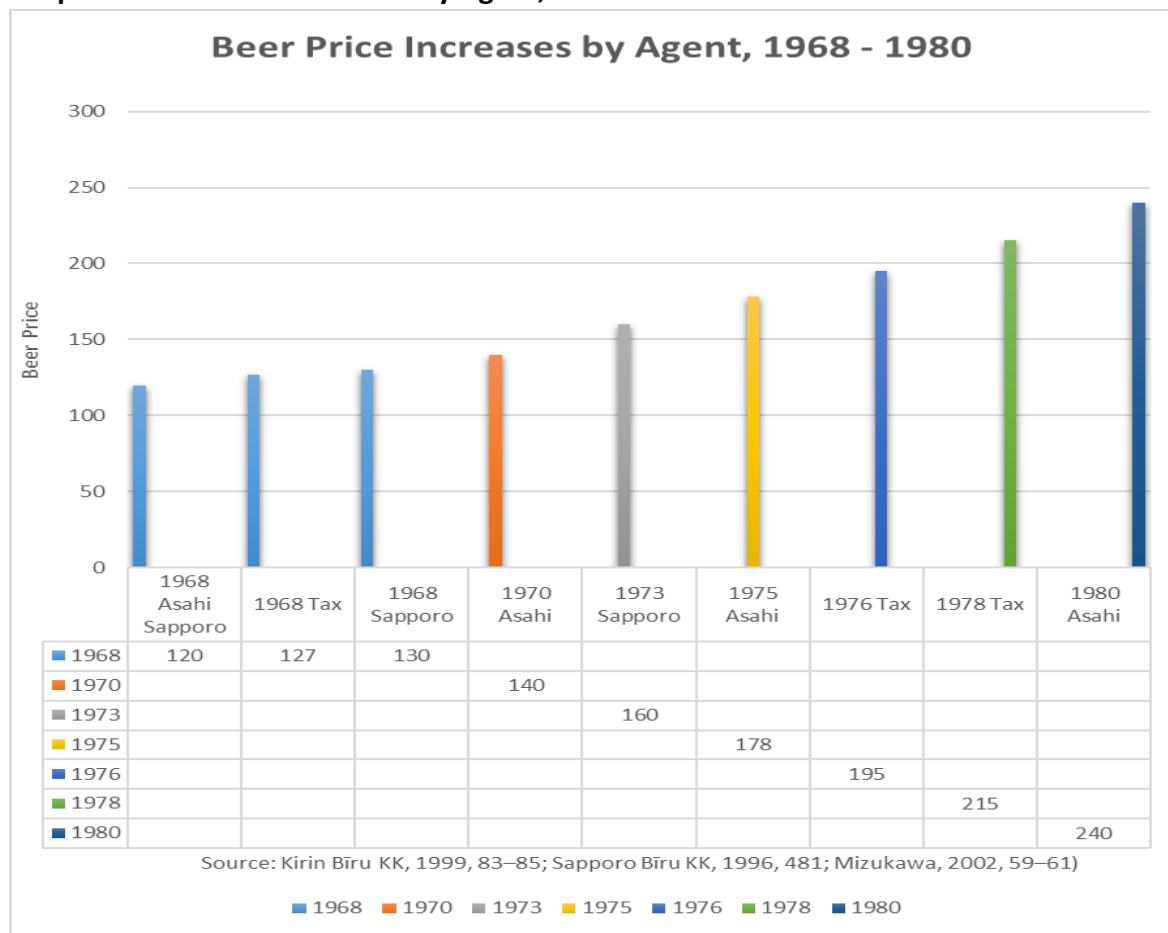
Advertising campaigns always carry the risk of protests at depictions of gendered

relations as occurred in the case of *House Foods' (Hausu Shokuhin) 1978* noodle campaign. This campaign was contested by activists called the *Women's Action Group* on the grounds of its gendered representation of domestic labour, ultimately resulting in the campaign being dropped (All Japan Radio TV Commercial Council, 1978; Arai, 1978, 62; Takishima, 2000, 40; Shigematsu, 2008, 560). Similarly, employing celebrities to promote a brand carries the potential of 'scandals', such as divorce: Nakaya Noboru and Kishida Kyōko were dropped from a 1977 curry campaign, for example, because their separation was seen to derail the sponsor's message (Josei Seven, 1977, 174–175). Yet while controversies around specific representations of gendered relations, namely the division of labour in the home in noodle advertisements, have been widely commented on (Takishima, 2000, 40; Mackie, 2003, 174–175; Shigematsu, 2008, 560), much less attention has been paid by commentators in official accounts (Matsuura, 1970; Kamo, 1975; Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996) or scholars of the beer industry (Alexander, 2013; Mizukawa, 2002) to the protests against significant price rises in beer around the same time. These protests are important in light of this campaign because they show normative consumption patterns, the increasingly important role of beer within Japan, and examples of resistance to corporate hegemony.

Over a ten-year period from 1968, beer prices rose some eight times, split between tax increases and commercial motivations. Whenever one company raised their price, the remainder followed. The increases can be seen in graph 13, which shows increases in 1968, 1970, 1973, 1975, 1976, 1978, and 1980 (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999b, 83–85; Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 481; Mizukawa, 2002, 59–61). Opinions on the extent to which Kirin

influenced these price rises range from their market share resulting in an ‘informal cartel’ and thus control of the market through economies of scale (and government advice) (Alexander, 2013, 224) to contending that Kirin was merely reacting to Sapporo and Asahi’s turn-taking increases by raising their prices also ‘as a gentleman would have no choice but to respond to a lady’s invitation’ (Mizukawa, 2002, 59-60).

**Graph 13: Beer Price Increases by Agent, 1968 – 1980**



(Kirin Bīru KK, 1999b, 83–85; Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 481; Mizukawa, 2002, 59–61)

This “gentlemanly” behaviour conferred a number of benefits on Kirin, however.

Sapporo and Asahi had to continually increase prices in order to remain competitive

with Kirin as both were operating on the margins of profitability; Suntory, meanwhile, operated in the red (Shūkan Bunshun, 1973, 169; Alexander, 2013, 170, 224). Kirin's matching of these increases, in effect, maintained the status quo. Kirin's apparent position of strength meant that the company was accused of being a monopoly and of being too large for the market and was thus threatened with the same fate as *Dainippon*. By maintaining parity with the other companies, Kirin avoided increasing their market share and thus inviting the attention of the Fair Trade Commission (FTC). This response therefore mitigated the risk of an imposed break-up - the fear of which permeated the company (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999a, 104). Kirin's market share, then, was not only profitable but also acted as a buffer, ensuring Kirin's position and maintaining corporate cohesion.

Concern with the blame for price rises was a legitimate one within the industry at this time. Suntory notably called for changes (Shūkan Asahi, 1975, 43) while in an interview with the *Sunday Mainichi*, Sapporo Beer's head of publicity made sure to assign responsibility to Kirin for the price rises of 1973, noting that it was due to Sapporo's subordinate position and narrow operating margin (Sunday Mainichi, 1973, 28).

Concern had also been expressed politically culminating in the appearance of the four beer company heads before a Diet Finance Committee in 1970 to answer questions concerning the composition of the industry amid accusations of collusion (National Diet Library of Japan, 1970).

Facing an aggressive interrogation from the Social Democratic Party member, Hirayabashi Takeshi, who was clearly influenced by popular anger at these price rises,

the four presidents were forced to explain how the vagaries of the market had compelled them to raise prices (National Diet Library of Japan, 1970). The following year, meanwhile, saw a Monopolies Study Group set up while the National Tax Agency established a research group for the Beer Oligopoly issue in September. Revision of Article 8 of the Dissolution Law, meanwhile, was mooted at various times and reached the House of Councillors before being shelved in committee (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999b, 83–84). These actions indicate that the threat of compulsory separation was a credible one for Kirin but it was the other companies who were mainly blamed for the price rises especially when they ignored government “advice”.

Although standard beer pricing had been abolished in 1964 and the market was ostensibly liberalised (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 380–383), the companies still received administrative guidance regarding price increases (Alexander, 2013, 170) as Suntory’s president, Saiji Keizō, attests (Shūkan Asahi, 1975, 43). In raising prices without this guidance, the beer companies invited official admonition for undermining the economic policy of the nation - indeed, Hirayabashi noted that the companies had acted contrary to the advice of various governmental bodies, including the FTC and the Economic Planning Agency, that any price rise was unnecessary (National Diet Library of Japan, 1970). Independent increases so angered the head of the Economic Planning Agency, in fact, that he had told consumers in 1968 to not drink beer from companies that had done so without government direction; this was duly recorded in Sapporo’s company history (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 481). One report defended the beer industry, however, by noting the lack of political donations from the beer industry and the high

degree of opprobrium which they suffered in contrast to other daily necessities, such as miso and soy sauce, which had also raised their prices but not suffered similar opprobrium (Shūkan Bunshun, 1973, 168).

The politically-motivated assignment of blame for the price rises was clearly an important issue for the beer companies and they attempted to defend themselves in a series of advertisements which loudly proclaimed the 48% tax rate (Tokyo Copywriters' Club, 1972, 85), as well as articles which pointed out that were it not for the tax - some 400 billion yen - Japanese beer would be the cheapest in the world (Shūkan Bunshun, 1973, 168). In this way, the beer companies attempted to deflect attention from their own actions by showing how the government exploited beer consumption because price rises aroused popular ire and discontent. Although Alexander has called these price increases a nominal amount (at 10 yen a year) (2013, 224), consumers' reactions, including advance bulk buying (Sunday Mainichi, 1973, 168), indicate how it impacted upon people and the social importance that beer now played. The composition of these protests, meanwhile, indicates the extent to which beer had become a necessity for the Japanese family and central to the performance of salaryman masculinity while media reporting of them highlighted the dissonance between idealised and lived versions of that same masculinity.

Despite their best efforts to inform the public of the government's (and Kirin's) role in the price increases, it was thus the companies which remained the target of complaints articulated by a number of consumer groups. These groups included *Shufuren* (the Housewives' League) (Yomiuri Shinbun, 1970e), which was formed in 1948 to address

concerns affecting the family. Their role, as Francks describes it, was to:

promote the distinctive role and interests of the housewife and to draw attention to the aspects of consumption that impacted on the life of the community and the nation in the new world of the modern consuming household that was to emerge out of the ashes of defeat  
(Francks, 2009, 152)

Housewives were at the forefront of protecting the family from impure products and repeatedly challenged manufacturers, distributors, and advertisers regarding their products (Buckley, 1994, 157-9), and *Shufuren* saw beer price increases as a threat to family finances and social cohesion. Advocating a three-pronged approach of not buying beer from companies which raised prices, and complaining to both liquor stores, and government in the form of the Ministry of Finance and the Tax Agency (Yomiuri Shinbun, 1970e), *Shufuren's* role in this protest reveals not only the centrality of beer consumption to the household but also the housewife's function in managing the family budget. Indeed, this centrality of beer and thus concern about price rises was not simply a matter of pecuniary concern but was also connected with their identities. In addition to their other duties, housewives also became responsible for the maintenance of various professional and personal relationships via gift giving, as seen in the annual summer *Ochūgen* ritual (Francks, 2009, 157). Housewife anger over the increased prices of goods was therefore well placed as beer had become one of the mainstays of this exchange of goods and was thus central to their own practices. Brand changing, meanwhile, was not always possible given the business groupings that defined companies at this time which made loyalty to a beer synonymous with loyalty to one's company for many salarymen (Alexander, 2013, 184). The housewife, then,

was not only protecting the household but also the status and identity of the husband, the salaryman, through these protests, while also subtly addressing concerns that may have arisen from their own beer consumption practices. *Shufuren* was joined in protesting and enunciating the effects of these increases by the *Zenkoku seikatsu kyōdō kumiai rengōkai* (National Consumers' Federation of Co-operative Unions) and the salaryman's advocacy group, *Zenkoku Sararīman dōmei* (National Salaryman's Union) (Yomiuri Shinbun, 1970e). It is their presence, and the accompanying narratives of this within the media and the beer companies, that is significant in terms of undermining Sapporo's campaign.

The involvement of these salarymen groups highlights just how important beer had become to this group of men. Beer brands were part of salarymen's identities (Alexander, 2013, 191) and these price rises affected their ability to perform that identity. Indeed, Sapporo had wanted to capitalise on this presentation of identity via consumption practices in their promotion of the Mifune campaign. Despite narratives that beer was cheap (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 480), however, even these small increases affected these men because beer was a necessity for them both in the corporate-sponsored drinking that they engaged in after work and the domestic consumption when there was more choice in what they drank. The National Salarymen's Union elucidated these particular concerns.

Set up in 1968 to address issues of concern for salarymen (SPA!, 2012; Nikkan Gendai Digital, 2016), the Union was led by Aoki Shigeru, an economics professor, who would use the stimulus from these protests to form a political party in 1982 (Asahi Shinbun,



2016). With some four to five thousand members (the *Yomiuri Shinbun* differs on the exact number (Yomiuri Shinbun, 1970e, 1970b)), the main issue for the union involved a perceived unfair tax system which led it to play a central role in protests organised by the Japanese Electrical Electronic and Information Union (JEIU) in the form of a Great March (February 21st 1976) (*genzei daikōshin*) to Tokyo to submit a letter of complaint to the government (Japanese Electrical Electronic and Information Union, no date). Other foci included such issues as expenses for suits (SPA!, 2012) while Aoki was also quoted in Associated Press reports concerning issues of working hours and overtime (Associated Press, 1982b, 1982a).

While the Union advised their members to adopt a “Three-H” strategy of reducing consumption in half of those three products (beer, taxis, and leisure) that had increased its prices, it was the description of their presence in these protests (Yomiuri Shinbun, 1970b) that is relevant here. Reporting upon their ire, the *Yomiuri Shinbun* newspaper used the headline ‘*Neage sareba damatte irarenai*’ (If you raise the prices, we’ve no need to be silent) (Yomiuri Shinbun, 1970c). Advice to salarymen that they demonstrate their purchasing power by reducing their alcohol intake was also couched in terms of the Mifune campaign, deploying the phrase, ‘*Otoko wa damatte Nihon o ippon ni*’ (Men silently [go] from two bottles to one) (Yomiuri Shinbun, 1970e). The *Sunday Mainichi* meanwhile combined Sapporo’s slogans with Asahi’s to create the extremely inventive headline, ‘*Neage nochi mo, damatte nonde moraimasu*’ (Even after the price rise, we will have you be silent and drink) (Sunday Mainichi, 1973). The use of these catchphrases as a synecdoche for these companies was not unusual at this time.

A dip in Sapporo's profits was described as '*Otoko wa damatte, makeru*' (Men are silent and they lose) (Yomiuri Shinbun, 1970d). Name recognition for the *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign had reached some 91% within the metropolitan area (Kamo, 1975, 246) and these publications carried these advertisements so it was reasonable for sub-editors to assume that their readers would understand the reference. This attests to the power of these particular campaigns, however, as there was no comparable use in reports on the 1968 price rise or in 1970 prior to the campaigns (Yomiuri Shinbun, 1968, 1970a). Given the intertextual nature of Japanese media, it is clear that readers understood advertising-related references to beer companies in headlines.

A 1973 Mainichi newspaper article, meanwhile, used a metaphor of a film review to introduce the issue, describing 'a frame' of the advertising war which featured Yōjimbō (Mifune) silently slashing, while Ken-san (Takakura) attacked and Kishida (Kyōko) laughed in the background. In doing so, they also drew attention to the irony of only Kirin being silent (*damatte*) with regards to the forthcoming increases. The degree of martial language here is interesting as is the connection once more of Mifune to the samurai. It is, however, the dissonance that these articles highlight between Sapporo's advertising campaign and the actions that men had to engage in order to protect practices integral to their identity that are of note. These actions were, it must be added, in response to decisions taken by that same company. The media articles clearly drew attention to the incongruity of Sapporo promoting a version of masculinity that they subsequently undermined by raising prices, motivating men to speak out. Indeed, by contrasting the idealised version of masculinity with actual practices in response to

the company's actions, these articles highlighted how silence was, in fact, ideal for the company rather than these men. The emphasis in these articles can perhaps be explained by the fact that the individuals reporting these events were also constituted in similar structures of masculinity and were also consumers of beer. These increases equally affected them and so they wished to raise greater awareness of it (Shūkan Bunshun, 1973, 168–170).

