

Projection of Tradition in Japanese Export Media: The Feminization of Japaneseness

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メディアに伝えられる日本における伝統の投影 日本人性の女性化

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Abstract

The positioning of women as the protectors of tradition in a number of cultures has been widely examined. Researchers have examined the image of Japanese women in both Japanese media and Western media about Japan. This paper looks at the maintenance of national myths and the feminization of traditional Japanese society in externally directed media; that is, the paper will consider the images of Japanese women as portrayed in an English-language journal of public diplomacy. Relying on the theoretical framework of propaganda provided by Jacques Ellul's work on the formation of attitudes and the creation of societal myths and symbols, particularly his focus on propaganda, this paper examines the images of women in *Look Japan* from 1964 to 1980, the period associated with Japan's rapid economic growth. The role of Japan's externally directed media in maintaining the feminization of Japaneseness in Western images of Japan will be discussed.

Key Words: gender, social myth, propaganda, Jacques Ellul

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諸文化における伝統の保護者としての女性の位置づけは、広く検討されている。研究者たちは、日本と西洋における日本人女性のイメージについて調査してきた。本稿では、外国向けメディアにおける国の神話性の保持と伝統的日本社会の女性化について考察する。すなわち、本稿は日本の外交ジャーナルに描かれている日本人女性のイメージを考察するのである。その際、ジャック・エリユールによる社会的神話と象徴の創造と態度の形成に関するプロパガンダの理論的枠組み、特に焦点化されたプロパガンダにフォーカスし、日本が急速な経済発展を遂げた1964-1980年の『Look Japan』誌にみられる女性のイメージを調査する。西洋人が描く日本人イメージにおいて、日本からの外国向けメディアが日

本人性の女性化保持に果たす役割について論ずる。

キーワード：ジェンダー、社会的神話、プロパガンダ、ジャック・エリユール

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Within the field of feminist studies, the role that women's bodies play in promotion of national identities has long been recognized (e.g. Daly, 1990; Davis, 1983; Terry & Urla, 1995). The idea of the "other" emerged with deBeauvoir's (1952/1974) examination of women's placement in the social hierarchy as "other" than men. This is clearly seen in the emphasis on women as the embodying the nation-state as protectors of tradition in post-independence India, and attacked as Westernized if they question or criticize the dominant patriarchal structure of Indian society (Narayan, 1997). It can also be seen in Japan where women have been placed in the role of protectors of tradition – even when the "tradition" is a modern re-imagination of Japanese society. A case in point is the annual celebration known as *Seijin no Hi* (adults day, or coming-of-age day). *Seijin no Hi*, originally celebrated on January 15 but recently moved to the second Monday in January, has its origins in post-WWII ceremonies to pray for the war dead, provide a formal ceremony of adulthood – set at age 20 under the postwar constitution which was adopted on May 3, 1947, and to replace prewar military ceremonies for men who had reached the age of majority ("Seijin", 2004). The first year *Seijin no Hi* was celebrated was in 1948, which was also the first year women were given full suffrage and citizenship rights under the postwar constitution. Today, ceremonies are held at city halls, ward offices, and town halls, across the country, and most are marked by speeches that exhort the new adults to be involved in improving the nation through their efforts. Though clearly a postwar ceremony, and therefore part of the period considered "modern" in Japanese culture, the ceremonies, even from the first year, had a strictly traditional character, most notable in the clear disconnect in the appearances expected from men and women to mark becoming an adult. Men are expected to wear business suits, white dress shirts, and conservative ties, clearly representing the image Japan wishes to present to the world – that of modernity. Women, in contrast, are encouraged to appear at the ceremony wearing the *furisode* (long-sleeved) kimono of elite, unmarried court women from the Tokugawa era. They are praised in the media for their demure appearance, the transformation they have gone through in shedding Western clothes – if only for one day, and their role in maintaining Japanese culture. Women in Japan, like those in India, are clearly marked as keepers of tradition and culture in modern Japanese society. We can see in this the same

type of “othering” or women that Simone de Beauvoir (1974/1952) so clearly pointed out in her discussion of the objectification of women in the West. Women are positioned as wife, mother, or traditional objects.