In light of the reports on these protests, Sapporo clearly undermined their own advertising campaign in a way that Asahi and Kirin did, and could, not. By choosing to only implicitly gender their campaigns, Asahi and Kirin avoided issuing proscriptions and prohibitions concerning gender that could then be used against them. In this way, we can see how the risks of using an explicitly gendered model are exacerbated by the company's own actions. It should also be noted that the inconsistencies in this campaign and its model of masculinity highlighted in the media was not only attributable to Sapporo's decisions; Mifune's own behaviour/actions undermining the message and model of gender that he presented in these advertisements were also highlighted by those in the media. Ostensibly the justification for the curtailment of the *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign (Kamo, 1975), Mifune's divorce was referenced by several magazines due to his eventual discussion of the event. This provided the media with an opportunity to again highlight the inconsistencies with Mifune's promoted model of masculinity. Articles specifically referenced him 'breaking his silence' about the divorce proceedings (Shūkan Heibon, 1971, 40; Jōsei Seven, 1973, 30). Advertising tropes and slogans were clearly being used and circulated within a general public that

understood their resonances, despite the relative absence of this popular and critical engagement from official sources such as company histories.

The furore over price rises, while obviously a concern for consumers, was also due to vested interests in the form of an administration fearing loss of revenues and the rise of anger against the level of tax applied to beer. In addressing this issue of price rise protests, Sapporo referenced the Economic Planning Agency head's consumer advice but failed to mention or reference headlines such as these, either in their section on advertising or elsewhere. Sapporo's President, Uchita Kurando, in an interview with Miki Yōnosuke, was equally reticent in mentioning this element. When questioned on the *Otoko wa damatte neage* headlines, Miki immediately dismisses it as an unfair representation of the company, as the issue entirely arose due to Kirin's market dominance (Miki, 1971). Anything adverse was attributable to Kirin with awkward issues concerning gender being dismissed. Acknowledging that this "slippage" between reality and representation (Shigematsu, 2008, 564), between the Mifune ideal and men in reality, was revealed via protests at the company's own actions would counter Sapporo's account that the campaign was a big hit. These articles suggest, therefore that despite the company's assertions of its success, the *Otoko wa damatte* campaign was publicly contested at the time, particularly through the media. Various commentators have questioned how impartial the media can be when the companies which they report on pay for their existence (Dyer, 1988; Moeran, 1996) but in mocking and reusing these catchphrases, these newspapers and magazines publicised the inconsistencies, incongruities, and points of resistance in this model of masculinity to

contemporaries.

### Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen how Sapporo Beer utilised Mifune Toshirō to appeal to men by adopting a prescriptive model of gender that positioned silence as an integral practice in masculinity alongside a rejection of the feminine. The discussion of this campaign's iteration of this practice in trade journals, magazines, and in contemporary articles shows how gender was conceptualised, approached and also limited in how it could be discussed. These understandings of the elements that constituted masculinity and this campaign as manly differed based on the temporal proximity of the commentators to its transmission.

While contemporaneous thought gave credence to the concept of multiple masculinities and contested the linking of silence to masculinity, retrospective works have positioned this model of masculinity as “manly” using a highly selective reading of Mifune's referent system. By positioning Mifune's model as manly, these commentators showed how their views on gender were informed by a conceptualisation of hypermasculinity. In so doing, they excluded Nakaya Noboru from consideration and also failed to consider how femininity is constructed, discussed, and elided within these advertisements. This might perhaps be explained by the fact that this Kirin campaign appealed to those on the periphery of society, rather than the mainstream. Shimamori, for instance, notes that because of the contemporary takes on women's independence through travel and relationships, this Kirin campaign actually influenced young men and women who were not as entrenched in society's structures

(Shimamori, 1984, 124). According to Shimamori's analysis, these advertisements, despite being for the market leader, appealed to marginalised sections of society and operated as a means of access for those on the periphery. In this instance, then, their further exclusion from discussion continues to perpetuate that marginalisation. Instead, we must acknowledge the discussions of this campaign and that the demographic for beer consumption did include other sectors than that of just the salarymen. Including this campaign means that we also see how critics' focus on Mifune results in constructions of masculinity that rest on somewhat shaky foundations with little interrogation of his actual actions and practices within advertisements. This results in evaluations of Mifune as manly despite his lack of interaction with women, or indeed other men, and despite his lack of connection to those things which are societally idealised as necessary for men.

Later analysts' referencing of this campaign's masculinity, meanwhile to one element of Mifune's referent system, the samurai, meant that other associations, such as modern militarism, were neglected and ignored. This was especially problematic given it was Mifune's military role in war films which provided the genesis of the campaign. These connections were not unnoticed by some commentators, but they understood them in a different way with the theme of silence and its subsequent dangers paramount.

Many of these commentaries revealed an understanding of a hierarchy of gender; later articles served only to acknowledge that Mifune, manly as he was, stood at the apex of a pyramid of masculinity. Contemporaneous accounts, in contrast, both placed him in

this pyramid and also offered critiques of it, noting the way in which this form of masculinity was a reaction to the increasing status of women and also served to subordinate other men who did not fit this model. In this way, analysts' understanding of gender was both sophisticated and highly prescient.

While commentators had contested the Sapporo campaign because of its associations with militarism and its outdatedness in terms of contemporary understandings of masculinity, it was the beer companies' own actions that led to fractures in the campaign's appeal. The dominance of Kirin Beer can help explain the motivation for competitors to use gendered models, but also suggests that Kirin deployed an equally gendered model to maintain the stability of the system in light of threats to its market position and potential state intervention. This argument is somewhat controversial but would seem to have validity given Kirin's subsequent withdrawal from the advertising marketplace for some three years. Kirin's dominance also led to increased price rises which, in the way they were contested by consumers, showed how the silence of men was to the benefit of the companies. The reports of these protests clearly showed the dissonance between ideal and practice and meant that Sapporo's attempt to compete was actually subverted by its own choice of representation. Other beer companies did not suffer these issues in the same way because they were not overt in either prescription or depiction of gender. This meant that these campaigns were not subject to as much negotiation and contestation of their terms and appeals as the *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign. It also meant that their images were less enduring. Indeed, this overt gendering of the Mifune campaign ensures that it continues to be referenced

again and again. Often this takes the form of evidence to buttress one's argument as per Christensen and Sugiyama, but it also appears elsewhere to represent this time period. What this chapter has shown is that any analysis of this campaign requires an understanding of how it was conceptualised, engaged with, and also undermined by the actions of the company that made it. Many commentators viewed certain stars as masculine because of their screen image. Indeed, in many of these cases, because of this influence of screen images, actual discussion of what constituted masculinity or masculine acts was largely avoided.

Examining this campaign has revealed a rich diversity of understandings of masculinity and femininity. I have shown how critics' views diverged and differed due to temporal points. There is one final element of this campaign that requires analysis and examination, however, which I have not included here. This is the role that the spaces where Mifune's masculinity was enacted and depicted played in helping critics to understand gender. The locations where Mifune performed in these advertisements equally contributed to and defined his performance of masculinity. I explore this in the following chapter in order to compare it to how urban depictions of gender differed and were thus interpreted differently.

## Chapter 7: Frontiers, Downtown, and Halls: Gendering Spaces and Restricting Places

In 1970, in the shadow of *Sapporo Light's* commercial failure, Sapporo decided that



their beer was too feminine and drove men away. This led to the commission of a campaign featuring the actor Mifune Toshirō in an attempt to masculinise their brand image to attract a new demographic of heavy-drinking men in their 30s to 40s (Matsuura, 1970, 53; Kamo, 1975, 236; Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 791). This saw a shift from a refreshing and sharp image, qualities perceived as feminine, to a full-bodied, bitter, and thus more masculine, profile (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 791). This company's conceptualisations of gender informed the conception, execution, and also the recollections and evaluations of these processes and campaign. Using an explicitly gendered image of Mifune was partly to create a talking point (Matsuura, 1970, 53), but it was also to mark a clear line of delineation between their masculine product and the more feminised competition. The locations that they chose for Mifune to be depicted within and against were understood to operate within this system of signification. The second phase filming was designed to explicitly expand Sapporo's recently-created masculine image (Kamo, 1975, 245) by using an area (Monument Valley) full of 'red masculine rocks' (Ishigami, 1992, 32–33). Masculinity was overtly linked to the outdoors. While this is decipherable from a textual analysis of the adverts themselves (White, 2007), the fact that corporate representatives chose a location deeply tied to the mythos of western masculinity is also significant. In this chapter, I explore the interpretation of space in several different advertisements. I begin with this perception of the sites of Mifune's locations as masculine because of their explicit contrast as wild and remote to the urban locations of much other beer advertisements. These urban locations are also significant as sites that continued to regulate women's

access to public spaces. One of the defining features of many commentators' understanding of gender throughout this period is their attitude towards women's presence in spaces that were reserved for men. Commentators' discussions of beer advertisements reveal their perspectives and understandings of who should access spaces, how they should do so, and where.

#### [Mifune's Masculinity: Wild Colonial Boy](#)

As noted above, the second stage of filming for the *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign took place in locations outside of Japan. It transplanted Mifune's version of masculinity into a location that had served as the repository for the creation of an American mythological version of masculinity.

Advertisers and marketers were knowledgeable about the campaign's setting of Monument Valley because of its appearance as a backdrop in multiple popular Westerns, such as *The Searchers* (1939) which bound this landscape to an idea of American masculinity in the shape of John Wayne. Given Lebra's description of Mifune as the John Wayne of Japan, the association of Mifune with this landscape was an easy one to make. Mifune's roles had themselves been remade to augment and revision this mythos of the old west, with the reinterpretation of 1954's *Seven Samurai* as *The Magnificent Seven* (1960), and 1961's *Yōjimbō* as *A Fistful of Dollars* (1964). Choosing this location also deepened the link between Mifune's masculinity and silence with its connection to Wayne's "strong, silent type." As Sharrett notes, this played a central role in the 'mythology of the American community and its supporting institutions'

valuing action and achievement over loquaciousness' (2013, 165). Filming in Monument Valley thus associated Mifune with one of the spaces where Wayne had performed his masculinity, and symbolically replaced him in the process. This connection with American masculinity, however, raises uncomfortable associations when the third location for the *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign is taken into account. By choosing to film on their "home island" of Hokkaido, the creators actually draw attention to a number of similarities with the American location regarding colonialism, erasure of the indigenous, and the role of men in such spaces.

Westerns, including the films of John Wayne, are widely connected with mythic versions of U.S. national identity and U.S. colonialism with the courage of the common man central to any endeavour (Moses, 2010, 276; Meeuf, 2013, 2). Part of this mythic representation of the country's westward expansion has also involved depictions of the indigenous peoples who lived in the territories desired by American settlers. The purpose of Westerns was not necessarily to 'ensure the hegemonic subordination and political marginalization of those native peoples who managed to survive', but instead has been described as a 'critique of modern American society and a means of reflecting on, and dealing with, conflict and reconciliation' (Moses, 2010, 264) such as themes of class conflict (Bandy and Stoehr, 2012, 7–9). Regardless of intent however, Westerns tend to 'marginalize, or misrepresent figures who are nonetheless integral to the history of the American West such as native Americans...' (McMahon and Csaki, 2010, 7) who were characterised as a 'cultural other who posed a threat that needed to be addressed, violently in most cases' (Heba and Murphy, 2010, 309). As Sharrett

describes it, the energies of the “strong, silent type” were directed into the proper channels of ‘labour and family (and the genocide associated with conquest)’ (2013, 165-6). John Ford’s three films with Wayne, for example, deal with cavalry outposts that played an important role in US military ventures (Meeuf, 2013). Westerns such as these then were involved in presenting an ideological view of the United States’ expansion westward, one which involved a representation of the land as available to be tamed.

By situating this same space - the American West - as suitably masculine enough for Mifune, the commercial interests show how there is a strain of thought within Japanese conceptions of gender which, informed by American origin myths, understands masculinity as performed within a wilderness, which is absent of “civilisation”. This is not necessarily unusual as Russell Meeuf notes how Westerns also helped circulate Hollywood’s power in the 1950s, acting as ‘vehicles for expressing gender ideologies across national and cultural borders’ (2013, 7-9).

Japanese masculinity in this campaign was connected to the American myth of a *terra nullius* frontier, absent of people and therefore available for “development”. This became even more explicit when the tagline “This is beer country” was added. This tagline combined with the representation of Mifune in wide valleys to present the landscape of Hokkaido similarly as a landscape absent of people other than Mifune himself. In this visual imagery, Sapporo Beer’s own history of colonialism and the displacement of the indigenous from this very same land was elided.

Following the 1868 Meiji Restoration, the new government created the *Kaitakushi*

(Development, or Colonisation Commission) (1869) to “develop” the northernmost island of Ezochi, or Hokkaidō as it would become known, as a bulwark against the Russians. This commission justified this development by declaring Hokkaido as *terra nullius*, as virgin land available for settlement (Siddle, 1996, 55–56). One of the methods used to develop the island involved encouraging industry, including the brewing of beer (Sapporo Holdings, 2014). This originally occurred under the auspices of the *Kaitakushi* itself (1876) before it evolved, over time, into the post-war Sapporo Beer. The creation of the brewing industry in Hokkaidō was not as straightforward as this account may seem, however. Siddle has shown how the narratives of Hokkaido “development” serve to erase the violence associated with the process of conquest (1996, 50–55) such as the displacement of the indigenous people, the Ainu, from much of the land in the process.

This linking of Mifune’s masculinity to these two geographically differentiated but symbolically similar spaces therefore indicate the centrality of colonialism as a shaper of Japanese masculinity. By using sites with explicit linkages to colonialism and the erasure of indigenous peoples, Sapporo Beer contributed to the process of erasure, not only of the native peoples but also the violence that was used to displace them. It presents Hokkaido as a frontier available for ethnically Japanese men to explore and regain a masculinity that has been diluted in processes of urbanisation. Furthermore, by depicting some of these areas as agricultural sites, the company helped to further sever the link to the indigenous population. This was part of an ongoing process of erasure which positioned and described the Ainu as hunters rather than farmers in

order to deny their claims to land (Siddle, 1996 56). This is despite evidence of Ainu horticulture having been used to convince *Kaitakushi* advisers of the potential for growing crops for brewing (Alexander, 2013, 33).

This iteration of the campaign did not avoid public criticism, but this was not because of that connection of masculinity with colonised spaces. Instead, the tagline of 'Our heart is in the north; In the home/country of beer' (*Waga kokoro, kita ni ari. Bīru no kuni (furusato) ni ari*) was criticised as too literary and pretentious for a mass product such as beer (Fukunaka, 1971, 76), indicating not only the shift in perceptions of beer since the interwar period, but also how critics emphasised aesthetic choices over representational ones. Later scholarship on the evolution of the beer industry, such as that of Alexander, similarly further this narrative of Hokkaido's undeveloped lands, describing it as a 'great wilderness' (2013, 32).

Despite the relative silence in critical commentary, the creatives involved were aware of some of the connections with these processes of colonisation. In his narrative of this campaign, the writer Ishigami Mitsutoshi, who was present throughout the US filming, described how they were chased by an "Indian" when Navajo Tribal Rangers arrived to enforce the law against alcohol consumption that they were breaking (Ishigami, 1992, 33). Ishigami notes that this law was connected to the adverse effects of alcohol introduced by whites, demonstrating some awareness of the history of the area. While the event was notable because of the contrasts between this experience and the situation in Hokkaido where the authorities are contiguous with the Japanese state, the use of language here indicates that racist taxonomies that were present in Westerns

were still considered normative. Indeed, Ishigami expresses amazement that he actually met a Native American. Creatives making this campaign, therefore, used clear ideas about where masculinity should be performed to inform their use of these locations. Masculinity was performed in spaces positioned as wilderness, but these spaces were also connected to colonial practices of settlement and tourism about which they were at least partially aware.

Creators used specifically non-urban locations to highlight and emphasise Mifune's masculinity. As we have seen in chapter four, the locations used to depict Mifune's masculinity can be defined by their separateness from the societal ties and connections which defined Salaryman masculinity. Their deployment also failed to recognise the role of masculinity within colonial and imperial endeavours, particularly in Hokkaidō. Critics defined spaces as gendered but were selective in how they did so with even scholars continuing to replicate corporate and state narratives of settlement rather than highlighting issues of colonisation. Notably, the spaces, separated from society, that Mifune was presented in were understood as masculine. However, there appears to be little parallel understanding of the urban as feminine; instead, it too is, in the spaces and places that women are permitted to access, seen as masculine. Public space, whether remote and 'wild' or urban and 'tamed' remains the domain of men. I turn now to how that operates in the context of a 1957 campaign for Asahi Gold.