Women and Traditional Beliefs in Japan

Any understanding of the beliefs marking women as the keepers of traditional culture in modern Japan needs to examine the early Meiji era attitudes toward women, and the changes instituted to create new traditional roles for women during the Meiji period.

The Meiji government, following the arrival of Westerners, the overthrow of the Tokugawa regime in 1868, and the abolition of the feudal system, enshrined into the constitution many of the privileges of the patriarchy. Some of its provisions are seen to have raised the status of women, including compulsory education for both boys and girls (R. J. Smith, 1983), the granting of equal protection and status to concubines, and freeing women from indentured servitude (Sievers, 1990/1983). These are sometimes pointed to as evidence of the better treatment of women under the Meiji government. However, the Household Registry Law and the Meiji Civil Code focused registration of subjects on the head of the household as the *ie* (house), a male family head, and can be seen as “an attempt to resuscitate older, elite models of family and gender roles” (Kondo, 1990, p. 265). Though the 1889 Meiji Constitution seemed to provide equality for all Japanese subjects, the provision in nearly every article related to the rights and duties of subjects included either the wording “shall be determined by law” or that of “according to the provisions of the law” (Hook & McCormack, 2001, pp. 182-183). This wording allowed for the Meiji Civil Code to be written in such a way as to invest all property rights with the male head of household (Kondo, 1990) and give women status as less than fully legal persons (R. J. Smith, 1983). This system of patriarchy placed the Emperor at the top as the symbolic “father” and actual leader of the nation, with male subjects placed in the same position within the family structure. In short, though some have argued that the Meiji Constitution raised women’s status, the privileges of patriarchy were also enshrined therein.

One of the central changes from the Tokugawa to the Meiji periods, discussed by Dorinne Kondo (1990) in her study of gender and identity the Japanese workplace, was to turn women in to mothers. Citing a paper presented at a conference in Hawaii by Kathleen Uno, Kondo points out that numerous “Tokugawa primers and manuals ... emphasized mothers’ *incompetence* in matters of child-rearing” (Uno, 1988, cited in Kondo, 1990, p. 267, emphasis original), in contrast to the Meiji view that child-rearing should be entrusted to women. This view led to the standardization of education for women during the Meiji period, however, this education was aimed at creating “*ryōsai kenbo*, good wives; wise mothers” (Sievers, 1990/1983, p. 112) not at preparing women for entry into the work force. In short, women were entrusted with the *uchi* – literally the home – while men were assigned the rights of the *ie* – literally the house – as the head of the household, thereby simultaneously enshrining

the patriarchy into law by granting men all rights and establishing a new status, one that quickly took on the force of tradition, which assigned women to the home. An understanding of Japanese immediately shows how the *uchi/ie* division is artificial even as it is cast as traditional – both *uchi* (home) and *ie* (house) are written with the same kanji character: 家.

However, though the “tradition” urged women to stay home to raise children as their service to the state, women were essential to the workforce during the Meiji period, forming nearly 60 percent of the industrial workforce between 1894 and 1912 (Sievers, 1990/1983). Kondo (1990) interprets this as showing the elasticity of the boundaries of the household – “Wage work outside the household was not incompatible with devotion to the *uchi*, for it became a demonstration of filial piety” (p. 269). After a few years of factory work, with wages devoted to their family, it was assumed that the women would return to their villages and begin their role of raising children under the Meiji slogan of “good wives, wise mothers” (Kondo, 1990). Their contribution to the work force, therefore, was seen as temporary even if they worked throughout much of their life, as many did, and allowed factories to exploit their labor in numerous ways (see T.C. Smith, 1988, for a discussion of Japanese women in the Meiji work force).

In light of the Meiji policies, which Yoshida Teigo¹ (1990) sees as raising the status of women, Yoshida argues that male dominance was actually checked in Japanese society. Yoshida argues these policies, along with traditional practices in Japanese folk religion, helped create a society “where the male is dominant in political and economic life while the female dominates in religious activities” (p. 72). Yoshida also gives women a great deal of control in the home, and uses these two points to address the work of Mary Douglas (2002/1966) in terms of the status of women in Japanese society. Yoshida rejects her notion of “pollution” as essentially not applying to Japanese society and argues that there was, and is, a balance between male and female in Japanese folk religion. This notion of a balanced society, with men given the task of connecting the *ie* (house) to the community and women the role of keeping the *uchi* (home) free from any potential pollution, remains dominant in modern Japan. The Japanese woman herself, however, can easily become categorized as “not Japanese” if she strays too far from expected models of dress and behavior. This effectively forces women into the role of protectors of tradition.

Images of Tradition in Modern Japan

A considerable body of work exists regarding the portrayal of women as a site for the preservation of tradition in modern Japan, much of which discusses the feminization of Japaneseness (Darling-Wolf, 1998, 2004; McVeigh, 1997, 2000). Ofra Goldstein-Gidoni's (1999) research into the construction of distinctions between what is Western and what is Japanese, particularly as it relates to choices in clothing, indicates that “the construction of gendered identities is related to the construction of cultural identity in contemporary Japan”

(p. 351). Her research into symbolic quality of kimono in contemporary Japan centers upon the “single-mode” kimono, that is the kimono worn for festive or ceremonial occasions as there has been a “total neglect, as well as denigration, of the many traditional work kimono especially those of rural men and women” (Goldstein-Gidoni, 1999, p. 353). As can be seen in the discussion of *Seijin no Hi* above, the kimono plays an important role in the creation of the Japanese imaginary ideal of tradition.

The process of turning the 20th century image of kimono-clad women into the site of Japanese culture resides in the process that Eric Hobsbawm (1992) identifies as the invention of tradition. When Western culture was being adopted and adapted into Japanese society at the end of the 1800s and in the early 1900s, the Meiji government fined men who did not conform to the new, Western modes of fashion, particularly in adopting Western haircuts (Sievers, 1983; Yanagida, 1957, cited in Goldstein-Gidoni, 1999). In contrast, “women who dressed in Western clothing were regarded negatively” (Higuchi, 1985, p. 116), so much so that one year after short haircuts were made mandatory for men in 1871 they were banned for women (Goldstein-Gidoni, 1999). In her discussions on the ceremonial distinctions made in the attire for men and women at the coming-of-age ceremony, Goldstein-Gidoni remarks that the different attire expected of men and women marks a distinction between one as models for future behavior and the other as models of tradition.

Advising boys to purchase a suit that can be used later ... reproduces their male role as models for instrumental action. On the other hand, although most Japanese girls will also be university or college graduates and will go to job interviews in Western attire, ... [for] the formal occasion that represents their entry into adult society ... they are molded into a model of Japaneseness, which is strictly opposed to the model for the rational world of work represented by boys on the same occasion. (p. 357)

The connection between women as a “model of” and men as a “model for” either tradition or modernity clearly has a strong appeal in Japanese society. Like Indian women, located as the keepers of tradition, Japanese women, wrapped in kimono, are given the same status in modern Japanese society.

Just as important to the Japanese view of women as keepers of traditional culture is the discourse of women as keepers of the home – the “good wives, wise mothers” policy instituted in the Meiji period. In a study analyzing advertisements which featured women in Japanese magazines, Tanaka Keiko (1990) traces the assignment of intelligence to women in print ads to the Meiji emphasis on creating “good wives, wise mothers,” pointing out that *chiteki* (intelligent), a word more frequently assigned to women in advertisements, can be read as “a kind of modernization of this Meiji slogan” (p. 85), though it is essential to keep in mind that it also implies “not so much a mental quality as desirability” (p. 88). As her study points out, frequently the words used in advertisements become turned around in ways that “reproduce

stereotypical images of women” and reinforce existing cultural values (p. 95). Rather than being presented as “intelligent,” Tanaka interprets the many advertisements that use *chiteki* or its other derivatives as actually contradicting the word’s definition and providing modern reinforcement for male privilege in Japanese society.

Similarly, Hayashi Reiko (1995), applying Vygotskian analysis of discourse to media texts, found that Japanese women’s magazines provide a gender specific message that reinforces asymmetries in the power relationships and “inhibit” any critical approach to the text (p. 197). Hayashi’s analysis shows that while the language of the text initially seems to be gender neutral, the text as a whole implies women are concerned with the home and family life and should have little interest beyond these unless it is related to attracting a spouse or raising children. The prevalence of these images in ads directed at teenage girls, particularly the relationship between intelligence and being a homemaker, was also found in a study of how Japanese teenage girls react to advertisements and the effect of these ads on their behavior (Luther & Nentl, 2001).