#### [Asahi Gold: Censoring for Safety](#)

*Asahi Gold* was a new beer launched in 1957 that attempted to avoid criticism by taking into consideration men's attitudes towards women's beer consumption. As detailed in

the *Unofficial History of Asahi's Publicity Section* (Takayama, 1999), advertising professionals were increasingly aware of contentious issues relating to gender and pursued various strategies to circumvent these issues or avoid public censure. Accompanied by a new more colourful label made possible by the end of wartime-era rationings on the use of ink, Asahi Gold was designed to compete with Kirin at the same time as Nippon Beer relaunched Sapporo as a brand. Kirin's market share was increasing at this time, while Asahi's had peaked during the Korean War (1950 -1953) and subsequently declined (Takayama, 1999, 64). Motivated by the label's similarity to the Imperial Naval Ensign that evoked connotations of militarism, Asahi decided to alter the number of stripes emanating from the sun and the colour from white to gold. This was a misstep, however, as the subsequent design resulted in a loss of recognition in the Kansai area - Asahi's main area of operations. The flyers accompanying their experimental campaign and the quality of the beer itself were also criticised and failed to halt the declining sales (Takayama, 1999, 65–73). Although seemingly unable to address these objections regarding the promotional material or the quality of the beer, Asahi had taken steps to mitigate or avoid criticism of their campaign, particularly around its gendered representations. This is one of the few occasions of the period when the people involved actually discuss any campaign in such terms. Prior to the release of the product, the potential growth of a new segment of consumers convinced the Asahi staff that their campaign should attempt to appeal to young women who were seen to be engaging in new patterns of beer consumption (*atarashii nomikata o sokyū shita joseisō muke shinbunkōkoku*) (Takayama, 1999, 72).



While popular concerns about women's consumption focused on the absence of male companions (Alexander, 2013, 185), women were not necessarily drinking alone. Instead, women in this period had begun consuming in peer groups which allowed them to enter what Collins and Vamplew have termed 'masculine republics' (2002, 25), that is, those drinking spaces nominally reserved for men, such as beer halls, bars, and pubs. By moving in groups, women could access these sites without necessarily being seen as sexually available. Rather than displaying sexual availability, engaging in collaborative drinking ensured these women maintained both their safety and their reputation and meant that they were able to establish their right to public spaces where they could consume alcohol if not freely, at least without the censure that would accompany companion-less drinking.

Despite this consumption pattern becoming commonplace, the *Asahi Gold* advertisement featured neither a group of women nor one alone. The tagline '*Futari de gōrudo o'* (gold for two) instead featured a young man and a young woman (actually Asahi staff) in front of a beer hall keg touching their glasses together with a "*kampai*" (Cheers) (Asahi Beer, 1957). For Kawai Kōji, the second Asahi publicity section chief, it was one of the first advertisements to raise awareness of women as a significant demographic for beer consumption (Takayama, 1999, 72). A textual analysis of this advertisement might read this advertisement as an attempt to market beer within a heteronormative relationship and therefore perpetuate gendered norms around sexuality, thus positioning the consumption of beer by women as only permissible when accompanied by a male escort. When read alongside the broader advertising

discourse, however, we can see that the intention of the producers of the advertisement was to avoid a very different kind of potential criticism.

Criticism of beer advertisements was not uncommon at this time. Sapporo Beer's famous 1958 *'forty-five degrees'* advertisement which linked the three apparently great beer brewing cities of Milwaukee, Sapporo and Munich, for example, was criticised for its erroneous assertion that all were located at 45 degrees' latitude. This resulted in slight alterations to content in subsequent versions (Sapporo Biru KK, 1996, 782).

Asahi's decision, meanwhile to retire their white label had led to a great deal of censure, as noted above, especially around Osaka where it had been quite popular.

There was thus a desire within the company to avoid further censure while also appealing to the new demographic of women. While a woman alone was clearly too controversial given the supposedly widely- and strongly-held belief that beer was a man's product (Takayama, 1999, 72-73), the inclusion of a woman as a companion to a man was seen as unlikely to arouse as much resistance or debate. Rather than perpetuating gendered norms, then, this campaign was actually attempting to gently challenge them and can be considered to be somewhat revolutionary for its time in the way that it promoted women's increased opportunities for public, if accompanied, consumption of beer.

The internal debate surrounding this advertisement suggests that beer advertising was, by the late 1950s, able to arouse dissent on gendered grounds. Advertisers also felt that they had to be wary of depictions which were too innovative or reflected too clearly changing social realities. Beer was still popularly thought of as a drink for men.

Despite the increasing number of women consumers (Kirin Bīru KK, 1984, 290–295) contributing to the popularity of beer, the representation of their consumption, alongside a man, had the potential to transgress normative gender boundaries. While the actual act of consumption by women had often been seen as transgressive by men in the interwar years, in the postwar they were meant to have become more accepting (*otoko mo kanyō ni natta*) (Kirin Bīru KK, 1984, 295), but the concern about complaints regarding the Asahi *Gold* advertisement belies this assertion. Indeed, this situation seems to have been the case for women coming of age in the 1960s, such as the scholar Tanaka Yukiko, who, expressing her shock at young women’s casual drinking in the 1980s, notes that it was only women involved in the water trade (*mizu shōbai*), that is, hostesses and servers, who drank during her youth (Tanaka, 1995, 79–80). While this comment may reflect a particular class-based concern about social norms, there were clearly social divisions around women’s public consumption of alcohol in Japan at this time. Advertisers were aware of and attempted to skirt these concerns through the choice of the couple and the slogan featured in this particular advertisement with Takayama Fusaji, the fourth head of Asahi’s publicity section, detailing this process:

We took into consideration the strong consciousness in this period that beer was a summer product and a product for men so we used softer expressions to a certain degree (*tōji wa mada bīru wa natsu no mono de ari, otoko no mono to iu ninshiki no tsuyoi jidai deshita kara sore ni ki o tsukatte, aru teido yawarageta hyōgen ni shite wa arimasu kedo ne*)  
(Takayama, 1999, 72-73)

The gendering of advertisements therefore became a key point of discussion in advertising and industry discourse only when the representation was itself possibly contentious. This particular representation was potentially disruptive because it

showed a woman consuming a product that had, up to this point, been designated for men. More importantly, however, was the fact that she was doing it in a masculine space. Gender became relevant in the broader discourse on beer advertising only when concerns were raised about the prospect of transgressing social norms. Otherwise, the language and conventions of the industry focused largely on questions of efficiency and sales. This particular campaign illuminates how criticism, and the prospect of criticism, could and did bring gender into focus in ways that were subsumed to more explicit industry concerns in other cases.

While gender was not directly discussed unless depictions were seen as possibly contentious, complaints regarding the representation of women consuming a man's drink in locations *for* men, notably beer halls, continued to be a characteristic of the postwar advertising discourse. The expansion of what could be considered a beer hall through the development of draft beer in the 1970s equally aroused more critics to comment on the depiction of women in these locations. The same depictions also revealed a number of other details about how gender is understood in relation to these spaces of consumption, specifically sexual assault and women's right to access public spaces.

#### [The Beer Hall: Site of Sexuality](#)

While the Asahi Gold advertisement attempted to accommodate the potential criticism of depicting a woman within the masculine republic of a beer hall, by the 1970s, this

perspective had shifted and there were increasing depictions of women in these locations. These were not without criticism, however, with some quarters insistent that consumption within these spaces by women was inappropriate and a threat to men - specifically, hindering their ability to present and perform their masculinity. Exploring these discussions reveals the importance that urban, masculine, spaces in the shape of the beer hall play in constructing gender for critics. The beer hall, however, was not static as a location. The beer industry's attempts to cope with particular socio-economic events such as the Oil Shock and Kirin's continuing dominance led to the development of draft beer and a raft of versatile containers which meant that the practices of the beer hall were now more mobile, accessible and visible. These depictions continued to be subject to many of the same criticisms as the static, conventional beer hall, however.

In some cases, meanwhile, it is the incidental details of advertisements that arouse debate or, through neglect or ignorance, are not discussed. These are the most revealing of contemporary attitudes towards gender and gender relations within particular spaces. A series of advertisements for Asahi's *Mini Daru* (Mini Keg) in the 1970s contained an assortment of details that stimulated creators, critics, and commentators to discuss women's right of access to public spaces. Highlighting the convenience of draft beer in kegs, these particular advertisements, emblematic of recent developments within the beer industry, appeared at a time of significant social change in Japan.

While the 1970 Osaka Exposition appeared to mark Japan's dizzying postwar successes,

the crises that beset Japan from the following year alongside the focus by consumer groups on pollution, price rises, and consumer rights resulted in a series of changes in how goods and products were advertised and marketed. It was the 1973 Oil Shock, however, which reverberated most strongly through Japan's economy, affecting both advertising and beer sectors and resulting in an evolution in attitudes towards Japan's postwar economic growth which had hitherto been highly extolled by companies, government, and media. This manifested in increasingly anti-business sentiment (Asahi Shinbunsha, 1978, 3; Yamaki, 1980, 30; Mukai, 1983, 33; Kosai, 1986, 167–168). Advertising critics found that the Oil Shock brought about significant changes in the style, attitude, and focus of advertisements with the anxiety permeating the economy and society now clearly visible in campaigns (Yamakawa, 1991, 63). The industry itself experienced a degree of self-doubt due to reduced budgets and little sign of recovery for some two years (Mukai, 1983, 33). This manifested itself in beer advertising (see Images 35-39 from the *Yomiuri Shinbun*) as a reduced visual sophistication from images of celebrities such as Nakaya and Kishida (Image 35) to ones more reminiscent of the 1950s that simply presented the company name.

Image 35: Kirin Beer – Celebrity Advertisement with Kishida Kyōko and Nakaya Noboru (1971)



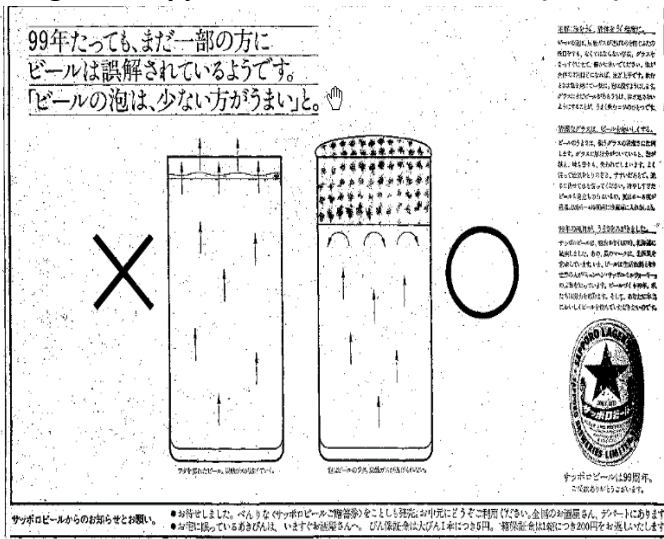
(Kirin Beer, 1971c)

Image 36: Kirin Beer - Post-Oil Shock advertisement with no celebrities (1975)



(Kirin Beer, 1975)

Image 37: Sapporo Beer - Post-Oil Shock (1975)



(Sapporo Beer, 1975)

Image 38: Nippon (Sapporo) Beer – Simple design (1953)



(Nippon Beer, 1953)

Image 39: Kirin Beer - Simple design with no celebrities (1953)



(Kirin Beer, 1953)

When confidence finally recovered in the mid-1970s, the beer companies'



advertisements changed in tone from emphasising just the product or celebrities' enjoyment of it to showing the role the product could play in the consumer's relationships. This shift was partly due to the innovation necessary to challenge Kirin who had strengthened their position prior to the Oil Shock. Kirin's market share, as noted, was a point of concern prior to the oil embargo, affecting not only the actions undertaken by the three other companies, but also the atmosphere within Kirin due to the fears of dissolution or other such penalty that the FTC might impose (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999a, 104). This fear led Kirin to engage in a three-year period of "self-restraint" (*jishuku*) that included no new breweries and a reduction in the marketing budget (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999a, 105; Mizukawa, 2002, 15). Many of these activities recommenced in 1976 as there was no noticeable corresponding decline in market share during or following this hiatus. The period of self-restraint allowed Kirin to maintain its preeminent position, however, as it had already prepared for the changes that its rivals were forced to engage in following the Oil Shock. While beneficial in the short-term, self-restraint was counter-productive in the long-term as the three other companies invested their energies in an iteration of beer, *nama* (draft), which finally challenged Kirin's dominance.

The increased availability and popularity of draft beer drove an expansion in the size and range of containers which the beer came in, which enabled consumers to drink amounts according to their personal preferences as and where they liked. Kirin eventually felt compelled to join in and released similar products. These two developments, respectively known as the *Draft Wars* and the *Container Wars*, were

tactics adopted after price competition and radical marketing solutions in the form of gendered appeals had failed. Jeffrey Alexander considers these “wars” as a series of gimmicks summarising the accompanying advertisements only as attempts to target key consumer groups of ‘heavy-drinking men, women interested in taste and image, younger consumers who wanted fresh, healthy products, and men concerned with increasing their prestige’ (Alexander, 2013, 224). This brief analysis relies on the campaigns included in the beer company histories and does not acknowledge the full range of advertisements, both broadcast or print, that appeared during this time. Similarly, Mizukawa’s more macro approach to the industry in Japanese barely references any advertisements instead finding the years following the *Draft Wars* more significant (2002).

I argue instead that the *Draft* and *Container Wars* were much more than a series of gimmicks and that accompanying advertisements were likewise of greater importance than has been previously acknowledged. These advertisements may have lacked the prescriptive idealisation of masculinity that is displayed in the *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign or made little direct reference to state-sanctioned heterosexual institutions as the Kirin *Dō iu wake ka* campaign did, but they contain much more than merely segmented marketing. The fact that Kirin was finally forced to compete anew indicated that draft was a new force within the beer market. Furthermore, it is not just because draft forced Kirin to re-evaluate their business that the new products and competition of this time are important. The *Draft Wars* also proved that changes in consumer taste and demand indicated a challenge to Kirin was possible, which Asahi ultimately

capitalised on when they released their revolutionary 1987 beer, *Super Dry*. In challenging Kirin and forcing them to diversify away from their core product, the *Draft Wars* showed the rival companies that there was a desire among consumers for variety. The *Draft Wars* were also significant in advertising terms because the campaigns used human relationships to a greater extent to prominently position beer for the first time as a consumer lifestyle product. Indeed, Kirin recognised draft as a product that ‘responded to the individual and diverse needs of consumers’ (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999a, 126) and the resulting campaigns featured a greater variety of scenes and locations. While Kirin considered the draft market to be mainly baby boomers and the young (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999a, 137), its increasing popularity, combined with a diverse range of container sizes, resulted in a more fragmented market with differentiated products and demand (Mizukawa, 2002, 71). This allowed for more precisely targeted campaigns, with more diverse and numerous representations than previously. As a result of this fragmentation, these advertisements were also more likely to gain the attention of industry practitioners who judged them for their innovation, aesthetics, and technical merit. Non-industry critics also increasingly scrutinised these representations. Advertisements thus became the subject of a greater number of analyses and commentaries on a far wider range of topics to the extent that advertising entered public discourse in a much more pronounced way in this period. For this reason, at least so far as this study is concerned, the *Draft* and *Container Wars* were not simply con tricks duping unsuspecting consumers into buying the same product in bigger (and smaller) cans, but genuine efforts to compete that resulted in rich and diverse

advertisements that were subject to much greater public interest.

While numerous campaigns depicted relationships facilitated by beer (cf Asahi Beer, 1981b, 1981c), one such campaign which received a great deal of interest was the Asahi series *Mini Daru 2L/3L* (Mini Keg 2 litre/3 litre). This campaign was lauded in the advertising journal, *Brain*, for the actors' lack of celebrity-like attitudes, which made it feel relatable (Brain, 1980a, 128–129). The marketing specialist, Gotō Katsuhiko, considered this campaign a breakthrough for Asahi's image as they had previously appeared weak and lacking a defined market segment (Gotō, 1981, 124–125). There were various iterations of this campaign but most featured a combination of the comedian/actors, Hirata Mitsuru, Emoto Akira, Kazama Morio, and Tako Hachirō with the model-turned-actress Shingyōji Kimie in a variety of scenes. A pre-launch campaign depicted one performer looking for a beer hall, asking at a mobile ice-cream kiosk (Asahi Beer, 1979e, 1980a), in a bookshop (Asahi Beer, 1979d), and at a train station (Asahi Beer, 1979c). In each, the interlocutor feigned ignorance before understanding and supplying an Asahi keg. The final voiceover advises inquiring at one's *sakaya* (liquor shop) rather than these locations. The ice-cream version won the 19th ACC Awards Best Commercial Message (television category) in 1979 (Brain, 1979, 128).