Work by Muramatsu Yasuko (2002) indicates that more recently audiences have become aware of gender roles embedded in media, especially in television dramas, though the dramas themselves still function to maintain socially constructed gender roles. Similarly, Ashikari Mikiko (2003), in her study of gender and clothing, found that Japanese national identity was ideally represented in a kimono-clad, white-faced woman, in contrast to the Western clothing expected for the Japanese male. She sees a conflation of femininity and Japaneseness. “Being feminine in contemporary Japan means being a *Japanese* woman, rather than simply being a woman” (p. 55). This link between femininity and Japaneseness has been made by others (e.g. Darling-Wolf, 1998, 2000, 2003, 2004; McVeigh, 1997, 2004), with several researchers drawing connections between media images and social conceptions of Japanese beauty and Japanese identity.

This body of work, as well as other studies not cited, clearly indicates that within Japanese society there remains a strong emphasis on gender-determined roles – with women assigned the role of “keepers of tradition.” Even while rhetoric seems to imply that Japanese society has progressed beyond the pre-determined gender stereotypes, examination of how the rhetoric and images are used indicates it has not.

Propaganda Research and the Creation of Social Myths

“A newspaper without propaganda would be impossible” (Lasker & Roman, 1938, p. 7). While many journalists and news organizations might rise up when they hear this statement, and loudly proclaim the “objectivity of the press,” there has been a growing recognition that proclamations of objectivity and balance by media require careful consideration. Within the political economy model of communication research, work by numerous media researchers has looked at the ways in which media organizations control what actually appears on

the evening news or in the morning paper through the choices made at every level in the organization as well as outside influences upon these choices (e.g. Dayan & Katz, 1992; Garnham, 1986; Jamieson & Waldman, 2003; Mosco, 1996; Mosco & Wasko, 1988; Shoemaker, 1991; Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Much of this work urges consideration of the media as distributors, rather than producers of social myths (Garnham, 2000). Dan Schiller (1988) raises the issue of the economic control of media and the distinction “between information as a resource and information as a commodity” (p. 30). Understanding this distinction, and the ways that this plays out in the actual creation of media products, seems to require a return of media analysts to consideration of an aspect of media that was once dismissed; that is “propaganda” analysis.

A number of social theorists allow us to examine the role of propaganda in the creation of social meaning. In particular, Bourdieu (1991) offers a way to view the intersections between language, images, and power and the ways in which these define social meaning, while Althusser (1971) provides a perspective on the “ideological state apparatus” as a way to consider how everyday actions are ritualized through his discussion of how actions are “inserted into *practices* ... governed by the *rituals* in which these practices are inscribed” (emphasis in original, p. 168). Varying from Althusser, who considered the “ideological state apparatus” to be the education system, I believe it must include other mediated forms of communication meant to educate or inform. Gramsci (1971) provides the concept of “hegemony” and argues that media texts, along with education, are one site of the struggle between groups to define and control meaning. The works of Althusser and Gramsci are brought together by Hall (1980). His combination of Gramsci’s notion of hegemony and Althusser’s concept of the “ideological state apparatus” allows us to examine how the media are involved in the manufacture of consent and the creation of meaning among various social groups.

Manufacture of consent, which I see as propaganda, has been largely ignored since the propaganda studies of the 1930s and 1940s. Though the field of media studies arose from the study of propaganda (Curnalia, 2005; Jowett & O’Donnell, 1999; Snowball, 1999; Sproule, 1987), the term propaganda is generally relegated to either a disguised or a supporting role. If considered at all, it is in terms of its ethical, or more precisely unethical use (Black, 2001; 2008). Though the term is unpopular, propaganda analysis provides a method for exploring the symbolic construction of society. One neglected scholar of propaganda is Jacques Ellul, particularly the model he provides for analyzing the construction of myths (1965/1962; 1965/1954). In Ellul’s propaganda model (1965/1962; 1964/1954), media are the site of the creation of myths and technique can be seen as the ability to use media to transmit ideology and transform it into mythology.