Following the product's release in 1979, new versions showed this group of four young men purchasing the keg only with the actress Shingyōji Kimie's help (Asahi Beer, 1980c, 1980d). Obtaining the keg, they praise her before proceeding as a group to an undetermined location to sample its delights. In each iteration, the four men act in a buffoonish way while Kimie, wearing a yellow dress, gently chides them by calling them

'baka' (idiots/stupid).

The campaign was notable for showing how the purchase of draft kegs enabled a new drinking style based on the gendered site of the beer hall. It was the depiction of this versatility, portability, group composition and consumption sites which aroused a number of critics to discuss women's consumption and access to public spaces in such segmented ways.

[The Beer Hall: Contested, Masculine, Sexualised, and Open to All](#)

Within this campaign, Asahi positioned their draft beer and its container as a substitute for the beer hall. This made sense as the *Draft War's* impetus, the FTC's insistence on a standardised draft definition, originated from consumers wishing to know whether the beer in bottles was the same as that served at the beer hall (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999a, 136). These campaigns established the quality and authenticity of draft beer by showing how it could be consumed in different locations by groups of mixed individuals. The versatility of the container enabled beer hall practices to be enacted so that the beer hall ceased to be an actual physical space and instead became a style of drinking. Kirin also attempted to also capitalise on this link with its somewhat late entry, a 1984 advertisement entitled '*Biya hōru*' (Beer Hall) (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999a, 141). This use of draft beer as a proxy for the beer hall stimulated commentators to discuss various "issues" associated with it, including the public consumption of beer by women. These advertisements, then, provided a means for people to comment on, and compare, actual lived practices with idealised ones and thereby revealed understandings of

power and permitted behaviours.

The main selling point of the keg was the ability to enjoy beer with friends (Ichiba saizensenshuzai guruppu, 1981, 120); officially, the proper location for this enjoyment was understood and marketed as the home (Asahi Beer, 1979f; Gotō, 1981, 122), but the advertising campaign emphasised how the portability of the kegs allowed groups of men and women to interact according to the conventions of the beer hall. The beer hall was thus no longer just a physical site but came to be understood as a social drinking style, in contrast to the corporate consumption promoted within salaryman culture and which necessitated the participation of hostesses. Beer halls themselves had been the definition of masculine republics, positioned as a site where men consumed, until the postwar at least. The purchase of the keg (or another container) newly enabled this particularly form of sociality to be accessible to all, except the *baka* young men of the Asahi advertisements.

The history of beer halls in Japan dates from the Meiji period when the newly-formed beer companies established locations where the relatively unknown beer could be promoted and consumed. The first establishment (Osaka's *beer kai*) opened in 1895 followed by a more permanent version in 1899 (Ishiguro, 1961, 61; Inagaki, 1978, 163). In the postwar, beer halls developed in tune with urbanisation, with most situated in city centres as convenient sites of consumption for urbanized workers. Popularly seen as sites for male consumption, they existed partly outside of the corporate entertainment world with staff uninvolved with customer interactions. Ishiguro Keishichi's work, *The Story of Beer (Bīru Monogatari)*, captures this element perfectly

with a photo caption of a 1961 beer hall that also describes it as a site where either salarymen returning home from work or students drop in for a beer (1961, 65). The clear implication here is that both sets are composed solely of men and that it is thus a place for *male* homosociality. These were thus convivial spaces with other locations available for those who wished to drink alone, such as the ubiquitous *Tory's Bars* offering Suntory whisky as depicted in the famous 1950s Uncle Tory's advertisements (Aoyangai, 2001, 5). By 1978 these locations, while still urban, had become more accessible for women. The increasing number of beer halls were increasingly sites where women, having newly entered the (visible) workforce, could consume alcohol with less disapprobation, so long as they did so in groups. The lack of male companions was still considered remarkable, however, because the beer hall remained a quasi-masculinised space (Sapporo Bīru KK, 1996, 380; Alexander, 2013, 171, 188).

In many cases, women's presence in beer halls was accepted insofar as they arrived with men. In a 1979 *Brain* article on what can be termed the 'alcohol life course', that is, changes in drinking styles as men aged and were promoted, one informant recounts that salarymen would invite the female workers in the office to go and drink at a beer hall together (Nishiyama, 1979, 125). These young women were engaged mainly in clerical work under the assumption that these were temporary jobs until they married, hopefully, the salarymen they worked with (Dasgupta, 2013). This informant's recollection is notable for illuminating issues of power with his definition of these women as *josei shain*, that is, female workers, differentiating them from the male "colleagues" (*doryō*) who had the right to issue an invite.

The beer hall was therefore a site quite different from the 'snack' or hostess club that only the *doryō* would visit together. Anne Allison, in her seminal study, *Nightwork*, describes how these late Shōwa period entertainment locations were sites to enact and perform corporate masculinity with the hostesses serving as receptacles against which men presented their masculinity to other men (1994). This drinking style was not enjoyable or beneficial for all men with issues associated with excessive consumption or with calculating the expense account already recognised by some commentators (Nishiyama, 1979, 126). The beer hall style of drinking therefore had a different function and meaning to that of the snack or hostess bar due to group composition and because there was no assisted socialising requiring beer hall employees, unlike hostess- or snack bars which aided the clients in their performance of corporate masculinity (Allison, 1994). The beer hall was thus gendered differently as a place to which women (co-workers) could be invited rather than a site where corporate masculinity was exclusively performed. The beer hall therefore came to represent not only a physical site but also a style of drinking attractive for its accessibility. It was this that was used as the selling point in these advertisements.

Despite the normalisation of some women visiting these drinking locations, Alexander maintains that access was age-dependent and restricted to young professional women. Middle-aged women, wary of abandoning traditional norms, stayed at home instead and drank, often secretly (2013, 226–227). There were other restrictions that prevented these middle-aged women from accessing beer halls. The location of the home – often far from downtown sites – combined with associated domestic



responsibilities, made it more difficult to drink in the bars frequented by younger women after work. However, this did not mean that these women did not drink openly. As noted previously, housewives did partake, notably with their husbands in the evening *banshaku*. The release of draft beer enabled suburban housewives to enjoy this nightly drink in the beer hall style without the need to visit the urban beer halls (Tani, 1978, 110). Moreover, differences in drinking patterns between men and women lessened with ageing. Increased responsibilities at work limited certain men's time spent drinking while women, freed of child-rearing, could drink during the day at home and socially with neighbours. This was acknowledged by Suntory's attempts to design a drink for women, *Akadama Punch* (1977), which fitted within these changing social norms (Tani, 1978, 110).

The increased participation of women in the drinking habits of men was not always accepted uncritically, however. The linking of the beer hall with draft beer in advertisements was critiqued by commentator, Ichijō Toshiyuki, who used these representations to criticise the increase of women drinking in the beer halls (1980, 92). For Ichijō, the sight of women drinking from beer jugs (*jokki*) and the sound of women talking infringed on the masculine dominance of public space, specifically 'causing men to cringe'. OL's (office ladies) and other women, by drinking in the beer hall in women-dominated groups and consuming large jugs of beer, were transgressing Ichijō's perceived boundaries of acceptable public behaviour. Male writers criticising women's actions in relation to how it affects men is a familiar tactic for undermining or marginalising these actions. It relies on an assumed understanding of what is

appropriate, either in terms of dress or behaviour, for women and requires that they maintain certain standards with those transgressing these socially ordained ideals subject to criticism. Kinsella shows how the decisions of *kogaru*, young women who engaged in highly-stylised fashion choices in the 1990s, about their personal clothing and make-up were 'an affront to the tastes of male readers' (2005, 145). In both these cases, women's choices are subject to the scrutiny of men, or rather, women's choices are scrutinised and disparaged by a few men who claim the authority to speak on behalf of other men. Men's social position makes them feel entitled to judge women for adopting the same practices and behaviours that men engage in. The perceived challenge to men's right to exclusivity over these practices is problematic for these critics.

According to figures like Ichijō, then, there were social expectations around women's visible drinking that were connected to normative understandings of what is feminine. These social expectations were seen in other articles at this time. Suntory conducted a drinking style survey for *Akadama Punch* in 1976, which categorised the motivations for drinking into gender appropriate (and inappropriate) behaviours. The desire to enjoy the atmosphere was defined as a feminine answer while wishing to become inebriated, for whatever reason, was not feminine by default. Few women expressed a desire for inebriation (Tani, 1978), however we can see how behaviours and practices were governed and categorised as feminine and how differences and similarities in consumption patterns between individuals can also be used to categorise them as masculine or feminine depending on where they occur. Indeed, criticism of changed

drinking patterns equally applied to men who were not drinking the high alcohol of their predecessors (Nishiyama, 1979, 128) and thus from what was considered a normative model of masculinity. This was equally as troubling to established definitions of masculinity when viewed by other men who felt their own masculinity was under threat.

One of the factors in this social concern around women's alcohol consumption in public could be tied to the historical association of these sites with commercial and other forms of non-marital sex. Locations selling alcohol in both the interwar and the postwar period were entwined in popular thought with sexual intimacy. Beer halls in the occupation period were deeply associated with sex (Kovner, 2012, 18, 22, 96) while in the 1920s and 1930s cafes selling beer were marked by casual interactions between men and women and with commercial sex (Francks, 2009, 123). Later objections to what were ostensibly "decent" women entering and drinking there may have been related to this historical entanglement of alcohol consumption and sexuality. Yet this is never clearly enunciated. Instead, from Ichijō's objections, it is clear that women's drinking practices, styles, and motivations were subject to criticism because they upset critics' understanding of these practices as exclusively masculine. It was not unusual by this stage for women to adopt "masculine" consumption patterns, such as "bottle keep", which were previously a male privilege. Bottle keeps are a personal and individual mode of drinking as the bottle, while remaining the property of the customer, is stored by the bar, which charges for pouring and incidentals. This pattern assumed repeat visits and thus a familiarity with the bar itself such that the customer

would be a regular and known to the staff. This pattern, once unthinkable for a woman in the immediate post-war period, was reportedly common by 1979 (Nishiyama, 1979, 126), in another perceived usurpation of male rights that lies at the heart of Ichijō's criticism. Indeed, Ichijō's other criticisms of representations of women's drinking within advertisements were equally founded on a similar basis of how it altered and undermined masculinity's privileges. He criticised a 'boyish-type' model in a Suntory advertisement for drinking the whole can in one gulp (*kan bīru maru nomi shite iru*) (1980, 95), a practice more associated with men. In each of these cases, it is the blurring of distinctions between men and women's practices that is most upsetting to critics such as Ichijō and this was seen in the *Asahi Mini Daru* advertisements and its modification of the meaning of the beer hall.

#### [The Beer Hall: Asahi Keg](#)

In contrast to the urbanised-modern and quasi-masculine locations of actual beer halls, the *Asahi Mini-Daru* scenes typically took place in the *shitamachi*, an area of stark contrast to the contemporary city. Although originally a geographical designation for certain areas in Tokyo, this term came to describe areas bound together by a sense of community based on 'traditional ideas of social organization' (Sand, 2013, 61). It was used here in contrast to modernised urban landscapes and therefore stood for an older, less developed built urban environment. The product therefore contrasted with the site of urban Tokyo, which was usually the first sales area for most new products (Brain, 1976a) and which was the space most associated with Japan's hegemonic

masculinity, the salaryman (Dasgupta, 2013).

The presence of Shingyōji Kimie within this group as the only woman, meanwhile, was also significant in differentiating this style from the corporate, all-male salaryman groups for whom hostesses lit cigarettes and provided a foil for the performance of corporate masculinity (Allison, 1994). She acted instead as an equal, though differentiated, member of the group, who crossed multiple lines, able to engage both in the activities of the group and to judge their behaviour.

In criticising women's adoption of what may be considered a normative or universal method, critics constructed and positioned certain practices and locations as masculine. The positioning of certain practices within specific locations as feminine or masculine, the undermining of this by those who transgress these boundaries, and the criticism of such undermining all reveal the historical specificity of this process.

This gendering of certain actions even extended to the pouring of beer, as can be seen in another *Asahi Mini Daru* iteration which featured Shingyōji and another comedian discussing their different keg pouring styles in a mock news panel format (Asahi Beer, 1980b, 1981d). This was analysed in *CM pickup* (Brain, 1980b), a monthly column in the advertising journal, *Brain*, which featured five anonymous advertising professionals discussing various elements of advertisements. In the advertisement, the two performers describe their own way of pouring as intellectual (*chiseiteki*) for the man, and wild (*yaseiteki*) for Shingyōji before the man makes a joke with Shingyōji, as usual, responding by calling him *baka* (see Image 40). These descriptions overturned the expected order of things, with the anonymous *CM Pickup* industry experts commenting

that it should be the man whose pouring style is wild (“yaseiteki” *na no ga otoko denakute, onna no hō ni hikkuri kaeshita no ga omoshirosa ni natta*). Gender became marked in this industry commentary when it was being subverted from the usual conventions.

Image 40: Asahi Beer - Shingyōji Kimie’s different ways of pouring Asahi Mini Daru 3 (1981)



(Asahi Beer, 1981a)

While there is little overt focus on the location where this scene takes place, the analysis of this advertisement was nevertheless part of the process of critiquing and regulating the ways in which women should drink. Shingyōji’s style of drinking, usually more appropriate for a man, is clearly seen as unusual for a woman becoming a point of interest for these commentators. Alcohol consumption during drinking sessions

associated with work, such as at hostess bars, demonstrated and validated a man's ability to work, to be gainfully employed, and his position as part of a team, separate from kinship relations. By choosing to drink in any of these locations, or in similar ways, women assumed practices associated with men and thus undermined allegedly "traditional" customs which provided a clear point of differentiation for this older demographic to criticise. These subtle critiques contribute to an atmosphere whereby women are less inclined to drink in this manner because they already face disapproval for doing so.

This trend of women adopting masculine drinking practices became more problematic for commentators such as Ichijō because of the loss of confidence in established masculine models that followed the Oil Shock. The Oil Shock saw a reconsideration of the societal values that the media had emphasised up to this point. Dedication to the economy and one's job, defined as *mōretsu*, was now considered less important than *ikigai*, the idea of worthwhileness and of having satisfaction in one's life (Sakurai, 1980, 44–46) and this transition was reflected in advertisements (Kirin Bīru KK, 1999a, 127). Although this trend was already underway prior to the Oil Shock, it accelerated afterwards with consumers increasingly rejecting the materialism (*monobanare*) that they had been presented with (Sakurai, 1980, 44–46). This led to conflict and self-doubt for men who had entered the workforce when growth was the *raison d'être*. Critics then linked this trend with increased depictions of active women in advertisements and the growing claims of women for increased participation in the paid economy to contend that men were hiding themselves away in *rāmen* shops and snack bars (Imai,

1979, 32; Yamada, 1979, 152; Mukai, 1983, 114; Yamakawa, 1987, 402–403) - both of which were notable sites of exclusive masculinity.

In these cases, men were already reacting to women accessing spaces, and adopting the accompanying practices, that they perceived as their privileges as intrusions which threatened their ability to be masculine. This has some connection with several critiques of the Mifune advertisement, as mentioned above, which saw it as regressive because it appeared to be a reaction to the ameliorating position of women. In each of these instances, women's advances into work and leisure spaces resulted in pushback by men who felt threatened by the brave new world of women's increased visibility and right to purchase beer. While older men hid themselves away, however, younger men, and their interactions with women, continued to be represented in the beer advertisements. The beer hall was now less a physical site than an actual drinking style and its representation in advertisements depicted these gendered interactions and socialisation associated with this freer space, for heterosexuals at least. Draft beer had become a vehicle for more casual encounters in a way that exaggerated the free and easy nature of the interactions likely at the beer hall. This too was subject to criticism from older, more established men, however, and the *Asahi Mini Daru* campaign again provides an example of this. Discussions about such encounters reveal critics' beliefs about how men and women should interact and engage with each other when seeking intimacy.

[The Beer Hall: A Site of Heterosexual Interaction](#)



In one *Mini Daru* iteration called '*Toshi ue no onna*' (an older woman), Asahi presented a "typical" beer hall interaction which, through their keg, could be performed in other locations (Asahi Beer, 1979e, 1980f). This scene shows a (sedate) house party with a woman walking away from a young man drinking from a mug. A keg is on a table in the foreground. Another woman, wearing a red dress and holding a similar mug, approaches the young man and playfully insults him. His response is initially guarded, but both performers take a drink after which the woman tells the man she likes him (*suki*). The beer hall, as represented by the keg, is depicted as a place of social interaction that this product facilitates in a new location. *Toshi ue no onna* was lauded for its light and carefree tone (Sugiyama, 1980, 54). It was also discussed in *CM Pick-up* (Brain, 1980a, 128) by critics who considered the ad innovative and controversial for the way the woman approached the man, while also noting the beer's effect on the young woman. Another of these anonymous commentators thought it a skilful way to make one laugh.

These analyses reveal how age and (heterosexual) seduction were understood, with the woman's approach to the man clearly not seen as normative. Mark McLelland, in his work on new paradigms of dating and sexual liberation in the postwar period, notes the continuities with wartime attitudes. Access and greater freedom to explore remained gendered and mainly for men while 'the level of intimacy expressed between the sexes at social events' overseas surprised Japanese visiting overseas in the 1960s (McLelland, 2012, 180–182). Indeed, Yunomae also argues that women, in general, did not actually benefit from Japan's postwar sexual revolution in the 1970s that actually

saw a greater acceptance of commercial sexual relations (Yunomae, 1996, 103–104).

This sense of a generalised unease about public intimacy between the sexes is also reflected in the *Mini Daru* advertisement. Interactions such as these remained rare and cultural attitudes, albeit amongst a certain cohort of presumably middle-aged advertising executives, remained fixed and conservative.

Within the *Toshi ue no onna* advertisement, however, this interaction is not as transgressive as it appears at first as her age-related status mitigates her crossing of gender-appropriate behaviour. Critics suggested that it was somewhat socially accepted for older women to approach younger men, although the consequently subordinated position of the man results in critics mocking this dynamic by ironically calling him an *irootoko* (ladykiller) (Sugiyama, 1980, 54). Nevertheless, the contradiction with the gender expectations of the practitioners who constituted the *CM Pick-Up* panel resulted in a rare overt discussion of gendered behaviour.

In promoting this interaction as indicative of relationships formed at beer halls, Asahi presented an overt depiction of how draft beer kegs facilitated heterosexual interactions with women taking the lead role. This interaction required a number of elements, however, not least the presence of bold, older women who were unafraid of the social disapproval that their initiative would incur, at least as indicated by the comments of the advertising professionals.

While these campaigns depict the practices of the beer hall, gendered as they were, becoming a style of drinking that was now possible in other domestic settings, it is actually the incidental details of these advertisements which, I suggest, are of greater

significance and provide insight into the understanding of relationships and of women's access to space and to masculine privileges in Japan at this time. Advertisements depicted a variety of scenes reflecting certain standards of beauty, everyday interactions between men, between women, and between men and women, some of which I have touched on above. However, they also include incidences of sexual harassment and assault. Critics discussing these scenes largely failed to address this as a serious issue and instead considered them as commonplace and accepted. In doing so, this lack of discussion is revealing of attitudes towards women's right to occupy public space free of the threat of sexualised violence.

[Chikan: Public Spaces, Buffers, Housewives, and Assault](#)

One such key representation occurs in a 1980 advertisement that sees Shingyōji Kimie acquiring the keg for her group of male friends (Asahi Beer, 1980c). Titled '*Oide yo uchi no biya hōru*' (Hey - come to our beer hall!) (Asahi Beer, 1980e) the same three men walk along a *shitamachi* street with Shingyōji. A young woman in a red dress is using a public telephone while holding a bicycle upright with her other hand. One of the men flips up her dress whereupon she turns around and, seeing another member about to copy his friend's actions, strikes him in the face. The following shot is of Shingyōji in her yellow dress holding the keg and smiling shyly while again saying *baka* (idiots) in a gently mocking tone.

The advertisements in this campaign usually made the subject of the *baka* comment clear, but in this iteration it was unclear who is *baka* - the first perpetrator of this

sexual assault or the second, failed one. Regardless, this advertisement clearly featured an incident of sexual harassment facilitated by several factors, namely the gendered clothing of the dress, which marks the individual as a woman; her presence in public; the presence of men who were willing to engage in such acts; and onlookers, including Shingyōji, who provided little to no censure. Together these elements created an environment that normalised this behaviour and problematised women's entry into public spaces.

The issue of who can access public sites freely is an extremely gendered one with the presence of women in spaces and sites reserved for men. Spaces associated with alcohol consumption, in particular, are often considered to increase the risk of groping or other inappropriate touching of women. Indeed, Japanese feminists have long fought for the ability and right of women to access certain spaces. The activists of the *Seitō* Journal (*Bluestockings*), for instance, scandalised society by transgressing the spatial divisions between respectable and non-respectable women through drinking and sightseeing in the *Yoshiwara*, the licensed prostitution quarters, in 1912 (Mackie, 2003, 46; Bardsley, 2012). Access to public spaces continues to be problematic with the unwanted touching of individuals marked by their gender performance (clothing, hair, make-up) as women (and in some cases, girls) by individuals marked as men in these sites. I use the term 'marked' to acknowledge that intended victims are not necessarily only females, as McLelland has demonstrated in his discussion of male cross-dressing prostitutes in the early postwar period who were the targets, but not victims, of assaults by men (2012, 156–165). Women's entry into spaces that are not necessarily

reserved or privileged for men is equally fraught, as can be seen in incidents of *chikan*. *Chikan*, designating both the crime and the perpetrator, usually refers to sexual assaults on public transport, notably crowded commuter trains or platforms. With some claiming a higher rate of this crime than elsewhere, there has been greater attention paid to the issue in recent years in Japan (Mclean and L'heureux, 2007, 251–252) with increased debates and measures to counter the frequency and perpetration of these acts. These include *East Japan Railway's (JR East) 2012* campaign, in conjunction with the police, of increased vigilance (JR EAST, 2012) and the introduction of women-only carriages, used by some women to avoid men who are bearers of a culturally-specific type of masculinity (Horii and Burgess, 2012, 42–43).

This later concern with train-related *chikan* differs from the reactions to the earlier advertising depiction, which appear almost accepting of this act.

This acceptance can be seen in critics' comments who seemingly situate these acts as harmless. Future Dentsu Vice-President Sugiyama Kōtarō, for example, praised this advertisement for the way its representation included a lightness of touch (Sugiyama, 1980, 54). This unwanted sexual contact, meanwhile, is seen as something comedic, light in tone, and of little gravity, described by other critics as '*hema*' (blunders) (Ichijō, 1980, 92) and '*itazura*' (mischief) (Brain, 1980a, 128). While it is possible to translate *itazura* as a euphemistic term for sexual assault (Yamada and Shibata, 2005, 72), it is clearly not used in this way here. Instead, sexual assault is presented as equivalent to other japes in the visual language of the advertising campaign. This is reinforced by Shingyōji's deployment of the now familiar *baka* tagline which these same

commentators regarded as charming and evoking humour and pathos (Ichijō, 1980, 92; Maeda, 1980b, 150). Furthermore, one *CM Pickup* columnist noted that he himself often engaged in such actions, while another found it as a nostalgic (*natsukashii*) representation of youthful behaviour (Brain, 1980a, 128). This lack of seriousness can be traced to the levity with which such practices were viewed in earlier educational periods. Boys' pulling-up of girls' skirts in schools following co-educational reforms in the post-war era was reportedly one means to avoid teasing by peers, in itself a means of reinforcing and policing masculinity (Hidaka, 2010, 47–49).

There is an assumption in the reactions and attitudes of creators, critics, and commentators to this advertisement that the perpetrator has the right to act in such a way. Various studies have attributed the causes of attitudes of acceptance towards sexual assault as due to culturally-based norms such as deference to superiors, a willingness to forgive male “misbehaviours” and a historical reiteration and institutionalisation of a biologically-determined discourse on male sexuality which sees men's sexual needs as instinctive, uncontrollable and entirely natural (Dussich, 2001, 278–279; Burns, 2005).

To prevent this perceived uncontrollable male sexuality from randomly manifesting throughout society, the state has at various historical points sought to regulate it through the institutionalised acceptance of prostitution, as Sarah Kovner highlights in her work on sex workers during the Occupation (2012, 8–20). This results in a division of women into worthy and unworthy categories with the latter, by being sexually available for men, protecting the former. The ideology of sacrifice was normalised and

accepted as part of the discourse surrounding men's sexuality and then used to justify the establishment of facilities to accommodate Occupation forces in the postwar (Dower, 1999, 122–130). Using Allison's examination of lechery (*sukebei*) in hostess clubs (Allison, 1994), Burns contends that this institutionalisation of a biological discourse on sexuality subsequently contributed to the normalisation of a framework of lecherous desire which underpins the establishment of services to manage men's desire such as hostess bars, prostitution and also practices such as *chikan* and voyeurism (Burns, 2005, 14–35).

There are some issues with elements of Burns' analysis, particularly her contention that *chikan* is normalised throughout Japanese society based on the existence of a niche magazine about the practice (Burns, 2005, 24–25). She is also not critical enough about the masculine coercion involved in visiting hostess bars and fails to consider the views of those working in such establishments. Positioning oneself or other men as *sukebei* was part of a performance of masculinity which some men engaged in because it was expected despite their own personal misgivings or dislikes, as Nishiyama outlines in his account of this process (cf. Nishiyama, 1979). Burns also conflates the permitted practices of the hostess bars with acts which are clearly transgressive and thus fails to acknowledge the ability of the majority of men to comprehend the difference, or that some women consent to sexualised interactions within the relatively protected space of the hostess bar, just as they do to sex work itself (Kovner, 2012, 8). In showing how narratives of rape and sexual assault rest upon a biologically-determined discourse on male sexuality, however, Burns' work is valuable for interrogating the gender-based

street harassment that appears in this advertisement.

The narrative that men are unable to control their urges results in justification of crimes such as groping as a stronger expression of healthy masculinity, or as 'extensions of normal sexual gratification' (Dussich, 2001, 278). This groping is, within this narrative, directed at women who were available sexually, or unworthy or unneeding of protection. Under this division of appropriate and inappropriate targets, "ordinary/good" women (mothers, wives, and daughters) are not meant to be the recipients of attention from men because they were protected by the existence and sacrifice of these "other" women such as prostitutes, hostesses, and, in some cases, ethnically "other" women. This division 'continues to function as an illusory buffer that protects "good women" while others bear the brunt of these uncontrollable urges' (Burns, 2005, 18–31).

However, this ideology of sacrifice of non-worthy women does not apply in this case. The woman using the telephone, for instance, has not made herself available in any way and nor does she bear any overt markers of engagement in "riskier" occupations which would, according to Burns, position her as such. Instead, the presence of a bicycle, along with the time of day and her presence in this street indicates that she is a "good" woman, that is, she should be protected under this ideology of sacrifice. The existence of other women, which is so central to the ideology of sacrifice, is, in this representation, very much the 'illusory buffer' that Burns mentions (Burns, 2005, 31) mainly because it is phantasmic and non-existent.

'Worthy' women, then, are not fully protected from unwanted male attention. Given



the outlets that are seen to be available for men's uncontrollable sexuality, women who are assaulted are often assigned some degree of culpability, 'held accountable for their own victimisation unless they can prove themselves to be innocent or pure' both because assigning some degree of personal responsibility is structurally implicated and because the pre-inscription of guilt on a feminine body means that women incite men (Burns, 2005, 33–36).

In this understanding of postwar Japanese social practices, there were women who were meant to be sexually available to men, either through their position as sacrificial women or through their dress or deportment and there were women who were not meant to be, but, in fact, were and thus were seen to have invited the assault in some way. This distinction is apparent in this advertisement and raises uncomfortable questions about how widespread such practices were. It shows that public spaces were not open for all and that this was explicitly understood, at least as per the discussions by these different critics.

#### [Discussing Chikan: Accepting Assault](#)

The depiction of this incident of *chikan* was remarkable enough for it to be commented upon but equally normative and widespread to the degree that men could unapologetically admit to it without fear of censure. Women's right to access public spaces and to wear gendered clothes in these public spaces was clearly not an issue of concern, at least for these men. Industry analysts reveal therefore how social attitudes towards sexual assault and harassment were intertwined within the Japanese advertising discourse to the extent that sexual assault was considered no more than an

instance of mischief and that men had an unquestioned right to access women's bodies in public. Although the right of women to resort to violence in such a situation is represented as valid within the advertisement, it is with the caveat that the actual perpetrator can escape any punishment, including censure from his peers.

This lack of censure answers the question of why Asahi featured this act in an advertisement despite the increasing criticism of advertisements and the industry following the Oil Shock. During this period, activists concerned about the effects of advertising formed groups to think critically about the media images that they saw every day with typical activities including surveys and issuing demands. A 1978 survey for the *Kōkoku o kangaeru kai* (the 'Thinking about Advertising' Group), which sought to raise awareness of advertising's purpose, found many respondents unconvinced of the efficacy or utility of advertisements while a majority thought there were too many (Brain, 1978a, 31). Other consumer rights groups sought less advertising, particularly towards children (Brain, 1977, 15) with the *Zen-Ōsaka shōhisha dantai renrakukai* (The All-Osaka Consumers' Group) demanding that advertisements not be shown for the duration of children's shows (Brain, 1978a, 31). One notably problematic advertising campaign was the 1975 *House* noodle advertisement, referenced briefly previously. A women's rights group targeted this campaign because of its gendered depiction of domestic labour relations. The campaign was subsequently cancelled despite voices that considered this act as acquiescing to the desires of a minority (Arai, 1978, 62). This growing public concern forced the industry to pay greater attention to the reception of campaigns and there was thus an increasing awareness of the role of representation

within society (Brain, 1976b, 72; Yamakawa, 1987, 402–403). The controversy has since been picked up as historically significant by historians of feminism (Mackie, 2003), industry organisations (All Japan Radio TV Commercial Council, 1978), and advertising critics (Shimamori, 1984).

Given the furore following these events, it is thus surprising that Asahi had no issues with creating the *Mini Daru* advertisement and that there was also no subsequent public uproar. While the *House* noodle campaign was taken up in regular columns in *Brain*, for instance, there appears to be nothing of note on this particular campaign. Equally questionable is how this depiction of sexual assault fitted in with the post-Oil Shock trend of companies endeavouring to convince the public that they embodied the new values of society (Yamaki, 1980, 30). The fact that no one appears to have publicly criticised Asahi for this representation therefore appears to indicate that industry understandings fitted within a mainstream societal discourse. Although feminist groups were increasingly contesting women's representation in advertisements in this period, this appears to have been limited in nature and restricted to more notable depictions such as the *House* noodle campaign described above. Alternatively, the position this advertisement occupied within a series may have prevented it having as much popular effect as the stand-alone *House* advertisement.

One other noteworthy element in this advertisement is how the *chikan* in question differs from popular media representations of the middle-aged salaryman as lecher. Horii and Burgess, in their investigation of contemporary depictions, found instead that actual perpetrators were not consistent with *chikan* discourse and imagery in various

media with the middle-aged salaryman less likely in actuality to engage in such acts than younger men (Horii and Burgess, 2012, 50). By not matching the imagined perpetrator, the act can be categorised as something other than *chikan* or sexual assault and represented instead as the *hema* or *itazura* of the industry analysts' descriptions. Indeed, it is doubtful that the depiction of salarymen or middle-aged men engaging in this practice in an advertisement would be viewed with similar leniency. This depiction's lack of censure is also somewhat discordant given that even at this time *chikan* was *not* necessarily considered acceptable behaviour amongst men. One survey of men as consumers questioned them about their attitudes towards, and understandings of, various 'so-called non-normal [rather than abnormal] social phenomenon concerning sex' (*iwayuru seijō denai sekkusu ni kan suru shakai genshō*) such as homosexuality, blue films (pornography), premarital sex, transvestitism, and *chikan*. On this "issue", 44.4% of respondents over 52 years old were unable to understand in any way why other men would perpetrate such an act, while 14.8% were totally opposed. Over half the men in the age range of up to 32, however, understood it to a certain degree (56.5%) while just under a third understood it well (28.3%) (Tabe and Abe, 1979, 84–86). This indicates that while not accepted amongst all segments of men, a majority of young men viewed the practice as understandable, if not necessarily condonable.

It is clear therefore that some of the myths which perpetuate and support legal and social attitudes towards sexual assault are also present within advertising discourse.

While popular criticism of advertising campaigns had increased with greater awareness

of issues of representation, not all campaigns received equal coverage. Furthermore, elements which divert from dominant media understandings, such as the non-salaryman perpetrator, are of little consequence because of the power of these understandings and because almost no one considered this to be a crime. The sexual assault depicted here was perhaps the most prominent of the incidental details of the advertisements that depicted the relationship between gender and space during this time. However, other advertisements also attest to women's lack of right to access public space without being situated as the voyeuristic object of men's attention.