Ellul’s perspective avoids the conflation of myth and ideology offered by Barthes

(1972/1957, 1981/1967), who sees the function of myths as distortion. Ellul's definition is similar to Joseph Campbell's (1988/1949). Both Ellul and Campbell reject any association of "myth" with "falsehood." They define the term closer to its Greek origin and see it as denoting "narrative." However, whereas Campbell is concerned with articulating the commonality of mythic themes, Ellul seeks to identify the process behind the creation of social myths. Ellul views myths "as providing frameworks for various sets of meaning – they make sense of what we experience" (Karim, 2003, p. 70). Technique is a key concept for this creation, and Ellul defines it as "the totality of methods rationally arrived at and having absolute efficiency (for a given stage of development) in every field of human activity" (1964/1954, p. xxv) and as "*means* and the *ensemble of means*" (Ellul, 1964/1954, p. 19, emphasis original), one in which the emphasis is on the process rather than on any consideration of ends. The technique used to transform ideology into myth requires use of media. The work of the propagandist, like that of Bourdieu's (1991) political professionals who impose "their own interests as the interests of those whom they represent" (p. 175), is to transform ideology into mythology.

In brief, this is the model that I apply to an examination of the creation of social myths through an analysis of externally directed propaganda in the journal *Look Japan Newspaper of Industry (LJNI)*. In this paper, I focus solely on the photographs and apply an Ellulian framework to the analysis of images of women.

Images of Women in *Look Japan Newspaper of Industry*

Look Japan Newspaper of Industry (LJNI), published from 1952 to 2004, provides one source to examine the images of Japanese women in a newspaper meant for Western readers. The publication, from the *Look Japan* group, was set up with the assistance of the Japanese Ministry of Trade and Industry (MITI) in order to promote Japanese industry in Western markets. In short, it was set up to provide just the type of propaganda that Ellul (1964) discusses – the establishment, over time, of new symbols for the state.

Issues from 1956 to 1980 are examined for this study. The earlier years of the publication were eliminated from consideration as many issues were missing and some pages were not included in the microfiche sources used for this project. The first complete year was 1964. Therefore, given the nature of this research to examine changes in the portrayal that reflect the acceptance of the discourses of propaganda, the images of women during three one-year periods, 1964, 1972, and 1980 are examined. In light of the nature of this project and the predominant image of Japanese women in internal media identified by other researchers, three research questions are proposed:

RQ1: How does *LJNI* portray women from 1964 to 1980?

RQ2: In which ways do the images of women in issues of *LJNI* vary from 1964 to 1980?

RQ3: In which ways do the images of women in the issues of *LJNI* present Japanese

women as keepers of tradition and domesticity?

Method

The first step was to examine the photographs in every issue and code them to determine if the picture included any images of people (see Appendices A and B) then analyze these according to accepted procedures for content and textual analysis of media (c.f. Krippendorff, 2004).

All photos which had people, whether they appeared with news articles or in advertisements, were then coded for the number of people (if it could be determined), the gender of people in picture, the identification of the people pictured, the clothing worn by those pictured, setting (headshot-undetermined location, meeting, ceremony, factory work site, farm or building site, show room, other location), the purpose of the photograph (advertising, to provide an image of a person interviewed, to illustrate an article about a product, to illustrate an article about a public or ceremonial event, and to illustrate a hard news event), and my own impression. Given that this research can be seen as primarily to develop a codebook for addressing changes in the images of women over time in Japanese export media, I did not arrange for a second rater.

Results and Discussion

During the three years of *LJNI* under consideration, a total of 1,821 photographs appeared, with 895 photographs appearing in the 1964 issues, 521 photographs appearing in the 1972 issues, and 405 photographs appearing in the 1980 issues. Over the three periods, 490 photographs included people. By year, 1964 had 137 photographs with people, 1972 had 152 photographs with people, and 1980 had 203 photographs with people (see Table 1). From 1964 to 1980, there was a decrease in the number of photos per issue, which corresponded with an increase in perceived size for the photographs included, though this was not measured, and an increase in the number of articles without any accompanying illustrations. In addition, though the numerical growth is relatively small, there is almost a doubling in the percent of photographs that included people from one year studied to the next. In 1964, 15% of photographs included people, which nearly doubled to 29% in 1972, and then increased to 50% in 1980. A similar increase was seen in the number of photographs with captions that identified at least one of the people pictured. In 1964, only 31 photographs (23%) identified the people pictured, while in 1980 the number of photographs that identified the people pictured had increased to 106 (52%). However, while there was growth in the number of people, and a corresponding growth in the number of women, the percent of photographs including women was basically unchanged from 1964 to 1980.