[Heat Relief: Observing Women, Critiquing Women](#)

We saw earlier how the beer companies depicted married women as purchasers in order to cautiously appeal to and acknowledge housewives. During the 1970s, however, this depiction of purchasers began to change its subject away from these women to other individuals. As noted, Kirin had ceased most of its advertising in 1973 and was primarily broadcasting advertisements which advised consumers, or rather purchasers, on the correct way to handle beer. One such campaign centred on a young woman in kimono returning home with beer in a basket (Kirin Beer, 1974b). She passes a labourer carrying two pails, marking a clear difference in labour responsibilities, differentiated both by gender and by class. It is unclear whether this purchase is for personal use or for a business that the young woman works at, but she was, without a doubt, responsible for the purchase (see images 42 and 43 from the same series). The final part of these advertisements provided practical guidance on beer handling,

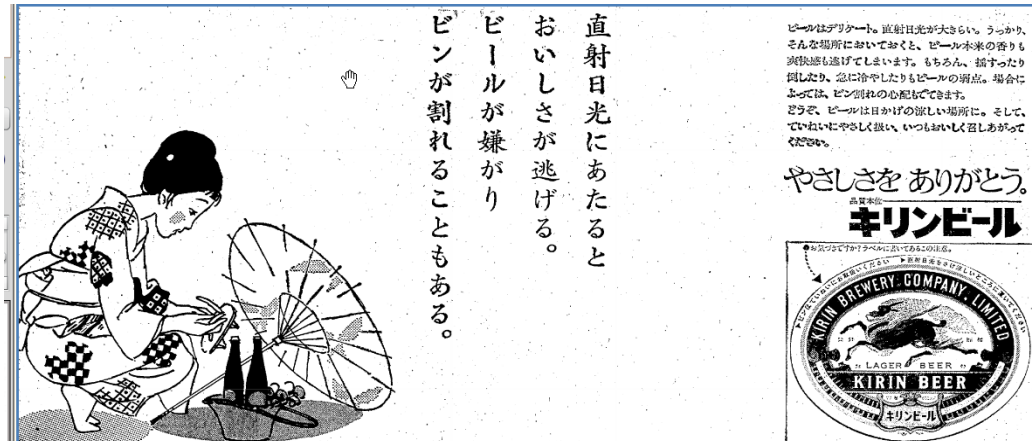
including recommendations to avoid direct sunlight or shake the beer. Kirin's reduced budget at this time meant that it had been primarily reliant on animation over live action advertisements, yet this campaign's high quality saw it win several ACC awards.

**Image 41: Kirin Beer - Illustration type advertisement from the restraint period and an example of Taishō eroticism (1974)**



(Kirin Beer, 1974c)

**Image 42: Kirin Beer - A restraint advertisement advising due care and attention to the beer (1974)**



(Kirin Beer, 1974a)

For the advertising critic and author, Mukai Satoshi, the campaign was innovative in its execution, refreshing to look at, and evocative of Taishō period culture (1912 - 1925)

(Mukai, 1983, 44). By referring to the *Tsuzuregusa*, a collection of essays by the Buddhist monk, Yoshida Kenkō (1284 – 1350) (also known as Kenkō Hōshi), Mukai tangentially discusses the campaign's depiction of seasons, namely the peak beer-consuming period of summer. Mukai uses Yoshida's centuries-old advice to consider this season when constructing a house as a connection to discuss summer heat and the means of coping with it. Prior to drawing these connections, however, Mukai's example of how stifling the heat is revealed an attitude of women being available for the gratification of men. For Mukai, coping with the summer heat is an almost impossible task and one which the appearance of women, or rather young girls in skirts, is not refreshing enough to mitigate (*machi no hyōjō mo kotoshi wa kotonohoka atsukurashku, onna no ko no sukāto ni shitekara ga, mini no sōkai wa chi o harai, yatara nagakute, kazedōshi midōshi no warui koto obitadashii*) (1983, 44). Mukai's reference to young women prior to praising this campaign reveals an understanding of public scrutiny of women that bears similarities with the narratives of sexual availability discussed earlier in this chapter.

Mukai's attitude was apparently relatively common in an advertising industry reliant on gendered images in order to sell their products. Yunomae places the language and images of advertisements at one pole of what she calls Japan's pornographic culture (1996, 101–111), by sending messages that women are sexual objects to be watched. A distinction can be made, however, between the industry's use of gendered images and Mukai's observation of women in public. Performers who appear in advertising campaigns have, to a certain degree, consented to the use of their image in this way;

the women whom Mukai observes simply going about their own business in a public space have not. However, men's public scrutiny and observation of women, the act of making them the object of one's gaze when they venture into public spaces, has been argued to be one contributory act within a system of actions which men engage in and which normalises other, similar possessive acts leading up to, and including, rape and sexual assault (Yunomae, 1996, 101-103; Burns, 2005).

Although I argue that there are different degrees of consent involved in the way that these women are watched, issues of coercion and agency within the advertising industry are nonetheless important, with questions of how much control a performer actually has over their own image, or even their appearance within advertisements.

Asahi Beer, for example, obtained the services of film star Machiko Kyō for their 1950s and 1960s advertisements through connections forged between (male) staff at her film studio, Toei, and their management (Takayama, 1999, 47, 49, 104). This nexus between film studios or talent agencies and advertising firms was a common feature of the postwar. Examples from later periods, however, indicate that certain performers did have some input about their own representation. Two non-Japanese models, for example, declined to appear nude in an Asahi advertisement (CM NOW, 1985d, 79). For performers situated within the Japanese star system, however, refusing directions such as this may not have been possible. The nature of fame in Japan is such that celebrities have often been contractually obliged or pressured to appear in advertisements because they provide them with both exposure and income. In the process, they must also closely follow the directions of art directors or commercial directors hired to evoke



a certain tone or to imbue a scene with a particular feeling (Moeran, 1996, 157–164; Karlin, 2012, 73–79). This may involve having to strike poses or wear clothes that may be unsettling, as was the case for Sapporo Beer Campaign Girl Matsumoto Yōko who reportedly preferred to dress in Japanese clothing than the swimsuits she wore for the campaign (CM NOW, 1990a, 7). Yet, as Lunsing points out with regards to sex work (2004, 55), similar coercive elements are present within *any* job so it is difficult to say how an advertising industry which requires its performers set aside their own personal preferences to create an image differs substantially to any other industry. This should not negate the existence of exploitative practices within industries but merely suggests that a requirement to follow a director’s instructions is not, in and of itself, coercive. The lengthy and negotiated process of advertising campaigns involving debates between clients and creative staff, creative staff and technical staff, and various others, meanwhile, means that any one person cannot be deemed to have complete control of an image or depiction, with various shots and poses always subject to clients’ preferences for the final version (Moeran, 1996, 157-160).

Furthermore, Karlin notes that celebrities are aware of these conventions and rules especially regarding direction (2012, 79) and thus aware that their image is being recorded specifically for public consumption. The same cannot be said for women in public though this is not to imply that women are unaware of being observed or do not have access to some power, even in these circumstances.

Allison has noted that the institutionalisation of viewing female bodies in Japan is rarely simplistic with males often depicted as immobilised when viewing the naked female

form (1996, 40–49). The method of viewing, for Allison, is ideological and part of the process of maintaining men as workers with the observation of women a recreative and diversionary practice from work. In this case, this ability to gaze upon women is not necessarily empowering. This can be applied to Mukai’s description of the effect of young women here. While the masculine right to observe women is entirely normalised, the effects of reinvigorating and reenergising him against the sweltering temperatures aid men to be better workers in the summer heat. It is a small break from both the humid conditions and simultaneously a reward for their labour. This approach helps to explain an apparent paradox within Mukai’s writing about this advertisement. In a somewhat contradictory move, Mukai is critical of the illustrator for the ‘shocking eroticism’ of the campaign, featuring as it does an image of femininity that matches “traditional” beauty norms. These norms saw features such as the nape of the neck or a long slender body as sexually attractive (Cho, 2012, 215–216). It is this eroticism that, as Allison describes, immobilises and disempowers men, robbing them of *their* agency because they are so weakened when presented with the visual spectacle of their object of desire.

While this explanation provides an alternative understanding of why women are viewed as available, Mukai’s writing is similar to the analyses of the act of *chikan* within the *MiniDaru* Asahi campaign above in that both find it unremarkable for women to be observed or even assaulted. The gendered clothing of women and girls is central to this. Within these understandings, public space and women’s access to it is subject to the actions of men, either by their gaze or by their “right” to access women’s bodies.

The right to observe and to scrutinise women can also be seen in Ichijō's work, with his criticism of women in beer halls similarly resting on observing the activities of women seeking to access a communal, public space. Critics saw the bodies of women in public spaces as available for consumption and public discussion. Women's very existence in public spaces meant that they relinquished rights to privacy and to their own bodies while men somehow acquired the right to view women and, subsequently, the right to criticise them.

### Conclusion

In these case studies, then, we can see how different versions of the understanding of space and gender appeared in advertisements and in the writings of critics. The locations of various practices were, in many cases, core to the gendered perspectives that commentators adopted. The location of an action helped to redefine and emphasise these practices as masculine or feminine while the discussions of these actions help us to understand how this process works. The use of nature and the outdoors to emphasise Mifune's masculinity may have been simple wordplay to link the bitterness of their drink (*nigami*) with "rugged manliness" (*Nigamibashitta*) (Kamo, 1975, 239-241) but the further use of the "American West" as a backdrop ensured that Mifune's masculinity was seen as all-conquering and trans-cultural, indelibly associated with the outdoors. This setting contrasts with the urban locations which were home to most beer advertisements and to the Salaryman - situating Mifune outdoors removed him from any connection with those subjects and themes which connotated the Salaryman.

Meanwhile, women's visible consumption of beer, the adoption of what could be considered universal practices, all contributed to men's increasing criticism of such effrontery. By drinking in public, women were apparently assimilating the same practices as men that thus undermined their ability to be differentiated and thus masculine. These criticisms rested on the very visibility of these new practices but were, in fact, not necessarily justified. A 1963 article for *Shūkan Gendai* referenced a beer hall owner who felt that the growing increase of women drinking in beer halls was beneficial for despite their beer hall assuming the atmosphere of a *kissaten* (coffee/tea shop), women were not as raucous and disruptive in their behaviour as men (Shūkan Gendai, 1963). The increasing visibility of women was the issue for many commentators rather than what women were actually doing in these spaces. Women's visibility in other spaces, meanwhile, apparently meant that they had also opened themselves and their bodies up to increasing surveillance and public approval, at least so far as this advertising discourse is concerned. The right of women to access public spaces even when not drinking was subject to a range of regulatory practices which denied them agency. Thus it was not necessarily their increasing visible consumption which was the issue, but their right to be in public itself. By accessing public spaces, these women were clearly viewed as volunteering to enter public masculine spaces and to become part of men's privileges. Locations and spaces such as work meanwhile were, as we have seen in previous chapters, clearly situated as masculine and widely accepted as such. In this way, we can see the ways in which these spaces — breweries, beer halls, public streets, the countryside— were constructed and interpreted as

masculine spaces set aside for men with women subjected to male rules and regulations. This was a source of disquiet, regardless of whether or not they adhered to expected norms.

## Chapter 8: Conclusion- Crafting and Brewing Gender Across the Years

Throughout the post-war period, advertising and beer industry professionals presented an idealised image of beer drinkers to the Japanese public, to industry peers and to rivals. In the process, they also created an entire idealized world, in which the act of drinking beer played a central role. This imagined world gradually came to mirror the evolution of the real one, as the economy shifted from top-down control to more liberal policies that encouraged the development of new political and social structures and practices. These advertising images thus provided a backdrop to rapid changes that occurred over the following decades, including economic recovery and the growth of consumerism in the immediate postwar period, the loss of confidence following the crises of the 1970s, the newfound confidence of the 1980s and the bursting of the bubble in 1991, which was to irrevocably undermine deeply held beliefs about Japanese society. Advertisers' use of a multiplicity of scenes to appeal to different audiences attested to the wide diversity of Japanese social life. These scenes encompassed shopping, baseball games, travel, post-work and domestic socialising, concerts, and the banal, everyday activities of ordinary people. In the process, these advertisements depicted gender in diverse forms. As we have seen, various writers and critics felt impelled to discuss the gendered depictions on offer in these representations, with performers' masculinity and femininity, their clothes and behaviours, all becoming a subject of discussion. At the same time, in many cases, commentators did not make explicit reference to gendered elements in their

discussions of promotional efforts, either because their attention was centred elsewhere, such as on the aesthetics and technical skills on display in particular advertising campaigns, or because the depiction was considered unremarkable and commonplace. These absences, too, are revealing. Regardless of whether or not gender was an explicit concern for these commentators, my analysis has shown that postwar Japanese masculinity and femininity were not stable entities; rather, expectations of how and what one should drink, where, and with whom, changed based on the writers' age and stage of life, as well as the time period in which the writer was situated. Thus, as I have shown, these critical discussions of advertising images are a valuable source for examining how gender was understood and how these understandings evolved and changed among both industry professionals and critics situated in the media.

Related debates around advertising depictions are ongoing today despite the market's increasing diversification and segmentation following *happōshu's* introduction in the mid-1990s in an innovative attempt to circumvent the high tax imposed on malt content (Alexander, 2013, 234). The appearance of Rei Dan, former member of the *Takarazuka* all-female theatre group, in *happōshu* advertisements (Suntory Beer, 2007), for instance, aroused vigorous debate with many unclear about Suntory's desired demographic for this product (Asahi Geinō, 2007; Classy, 2013). Despite this bifurcation into beer and beer-like products, then, the gendered images of consumers and purchasers in these advertisements still provoke conversation and contestation, which attests to the variety of and ongoing shifts in perspective on gender in Japan. It is this sense of diversity that I have examined here, and which, I argue, is essential to any

analysis of advertising in Japan in part because of the range of voices and the breadth of information that is available, and in part because it reveals the complexity of historical contestation. In this study, I have explored how beer advertisements reveal shared notions of how gender is conceptualised and what men and women should ideally be and do. I have also shown that, when it comes to advertisements, the qualities or practices that define a performer as masculine or feminine are often divorced from their specific representations on screen or page. What is required for an individual to be defined as masculine or feminine often actually relies on a broader referent system – that is, on the commentators’ own beliefs or knowledge of the performer rather than on any one depiction within a campaign. I explored these questions, of how gender was defined and categorised, through five main themes, which each imparted a different angle through which to view gender: sport and music; the body; the family; the hypermasculinity and star power of Mifune Toshirō, and the spaces where gender occurs.

### Sport and Music

In the immediate post-war period, the embryonic nature of the advertising industry meant that advertisements were, on the whole, informative; their goal was to simply communicate the features of individual products (Namba, 2002). This period saw little overt discussion of gendered representation, revealing instead an industry focused on the implementation of new practices, techniques and aesthetic standards. Despite this lack of discussion, many depictions were gendered and presented beer as a masculine drink. A broader reading shows that certain commentators retrospectively saw sporting



and musical events in gendered terms, with sponsorship of these events by beer companies resulting in a transferral of masculine (in the case of sports) or feminine (in the case of music) qualities to the beer itself. As we have seen, the story of how one beer brand, Asahi, came to be feminised through its association with musical events sheds light on the socially-constructed nature of such gendered associations. However, as commentators were busy engaging in this process of categorizing certain events as masculine and others as feminine, they also tended to disregard more convincing industry-based explanations for why certain companies were succeeding and others were not. The positioning of sport as masculine and thus the reason for Sapporo's slightly larger market share is, ultimately, unconvincing and is instead clearly used in place of explanations which place the blame fairly on the Asahi marketers or the beer company itself for its decision to target corporate over domestic consumption. Sport, meanwhile, continued to be used as a shorthand to connect masculinity and beer and was highlighted in various campaigns throughout this period.

By the 1980s, increasing demands for gender equality, along with growing participation by women in visible and urban working environments, demonstrated the segmentation of the market and the need for advertisers to create broader based appeals. Here, too, representations of people engaging in sports came to be embraced by the beer industry. Scenes that included women playing sports that had previously been associated with men, such as baseball, were seen to have widespread appeal. However, this appeal came with the caveat that the women featured in these ads be accompanied by older men, as in the case of Suzuki Honami. Moreover, the beer

advertisers' use of baseball to appeal to women was not universal, and some men pushed back against these more inclusive depictions of women. Suntory, as we have seen, responded to this pushback by shifting back to an earlier strategy of actively targeting the heavy-drinking older male population, by using the kinds of performers who had previously dominated beer advertisements. However, these advertisements, epitomized by the *Otoko nara...Malt's* campaign, also revealed the precarious nature of masculinity, through depictions of men who had failed at athletic endeavours but were engaging in sport once more. Sport was a crucible of failure, then, used not simply to forge masculinity or masculine bodies, as per Richard Light's work (2003), but acting instead as a repository of dreams of masculinity, through which men, learned to be masculine through failure.

### The Body

For critics of this time period, gender was often discussed through simplistic binary understandings of the physical differences between male and female bodies. Performers were defined by their (assumed) biological identities, which subsequently impacted the critics' views of the practices that these performers engaged in, both on and off screen. Critics understood the 1950s body, for instance, through its physiological ability to consume and to resist the effects of alcohol, which was reflected in beer advertisements and drinking events of the time. The female body's capacity to consume only small amounts of alcohol was a common theme, which remained prevalent throughout this study's timeline. Men, on the other hand, in order to be considered masculine, were required to drink far larger quantities, as evident in the

*Avec* drinking competition, which divided men and women prior to competing. The *Beer King* competition, similarly, highlighted the connection between masculinity and alcohol intake by lauding the ability of middle-aged men to consume alcohol in large quantities and at a fast pace. By contrast, the *Beer Queen* version was not as well promoted or even necessarily associated with the beer companies. Women, according to widely held standards, were permitted to drink, but only reduced amounts. Accordingly, media outlets – dominated by men – focused their reporting of the *Beer Queen* event on the contestants' *inability* to consume beer. Inebriation was seen as unfeminine, and women were required to maintain control in order to not be judged deviant or deficient. In these ways, the body became a central site for critical and engaged discussions of masculinity and femininity during this period.

By the 1980s, these criticisms had become more subtle, but there remained a continuous focus on the physiological changes that women's bodies underwent when drinking. The imbibing habits of film stars such as Phoebe Cates, for instance, were reported in negative tones, with critics commenting on the performer's red eyes or her inability to consume as much as her male stars. These kinds of discussions, regularly appearing within semi-specialist magazines like *CM NOW* (1983), as well as in women's magazines such as *Josei Seven* and men's magazines like *Tarzan*, explained advertisements to a general audience. On the surface, these articles were often no more than descriptions of the events in the advertisement, with the addition of character names and film locations. However, this information, external to the advertisements themselves, also clarified and defined the intended meaning of the

advertisement, subtly contributing to interpretations of women's inferior ability to consume alcohol. By including details of the companies' marketing strategies, such as their desired target or the intended narrative of a campaign, these articles also played a role in educating consumers and viewers and helping them to better understand not only the marketing industry, but also the real bodies of the performers in the advertisements. These discussions depicted the real-world actors and places that were involved in creating the imaginary world of the advertisements, and thus established the "facts" of the bodies of the female performers as naturally less competent in terms of consumption than those of the male performers..

While beer marketers recognized the increasing presence of women in daily life in the 1980s with the inclusion of more female performers, there was also an increasingly explicit focus on women's bodies as objects of desire in and of themselves. "Campaign girls", employed specifically for their looks, were used to create associations with specific brands. Arising partly out of the 'body conscious' (*bodi-kon*) trend of the 1980s (CM NOW, 1992j, 109; D. Miller, 2000, 273) which made women's bodies central to their role as performers promoting products, campaign girls' requirement to use their embodied skills more explicitly than other women means that their presence in advertisements provoked more extensive and explicit public discussion.

Described continuously as 'girls,' these women's 'youthful' bodies were made available for visual consumption and presented as a proxy for the beer itself; it was through their bodies that (male) consumers could imagine and conceptualise the taste of the beer on offer. In this way, the most defining qualification for these women performers – that is,

their 'ornamental appearance' that attracted the male gaze (Gottfried, 2003, 268) – became a visual guide for consumers to understand the beer itself. This contrasted with the male body's importance as an active subject, consuming but not comparable to the beer itself.

While the increasing use of campaign girls was criticised by women's organisations, which saw these posters and their emphasis on certain body parts as related to earlier models of the sexual availability of women to men (Yunomae, 1996, 105), these tactics also served as publicity for the models themselves and thus as a means to further their careers. For many models, the role of a campaign girl was a stepping-stone to more varied work within the entertainment world and the inclusion of their bodily measurements was an invaluable element in promoting and publicising their own abilities. This was not a simple system of self-promotion, however. The attention paid to these women's bodies also extended to other female performers, resulting in the creation of a media-wide system for defining the kinds of bodies that should be presented to the public. This system thus regulated and patrolled female bodies. For performers' agents, at least, this system was extremely useful, as potential sponsors could then easily reference the body types and skills that they were interested in. Male stars, on the other hand, were not subject to the same terms and conditions; their bodies were understood in terms of ability rather than appearance. Interestingly, prior to the 1960s, the measurements of male performers also appeared in advertisements. However, in contrast to the case of campaign girls, this information served a pedagogical rather than stimulatory function. The Beer King's measurements were

publicized so that men could understand the body type that they needed in order to consume in an appropriately masculine manner. Over time, however, the male body became less and less subject to measurement, while women's bodies became increasingly subjected to this process.

This system of measurements that emerged in the 1980s thus further codified the aesthetic conventions of femininity, providing documentary clarity for readers and potential clients as to the type of body on display. The continued use of these measurements articulated the common-sense understanding of women as needing to possess a specific body type to be attractive. The 'desired aestheticised body' (Gottfried 2003, 269) within the advertising discourse was knowable, comparable to others of the same type, and, importantly, female (as indicated by the inclusion of "feminine" measurements). It was also a body that had not yet undergone the process of ageing, which would render it unfit for visual consumption. In this sense, the use of campaign girls is situated at the extreme end of a form of 'aesthetic labor' (Gottfried, 2003, 268) that most women are subjected to, and engage in, within the Japanese labour market. The male body, meanwhile, continued to be understood as dynamic and consuming, rather than consumable.

### Family

Throughout the postwar period advertisements often depicted the location where most beer consumption took place: the home, and, by extension, the modern family. These depictions were, on the whole, not contested by critics, despite the varying levels of family members and the diverse relationships between them. Taking a

conservative approach to the family, writers commenting on these advertisements often assumed a stability within domestic structures that was not actually present when viewed diachronically. They implicitly accepted women's marginalisation within the family, with few, if any, criticising the ways that women were unequally represented in advertisements. Over time, however, these depictions changed somewhat, reflecting the evolution of the ideal image of the Japanese family. These shifts attest to the actual diversity and protean nature of modern families, as well as the instability of assumptions about how families should be structured and what gendered roles individuals should play within the home.

In advertisements for beer brewing, from the 1960s three-generation brewing family to the 1990s Keg Family, the wife and mother is notable only for her absence; her contributions to the family are deemed unworthy of representation. Illustrated depictions of beer drinking in the 1950s did depict the mother within the family, but the main consumer was clearly masculine, with only fathers allowed to drink beer. Mothers, on the other hand, consumed soft drinks along with children. This theme of women as non-imbibers of alcohol continued through the 1960s, with their depiction as housewives purchasing beer for husbands. This was, I have argued, a subtle means for the advertisers to both appeal to women and to plausibly deny that they were doing so. In this way, they recognised that women were an increasingly important demographic, who were engaged in and responsible for domestic labour, as well as intimately and integrally involved in beer consumption.

By the 1980s, women could be represented consuming beer, but only insofar as they were not depicted in the role of housewives and mothers. Instead, the focus of these advertisements was on single individuals, who were following an authorised path along the way to becoming part of a couple and eventually a family unit. These kinds of advertisements often depicted failed romantic encounters, to show how a spirit of endurance and perseverance was essential to masculinity. Critics did not take issue with the assumption that the suitable life path for men and women alike was to achieve romantic (heterosexual) love. Women, then, could be represented as drinkers, but only as the companions to the protagonists within scenes and not as mothers or wives. In most cases, these advertisements promoted conventional life paths with the responsible *shakaijin* the idealised masculine model.

#### Mifune

While some advertisements promoted, and thus idealised, normative life paths that showed men becoming responsible salarymen and fathers, other beer campaigns explicitly rejected this route. In the 1970s, for instance, Sapporo Beer used Mifune Toshirō for the express purpose of masculinising their beer, which marked a significant turning point in beer advertising for its use of a film star and its depiction of masculinity. Reliant on Mifune's screen image and the importance of silence to masculinity, this campaign became a valuable reference point for numerous scholars, critics and journalists in discussing postwar, and specifically 1970s, Japanese manliness. This campaign was thus valuable not only because it was positioned as apparently depicting manliness in its truest and most Japanese form, but also because it provides



insights into how star power – rather than the depictions within the advertisements themselves – was often used by critics of the time to define masculinity. This campaign thus serves as an excellent example for why we should examine advertisements in their broader historical context.

Mifune's screen image, as a hypermasculine icon who often played militaristic or nationalistic characters, was essential to discussions of both him and the specific brand of masculinity that he supposedly represented in the Sapporo beer advertisements. As a result, this campaign came under fire by commentators at the time, who were fearful of its similarity to wartime exhortations and propaganda associated with the imperial state. Viewed through the prism of Mifune's multiple film roles, his behaviours in the advertisements were unanimously viewed by critics as hypermasculine, regardless of what he was actually doing. Whether sitting in a field of yellow flowers or bestriding the 'wild' west of John Ford, there is little to recommend Mifune as masculine over a woman doing the same. In this way, we can see how a star's referent system, the knowledge that critics already have of an individual, can be used to define and describe an advertisement. Crucially, these uses of his referent system were, on the whole, partial with few critics making any reference to the militaristic and imperial film roles that Mifune had previously played despite one of these roles informing the genesis of the campaign. In this way, we can see how common-sense understandings of masculinity are often reliant on prior knowledge and interpretations.

In neglecting to contextualise this campaign, and take into consideration the competing advertising campaigns, writers relied on Mifune's fame and its repeated use within

advertising studies for their analyses. Contextualising the campaign in relation to the surrounding advertising discourse, however, showed that masculinity was clearly seen in terms of a hierarchy, with Mifune positioned at the apex within this hierarchy in reference to his screen image rather than the content of the advertisements themselves. This campaign was also weakened by Sapporo's own attempts to remain competitive by raising prices. In analysing newspaper reports of the time, it is clear that the consumer protests against these price raises revealed inconsistencies within Sapporo as a corporate entity, which was at once demanding that men be silent while at the same time attacking the very practices that were integral to salarymen's performance of masculinity. These reports also reveal a subset of men struggling with the salaryman model of masculinity that they were supposed to perform at this time. The way in which Mifune's screen image was used to define and interpret his image of masculinity is a useful entry point for understanding the images of other stars, as well. Both Gene Hackman and Ogata Ken were similarly labelled masculine by commentators, whose understandings were clearly informed by the actors' screen roles (and not by the banality of their depictions in beer commercials, as evident in Ogata's case, at least). By comparison, critics tended to describe younger, less well-known actors in terms that barely mentioned such gendered elements as their masculinity. While writers were often opaque in their justifications for describing certain stars as masculine, the reasons that they did provide at times were illuminating. In particular, they elevated the performance of everyday practices in their discussions of manhood. By defining stars as masculine not in spite of, but because of, their

engagement in seemingly everyday activities, these discussions point to the centrality of repetitive, shared social practices in helping to define gender norms. Depictions of Ogata's everyday activities included situations and settings that ordinary consumers could identify with, while also promoting and validating typical life-courses for postwar men. Masculinity resided in performing actions that other men also did – actions that, in turn, separated and differentiated these individuals from women. Yet there was little about the activities themselves that was gendered; rather, it was the identity of the performer doing them that distinguished them as such. Had a woman gone to an *izakaya*, watched fireworks or built a snowman alone, then it would not necessarily mean that she was engaging in a masculine practice; instead, it was the very banality or solitary nature of these activities that defined individuals as masculine. It was men's separation from their defining social networks that was so important here. Indeed, it was the ability to divest oneself of the social accoutrements that were so essential to much of everyday life in Japan that actually defined a person as masculine, much as it did for Mifune. In these cases, it was a sense of self-reliance and separation from society and the feminine, rather than the thrill or the danger of engaging in a specific activity, that made it masculine.

### [Space](#)

Throughout this study, we have seen how understandings of space and place have also influenced understandings of gender. The importance of location, of the sites where gendering takes place, cannot be underestimated. The choice to highlight particular locations in beer campaigns, such as the 'masculine red rocks' of Ishigami's Monument

Valley, for instance, contributed to and helped delineate how critics viewed specific iterations of masculinity. Few critics explicitly referenced these locations when discussing these depictions, however. The *Beer King* competition, for instance, was located in spaces that were quite different from those of the *Beer Queen*. These locations and how they were arranged contributed to the creation of images of men as people who were able to control their consumption, as opposed to women but this was not addressed in any of the discussions of these endeavours.

The sites of consumption depicted in these advertisements tended to be facsimiles of real locations where imbibing took place, such as beer halls. A previously quasi-masculine space, the entry of women into beer halls in advertisements aroused debate among (male) commentators over whether women should be included in these spaces in the real world. For critics such as Ichijō Toshiyuki, these depictions of women drinking in public were problematic because they blurred gendered boundaries and complicated what it meant to be masculine. Ichijō's objections also extended to the consumption practices that women engaged in; it was not simply the intrusion of women into male-designated spaces, then, but rather the entire abrogation of masculine privilege that was at stake. These practices and spaces were so important because it was through them that men were defined as such by other men, in a ritual of mutual recognition and public performance. These depictions forced Ichijō and other strident male critics to reconsider the criteria by which they evaluated masculinity, if women were able to simply adopt the same habits and actions in public.

Space and public access to certain spaces played a role in advertising discourses in other ways, as well. Critics subtly, and often unconsciously, promoted specifically patriarchal narratives of space, which understood women's bodies as sexually available when they were located in particular places. These discussions revealed the assumed right of men to both observe and touch women in public spaces as long as certain conditions – the presence of youthful perpetrators and a nostalgic tone – were met. They showed, through their discussions of sexual assault, house construction, and beer halls, that women's rights to security and freedom were limited when they were in certain spaces. These discussions also reveal the ways that sexual crimes were generally perceived and judged with little opprobrium for the errant in question.

#### Valuing the Discourse

The images of men and women depicted in beer advertisements in postwar Japan coincided with periods of change and continuity, and they contributed to and defined a visual landscape for the majority of the Japanese public. Through television, newspapers, magazines and billboards, consumers were offered guidance as to how products should be consumed, by whom, with whom and where. These consumer choices could subtly inform identities, at once reflecting and reshaping modes of thinking. However, the vast majority of existing scholarship relies heavily on visual analysis, as though these images existed in isolation and presented their messages without interruption or interference. This study has shown the value of analysing wider public discourses to understand the relationship between gender and advertising. By examining the work of writers and commentators from the time period under

investigation, rather than focusing solely on the imagery of beer advertisements themselves, I have been able to access more nuanced and rich understandings of gender, which would otherwise be marginalised or lost.

Advertisements were not viewed in a vacuum; instead, these images were discussed and debated at length by a remarkably wide range of writers. These commentators included creators who were professionally involved with the industry, as well as social critics, feminists, magazine writers, and newspaper reporters. Neglecting the insights provided by these diverse critics, who often engaged with these works in exhaustive detail, results in scholarship that is partial and often speculative.

Either through a lack of familiarity or by ignoring the context in which these campaigns were created, scholars often fail to recognise the range of advertisements and the complex reception that they have received by Japanese audiences. As a result, industry experts and critics often do not take these analyses of advertisements seriously, and they are able to dismiss the critical findings of scholars easily by citing a raft of nuanced counter-examples. For example, Christensen makes a valid point in his analysis of advertisers' promotion of the acceptability of alcohol use and its danger to alcoholics in Japan (Christensen, 2010). However, industry experts can easily undermine this argument by pointing to Christensen's selection of advertisements and the partiality of his references. These faults can be mitigated by more thorough approaches to the source material which also incorporate critics as I have done here.

In designing the methods and analytical framework for this study, I relied on Peter Burke's *Eyewitnessing – the Uses of Images as Historical Evidence* (Burke, 2001b). In

this work, Burke lays out the potential benefits of using images for the historian, but he is also extremely wary. Prior to engaging with my primary sources, I believed that Burke had been overly cautious in demanding additional sources and cross-checking.

However, as this project proceeded, I came to understand the necessity of verifying visual images and taking into account what critics at the time, and in retrospect, felt and thought.