Table 1.*Basic Description of LJNI Photographs*

Year	1964	1972	1980
Total Photographs	895	521	405
Photographs with People	137	152	203
% with People	15.31%	29.18%	50.12%
# with People Identified	31	62	106
% with People Identified	22.63%	40.79%	52.22%
# with Women	29	34	39
% with Women	21.16%	22.67%	19.7%
# of Women Identified	2	0	4
% of Women Identified	6.67%	0%	10.26%

There was some change in the number of women identified over the three years studied, particularly if you consider that in 1964 the two women identified in captions were only identified because they were the wife of a visiting foreign dignitary, “Ambassador and Mrs. Sheikh” and “Laotian Prime Minister Phouma and his wife,” while in 1980, the women were identified as individuals, either academics or reporters for *LJNI*. However, the actual number of photographs that identified the women was much lower than the number that identified male subjects. In addition, no Japanese women were identified in any photographs in 1964 or 1972. In fact, no women at all were identified in 1972. In 1980, three of the four identified women were foreign academics or reporters. Only one Japanese woman, a professor at a Japanese women’s university, was identified by name in any photograph during the three time periods considered. Though not considered “identified” for purposes of this study as her name was not given, one Japanese woman was included in a group of officials labeled as “Japanese diplomatic staff” in 1980.

Of the photographs that identified at least one of the people pictured, the majority for all three years were headshots of a single man (57%), with those that had more than one person pictured generally identifying only one person, as in “Prime Minister Ohira and other Japanese ministers” or “The King of Malaysia touring the Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Plant with company officers.” If these are taken into consideration, fully 73% of photographs identified only one person. In the six photographs that identified women, the two in 1964 identified the woman only as an adjunct, wife, to a foreign “official” that was central to the photograph. Three of the four photographs of identified women from 1980 were headshots, portraying only a single woman, and one was a photograph of a female, non-Japanese reporter and the Japanese man she was interviewing.

Women, when they do appear, are generally unnamed, though this does not mean that they appear always with others. Of the photographs that included women, whether identified or not, 14 of 29 (48%) included a single woman in 1964, 28 of 34 (83%) in 1972, and 14 of 39 (36%) in 1980. In most instances, the woman is posed next to or holding a new product that

is either discussed in an article or being advertised in *LJNI*. Typical of these photographs are three that appear on page 9 in the May, 1972 issue. Each of the three photographs illustrates an article that introduces a new product. For one, which has the headline “Smaller Type Pocket Bell Put to Commercial Use,” the woman is shown from the waist up. Her two hands are held in front of her, almost as if in supplication, and on the tips of her fingers sits the pocket bell. She is looking down at the item in front of her, which seems to be gingerly posed in order to show off its small size. In the second photograph with a woman on this page, which accompanies an article with the headline “MOS-IC Minicomputer,” a woman is standing to the left of the computer, with one hand laid on top of the computer, which is about twice the size of a brief case. The last of the three photographs illustrates a small, color TV camera and is one of the few photographs in *LJNI* in which the woman is shown operating non-medical equipment. In this photograph, the woman is looking through the camera’s viewfinder lens and adjusting knobs on the front lens. Like most other photographs of women in *LJNI*, these three photographs are essentially public relations announcements, or advertisements, for the products. The women are there solely to illustrate the size, provide a human focus for the produce, or illustrate the ease of use of a “complex” product.