If images are taken at face value and assumed to be the only or the definitive record of the past, we miss out on the valuable opinions and critiques that were expressed by a wide range and diversity of writers. Instead, the analysis of images is left to the impressions and abilities of individual researchers. This is, as I have argued throughout this study, flawed for a number of reasons. Broader critical discourse contains a smorgasbord of information concerning the advertisements, while also accommodating dissenting opinions and alternative perspectives. Excluding these conversations results in partial analyses reliant upon researchers' own knowledge and insight rather than that of a wide array of different people, specialists and amateurs alike. In this study, I incorporated these different voices to provide insight into how these advertising images stimulated discussions of gender and how masculinity and femininity were seen to operate.

While advertising images are part of the material world, they are not, as we have seen, singular entities. Instead, viewers understand and make sense of advertisements via their knowledge of other advertisements, as well as other kinds of media (Cook, 1992; Tanaka, 1994, 7–8). This knowledge was also used by critics and commentators to

analyse these advertisements, and their explanations are therefore invaluable for understanding the broader landscape. Indeed, it is somewhat presumptuous to forego the opinions and perspectives of a 'whole chain of intermediaries' (Burke, 2001, 13) – the analysts, historians, industry professionals, social critics, and journalists who all commented on these advertisements in some way. Taken together, these commentaries offer ways of better understanding the links drawn between various advertisements and provide insights into how specific critics analyse them in their own particular way.

The significance assigned to specific images differed by time period, with depictions of gender that were challenged in one period later seen as indicative or characteristic of that age. It is through these discussions that we can understand broader historical shifts. As noted, the *Otoko wa damatte...* campaign was an extremely rich and dense site not only for understanding masculinity, but, perhaps more importantly, for understanding how people continue to conceptualise and think about the changing relationships between masculinity, men, and Japan. It was also a useful example of how advertisements become canonical, and how other elements, such as competing advertisements, the market environment, and dissenting opinions, were either ignored or incorporated into the campaigns themselves. Likewise, the lack of consideration of Kirin's *Dō iu wake* campaign by later critics who lauded Mifune's campaign shows how selective and partial analysts and commentators can be.

Indeed, these limitations are evident in the ways that scholars approach advertisements, as well. This study has revealed how many assertions of scholars



regarding advertisements are more fragile than first imagined. Assertions that advertisements reflect 'shared understandings of who is desirable, who succeeds, who enjoys life to the fullest' (Barthel, 1988, 12), that they inform historians of the identities of those deemed an authority or an endorser (Marchand, 2000, paras 1-11) are not reflected in the advertising discourse. Advertising images were more nuanced, depicting not shared but debateable understandings of who was desirable. Rather than simply accepting the narratives of success and power presented by the advertisers themselves, examining the writing of critics can help us to understand which performers were actually viewed as endorsers or as desirable. As Leavitt notes, advertisements show society 'as some people wish it could be' (Leavitt, 2002, 5), but this does not mean that these desired depictions were accepted by critics and social commentators. The presence of performers in advertisements was not accepted unconditionally, as seen in various chapters (the criticisms of Nakaya and Kishida, for instance); it is not possible to assert that these images contain depictions of 'shared understandings,' especially when they are competing with each other and seeking to differentiate themselves.

Examining critics' understandings of these images lessens scholars' reliance on the productions and creations of corporate-invested elites to understand what everyday people were doing or how they should be doing it. The continued examination of advertising images alone continues to perpetuate these depictions as the uncontested representative of what society looked like. Burke's warnings in this regard apply to any historian – that is, the need to critically interrogate one's sources. Rather than accept

the image as though it represented the 'truth' or the entirety of a particular experience, it is necessary to contextualise the image with reference to the time and place of its production and reception. This is, I have argued, invaluable for understanding advertisements and should be incorporated into any advertising studies. Without it, we elevate the contemporary researcher over those people situated in the past or outside of academia and deny them a voice in critiquing the representations presented to them. This is especially important as it provides a window to views and perspectives contemporaneous to the time of writing.

This method has thus provided a subtler means of understanding gender in beer advertisements, which a focus on images alone would not provide. It shows how images that might be assumed to be powerful and influential because they were widely disseminated were, in fact, contested and challenged. In addition, it points to how campaigns and depictions can be rehabilitated or discussed differently over time. In addition, the different opinions and perspectives of those involved in campaign creation indicate that the industry is less uniformly powerful and influential than it may seem at first. A campaign for Suntory Can Beer, for instance, saw various background elements such as a fridge or penguins become (Suntory can Beer, 1981) unexpectedly popular, which undermined creatives' ideas about what elements were appealing and to whom (Maki and Toda, 1981, 106). In these cases, Suntory adopted the penguin as a company mascot and integrated it (and the fridge) into other advertising campaigns and images.

This method also reduces the need for speculation on the part of the analyst. The coding choices within content analysis studies (Furnham and Bitar, 1993) – and by extension the interpretation and analysis of data – always remain subject to the researcher’s creation of particular coding categories (Hogan, 2005). This results in studies that are dependent on the knowledge of the study author and which might not then include or acknowledge cultural clues. Advertisers are, however, often effusive about their influences and stimuli. While pronouncements on their work still need to be viewed critically, these creators’ statements remain valuable for telling us who the advertisement was targeting and why, as well as the perceived success or failure of a campaign. Indeed, in many cases, creators explicitly shared how economic pressures, popular critiques, or even scandals might have played a part in advertisers’ choices. In some cases, these insights from creators directly undermine the assertions of researchers who study advertising in Japan. For example, while Prieler and Kohlbacher (2016) have questioned Ramaprasad and Hasegawa’s assertion that Japan lacks comparative advertising (1990) this is equally discernible from advertising articles. For instance, Suntory’s advertisements proclaiming that *Malt’s* was not dry (*dorai de wa arimasen*) was described in a CM NOW article as ‘raising the anti-dry flag’ (CM NOW, 1989a, 88), which clearly indicates a willingness to compare and contrast products even if it is not necessarily obvious to someone better acquainted with American advertising. By providing access to these disjunctures and tensions, as they play out between creators, critics, and consumers, this approach allows for a fuller understanding of

advertisements and also ensures that researchers are aware of how their own analyses might resonate with those of other commentators.

### Windows into the Future

As we have seen, advertisements permeated the visual landscape of postwar Japan, entering the homes of new consumers. These campaigns were interpreted in a variety of ways, with commentators using their own perspectives and biases to focus on the issues that they considered important. The interests of commentators were varied and wide-ranging, but they were also situated within, and informed by, the particular concerns of their time. These discussions therefore often reveal more about the time in which they were written than about the advertisements themselves. In the case of the Mifune campaign, lingering memories of the wartime era of censorship and control influenced how commentators viewed the advertisement's vision of masculinity, with some commentators anxious that it signalled the reassertion of militaristic goals and values. When these same advertisements were discussed nearly two decades later, however, they were a paean to a lost age of manliness, when all men held their tongue and acted appropriately. Through this comparison, we can thus see the rehabilitation of ideas, tropes, and themes which were somewhat more controversial at the time of production, but which came to have greater meaning and significance in the period of 1980s corporate success and rigidity.

### Areas for Further Study and Limitations

There was not time or space to include every issue that arose throughout these discussions. Indeed, I came across a number of small comments that were intriguing and deserving of further study. For instance, the use of screen stars from genres that are themselves boundary-crossing in terms of gender is one area which requires more attention. Stars such as Ichikawa Danjurō (Kirin Beer, 1985b) and Daichi Mao appeared for Kirin and Sapporo respectively in the mid-1980s. Daichi was the stage name of Morita Mayumi, an *otokoyaku*, or male-role performer for Takarazuka and she was supposed to appeal to women who drank in the afternoon (CM NOW, 1984, 104). Her appearance in advertisements is compelling because she was seen as a “dad” figure, and the narratives of the campaigns she was involved with also acknowledged that some women, and especially housewives, did drink during the day. While the 1950s and 1960s saw housewives depicted as purchasers but not consumers of beer, by the 1980s, women as consumers were clearly a key focus of marketing efforts. Daichi’s role as an *otokoyaku* during this period raises further questions about the performative nature of gender in postwar Japan.

This study was also limited to a specific time period, which leaves out both the interwar and the contemporary period. However, as I argued in the introduction, it is the growth of the advertising industry in the postwar period that led to a diverse advertising discourse with a multitude of viewpoints and perspectives. The period between the wars is more sparse in terms of contemporaneous discussions of advertisements, so the methods employed here would be more limited if the goal were to examine the

discourses and ways of thinking that were prevalent in that particular time. Jennifer Weisenfeld's analysis of the cosmetic company Shiseidō's creation of aesthetic values and standards (Weisenfeld, 2009), while masterful, favours the production side of this process, while largely ignoring the critiques of these campaigns by outside commentators, for instance. Collations of prewar images such as Sapporo's *Bīru-no-posutā* (*Beer Posters*) (2000) and *Nihon-no-posutā* (*Japanese Posters*) (2003), meanwhile, are revealing of how contemporary industry figures narrativise the interwar periods through their selections. Each of these different works require their own dedicated study with the correct contextualisation. I have argued throughout this thesis that this historically grounded methodology is essential for any study of images. It is, as I have shown, incumbent on the researcher to incorporate and acknowledge the insights offered by differently situated writers who shared their opinions on these visual media. The inclusion of such critiques, which proliferated during the postwar period, offers valuable perspectives that are more distinct and idiosyncratic than what can be gleaned from analysing either current or corporate discourses alone.

In looking at the discourse of postwar beer advertising, I have also disregarded contemporary interactions with these advertisements, including through social media and video sharing sites such as *Youtube*. This addition would provide insights into how these advertisements are discussed now, which remains a potentially rich avenue of investigation for the future. I have briefly stated a few areas which are potential sites for future research. There is also potential for exploring a range of different products utilising the same archives and sources especially as these resources are relatively

neglected and under-utilised despite their ability to provide insight into what and how people were consuming and how they were believed to be consuming.

Last Orders, Closing Time, Final Thoughts

The advertising that people encountered during the postwar period in Japan reflected the desires of beer companies to create images of their ideal consumer, while also appealing to those consumers. These advertisements provided consumers with images that they could aspire to, with the promise that their identities would align with these images if they consumed the products. However, these images did not create a uniform idealized subject; they were created in relation, and in response, to the images and campaigns of competing companies, as well as in reaction to the perceived reality of the market. Understandings of changing consumer demographics, and of emerging segments within the market that might help the companies gain an advantage over their competitors, were all factors in how companies crafted their campaigns. The inspirations for the campaigns themselves were also, at times, deeply entwined with the specific celebrities (*talento*) that were associated with the company, as well as the broader image that the company wished to portray. This image was understood by the companies themselves as a crucial part of their success; an ongoing refrain throughout this period was that the only difference between the products being sold was the company. It was through advertising – not through the creation of highly distinct products – that the companies attempted to differentiate themselves, by providing avenues for consumers to present their identities to the world by associating with a certain type of masculinity or femininity.

The importance of this study rests not only on its specific content – that is, how masculinity and femininity were understood and interpreted during this period in relation to beer advertisements – but also on its methodological approach. This sort of investigation, which examines how viewers, social critics, and industry professionals themselves commented on and analysed these images, provides a fuller comprehension of how these images were disseminated to, and discussed by, the Japanese public. Textual and content analyses of advertisements do have benefits, in terms of providing a picture of what was seen and what images were presented to the public, but they do not investigate why certain campaigns were valued over others or how they were interpreted by different communities. Linguistic studies, meanwhile, which examine advertisements as rhetorical devices, can help to demonstrate how campaigns seek to persuade and cajole, but they fail to examine whether people considered these to be good arguments, rather than simplistic examples or clumsy attempts at copying more successful iterations. The fact is that the advertisements are part of a body of tradition, as Moeran points out (1996, 27-32), and this is a continuing and changing body that harks back to past campaigns and acknowledges competing advertisements and critiques. Industry discourse is therefore essential for understanding the images themselves. The dissemination of gendered imagery through advertisements was not the end point of the process. Nor was advertising a closed conversation. These images were taken up in the popular press and discussed, contested, challenged and praised. As we have seen in this study, these broader



conversations help us to understand that the meanings and interpretations attached to advertisements were far less stable than might be assumed.

While the concept of advertising discourse incorporates the range and complexity of divergent thoughts, this study argues against the idea that there is a single Japanese advertising thought or culture. Unfortunately, it is this assumption which leads many scholars to put such weight on numbers, quantities, or trends, as if these indicate widespread agreement. Instead, the reality of the advertising industry and of the images that they produce is that they are much more complex and diverse, in motivation, execution, and understanding, than many academics and critics give them credit for. The way in which campaigns are produced and discussed indicates the extent to which companies are attempting to gain an advantage over their competitors, from whom they wish to differentiate their products but to whom they also do not wish to cede ground. In some cases, as we have seen in the postwar period, companies strategically relied upon gendered models to achieve these goals and even in those cases where it was not intentional, these advertisements still depicted a variety of gendered performers. These were, in turn, spoken about – and it is for this reason, and for these insights into this period, that these advertisements remain a valuable field of study.

## Appendix: Beer Innovations by Year and Company

Year	Kirin	Sapporo	Asahi	Suntory
1957- 1964	1960 Can Beer	1959 Can Beer 1963 Giants 1964 Draft Small Bottle 1964 Guinness	1957 Gold 1958 Can Beer 1964 Steiny	1963 Northern European Suntory Beer
1965	Pull-top Can	Strike Pull-top Can		Jun-Nama (Pure Draft) Can Beer
1967			Steiny (Black) Honnama (True Draft)	
1969		Bottle Draft Light Beer		
1970	Print Bottle			One Shot (200ml)
1971		Yebisu (Large bottle)	Aluminium Can	
1972		Yebisu (350 ml can)		Long Size (500 ml can)
1974		Daru nama (Keg Draft) (2000 ml)		
1976	Mein Bräu			
1977		Bottle Draft (Large) Can (500 ml)	Can (500ml) Nama Mini-daru (7l) Shinshōyō no Black	Aluminium Can Meltzen Meltzen Draft (350)

			(small bottle) Stout (small)	ml bottle/can)
1978	Can (500ml)		Shinshōyō no Honnama (true draft) Mini Daru (Keg) (5l)	Nama Daru (Draft Keg) (5l, 10l) Jumbo Can (1l) Mini Can (250ml)
1979		Can (1l) Daru Nama (Keg Draft) (10l)	Mini Daru (Mini Keg) (3l) Can (1l)	
1980	Light Beer	Daru Nama (Keg Draft) (3l) Gui nama (Gulp Draft)		Nama Daru (2l, 3l)
1981	Biya daru (Draft, 2l, 3l)	Daru Nama (Keg Draft) (2l, 1.5l (PET)	My Boy Mini Daru (Mini Keg) (2l) Mini Can (250ml)	Goku nama (300ml)
1982	Can Beer, (change in design)	Nama Hitokuchi (Draft one sip) (200ml)	Nanahan Can (750) Kuro Nama Mini Daru (Black Draft Mini Keg) (2l) Kuro Nama My Boy (Black Draft)	Double Can (750ml) Nama Daru (Draft Keg) (1.2)
1983	Biya Daru (Beer Keg) (1.2l) 250 ml Bottle Can Nama (Can	Yebisu Nama (Medium) Yebisu Can (350ml) Gui Nama Black (Gulp	Daru Bin (Keg bottle) (300, 450 ml) Mini Daru (Mini Keg) (1.2l)	Twist (300, 450 ml) Chō Mini Can (extra mini can) (150) Taru Can (keg can)

	Draft) (500, 750, 1000ml)	Draft Black) (300ml) Kuro Nama 31 (Black Draft)	Bottle (1.2l) Lebenbrau (350ml, bottle and can)	(550 ml)
1984	Can Nama (Can Draft) (135, 250, 350ml) Nama A (Draft A) (350, 500ml bottle) Kuro biru can (Black Beer Can) (350ml) Biya Shatoru (Beer Shuttle) (1.2l, PET) Biya Daru (Beer Keg) (2l, 3l, PET)	Can Nama (Can Draft) (135ml) Jokki and Nama (Mug and Draft) (600ml) Kappu Nama (Draft Glass) (650ml can)	Slim Can (135, 250ml) Can Boy (300ml, can) Can Boy Live (500ml can) Jokki (Mug) (1l, PET) Nama Tokkuri (Draft Tokkuri) (2l, PET)	Penguins Bar (Extra Mini Can, Mini Can, 250, 350ml) Melzen Draft (135ml) Budweiser (135, 250, 355, can and bottle) (500ml can) Super Jumbo Can (550, 1150ml)

(Mizukawa, 2002, 34, 76)

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