The photograph illustrating the camera is particularly informative when contrasted with a series of photographs from the 1964 issue that illustrate the complexity of the cameras developed for the Tokyo Olympics. In these photographs, the camera operator is always male. The cameras themselves are placed in studios, where they seem to be filming programs being broadcast, or in outdoor locations. All seem to be in use because the visual field expands beyond the camera and operator – the reader has some idea of the setting. In contrast, though the woman appears to be operating the camera in 1972, she is doing so in an empty space and fills the frame of the photograph. In this way, photographs that included women focused attention on the product. The woman is simply an ornament for the item being discussed or advertised. However, those that included unidentified men, even when they were clearly promotional, showed men using the equipment or item promoted by the article. In addition, men were more likely to be pictured at work in factories, on farms, on ships, or a variety of other situations than women. It was not unusual to see pictures of Japanese men using tools, driving machinery, or doing some type of work outside. Women were only pictured working in a few situations – generally indoors, in telephone service centers as switchboard operators, in situations where they were wearing nurses uniforms and using medical equipment, in advertisements for Japanese airlines where they were serving male travelers, and at home in the role of mother or wife where they were pictured caring for children or serving food or beverages.

For the most part, the Japanese women pictured wore clothing that can be considered appropriate for the time or job, though more conservative than might be shown in a fashion

magazine. When the job called for a uniform, as in a hospital or lab, the women were wearing white nurses uniforms or lab coats. Japanese men, unless wearing uniforms appropriate for factory or construction work, inevitably wore suits and ties.

During the three periods studied, five photographs of women in kimono appeared, two in 1964, none in 1972, and three in 1980. One of these, from 1980, was from a Japanese production of *Macbeth* in Heian period costumes and also depicted a kimono clad male actor. Three of the remaining four photographs were all captioned to suggest the depiction of traditional Japanese culture. One of these photographs, used in the May, 1964 issue (section 2, page 4), showed a woman kneeling in front of a flower arrangement, holding a flower as if she is preparing to add it to the display. The caption for the photograph reads, "In Japan, flower arrangement has for centuries held an important place in the culture of the people." In 1980, the photograph shows a female Japanese dance instructor and a non-Japanese woman, identified as "a teacher from America." The Japanese woman is wearing a formal kimono while the foreign woman is dressed in a *yukata*, a less formal cotton kimono. All photographs with women in kimono are clearly included to depict traditional culture and the assumption that women are the protectors of this culture. These five photographs are joined by two others that show men dressed in traditional clothing. One is of a Buddhist priest, dressed in traditional robes, observing businessmen, dressed in suits and ties, taking part in a Zen Buddhist-style training session. The other is from the Kishiwada City *Danjiri* (Japanese float) Festival. During this festival, men, wearing loin clothes and *happi* (short jackets), pull three- to five-story high wooden floats down narrow streets at high speeds. The *Danjiri* are organized by local businesses and only men are allowed to participate in the event, in which at least one person is killed or injured regularly. In both these photographs, the feeling is not of tradition maintained but of cultural practices brought into line with modern social, particularly business demands.

In most instances, photos illustrate articles, though many of the photographs with women are actually promoting a product. Advertisements, if they include people, were more likely to include women – women were in 71% of advertisements with people. In short, women in many of the photographs are included to emphasize a product, be it one from modern manufacturing or the product of Japanese traditional ideas.

Conclusions

Though the number of images of women in *LJNI* was quite small overall, this monthly newspaper still provides a glimpse of the attitude toward women in Japanese society during the period studied. Considering the three research questions, the portrayal of women from 1964 to 1980 seems centered on their role as an adjunct to men. The limited identification of female subjects, the predominance of female images for product promotions or in

advertisements, and the tendency to depict women as passive in the photographs, unless they are serving men, as well as the few instances where women are photographed in kimono and labeled as depicting “traditional” Japanese culture, give the impression that women do not have the same status in Japanese society, an impression in line with the findings of other researchers (e.g. Darling-Wolf, 1998, 2000, 2003, 2004; Ishii & Jarkey, 2002, Kondo, 1990; McVeigh, 1997, 2004; R. J. Smith, 1983).

In addition, the images do not seem to have much variance from 1964 to 1972, though we are starting to see some change in the way women are identified in 1980 with the use of headshots of women. However, the difference between the identification of men and women remains strikingly different. Clearly, further research into the portrayal of women in this and other journals is warranted to determine if the changes noted in this small study are continued, though a similar trend has been noted in the study of the rise of *shojo* (young girl) images in Japanese advertising and other media (Orbaugh, 2003). The rise of *shojo* images, particularly in *anime* (Japanese animation) and *manga* (Japanese comic books) is seen by some as presenting a new, stronger cultural image of women in Japan, though it has also been seen to represent a cultural hybrid as well as presenting an alternate image of femininity appropriated and objectified for male use (Orbaugh, 2003).

The images of women in *LNI* seem to be a continuation of the Meiji era discourse that places women into the role of protectors of tradition or that of “good wives, wise mothers.” In short, the images continue the modern stereotype of women in Japanese society. I term them “modern” because they are, in actuality, products of the Japan after the opening of the country to Western influences. This also can be considered the point at which a threat to “traditional” society began to be perceived. Japan’s response was to modernize as rapidly as possible, but to place the responsibility for this modernization on men – in effect to make them the model for modernity. Women remain consigned to the role of protectors of home, family, and traditional culture – as models of Japanese society. Along the lines Ellul (1965/1962) discusses regarding the time required to build new national symbols, the myths of Japanese tradition as lying in the feminine seem to have been formulated during the Meiji period and solidified in the prewar era. The results of this myth creation seem to be carried through in the *LNI*’s postwar portrayal of Japanese women.

Note

1. In keeping with the guidelines of the Society of Writers, Editors and Translators (SWET, 1998), the Japanese name order of family name before given name is used in this paper.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Codebook for *LJNI* photographs

1. Issue, page, photo # (from top, right, column 1 to bottom left) = code # for photo
2. People in photo? No = 0, Yes = 1

For photos with people, complete the following:

3. Number of people (count 1 to 8) – If the photo is of a crowd scene or has more than eight people code as 9
- 4 & 5. What is the gender of the people in the photo (Count for male and female)
6. Description of clothes
 - 0 = other, undeterminable
 - 1 = Western business suit, tie
 - 2 = Slacks, shirt & tie (no suit jacket)
 - 3 = Western dress or skirt and top (business or office wear for women)
 - 4 = Work uniform, physical laborers' uniform (factory, farm or construction appropriate)
 - 5 = Work uniform, maintain cleanliness (hospitals, laboratories, computer clean rooms, etc.)
 - 6 = Casual Western clothes, not work clothes (street clothes, street fashion)
 - 7 = Kimono, hakama, other traditional Japanese
 - 8 = Traditional, other national clothing (not kimono)
 - 9 = Formal Western (tails, gowns, etc.)
7. Are any of the people in the photo identified? No = 0, Yes = 1
If yes – for photos with more than one individual, who is identified (Count # of males and females identified)
8. What is the location of the photograph?
 - 0 = Undetermined, other
 - 1 = headshot (background obscured)
 - 2 = indoor meeting between a small group of people (2 to 5) (as in an office)
 - 3 = indoor meeting with a larger group (6+) as in a hall (seminar, conference, speech, etc.)
 - 4 = outdoor work location (farm, construction site, loading docks, etc.)
 - 5 = indoor work location (factory, office, etc.)
 - 6 = show room or trade show (pr photos)
 - 7 = advertising set (background obscured or advertised object imposed on background)

8 = home

9 = temple, shrine, or other scenic or traditional location

9. What is the purpose of the photo?

0 = Undetermined, other

1 = Illustrate a hard news article

2 = Illustrate a news article about a public event (speech, meeting, etc.)

3 = Illustrate a product discussed in an article

4 = Illustrate the subject of an interview

5 = Advertising

10. Impression of the image (subjective, open-ended answers by rater)

Appendix B Sample of Codesheet for Photographs in LJNI*

Issue-Page-Photo# (code # for photo)	People	#	M/F	ID	Clothes	Setting	Purpose	Impression
193-9-1	0							
193-9-2	1	1	0-1	0	6 (Western mini skirt)	6 (show room)	3 (pr for product)	Model for modern J woman
193-10-1	1	1	1-0	1	1 (business suit)	1 (head-shot)	4 (Interview subject)	Conforms to Western biz model

*Note: See codebook (Appendix A) for description of the coding scheme