

# The representation of women in Japanese television advertising. A content analysis of female roles and stereotypes

## *La representación de la mujer en la publicidad televisiva en Japón. Un análisis de contenido sobre los roles y estereotipos*



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### **Abstract:**

This paper analyses the different stereotypes in advertising on Japanese television channels: TV Tokyo, TV Fuji, NHK, TV Asahi, and TBL, broadcast in April 2021. This object of study is motivated by the scarcity of works that deal with this type of material, since most of the research on stereotypes in relation to women has focused on graphic advertisements in magazines. A content analysis has been carried out of 173 advertisements and 237 female characters in 2022. The results confirm the existence of six different stereotypes: traditional, subjugated, transgressive, kawaii, kirei and lolita women. In addition, in contrast to the studies by Prieler, Kohlbacher, Hagiwara and Arima (2015), it is confirmed that the different gender stereotypes are not related to the ages represented, but rather linked to the attributes represented. For the traditional woman, motherhood, love and family; in the subjugated woman, weakness, submission and sadness; in the transgressive woman, transgression, modernity and triumph;

### **Resumen:**

*En este trabajo se analizan los diferentes estereotipos en la publicidad emitida en abril de 2021 en los canales de televisión japoneses: TV Tokyo, TV Fuji, NHK, TV Asahi, y TBL. Este objeto de estudio viene motivado por la escasez de trabajos que aborden este tipo de material, ya que mayoritariamente la investigación sobre los estereotipos en relación con la mujer se ha centrado en los anuncios gráficos en revistas. Se ha realizado un análisis de contenido de 173 anuncios emitidos en 2022 y 237 personajes femeninos. Los resultados confirman la existencia de seis estereotipos diferentes: mujer tradicional, sometida, transgresora, kawaii, kirei y lolita. Además, en contraposición a los estudios de Prieler, Kohlbacher, Hagiwara y Arima (2015), se comprueba que los diferentes estereotipos de género no tienen relación con las edades que se representan, sino que quedan ligados los atributos que representa. En la mujer tradicional, la maternidad, amor y familia; debilidad, sometimiento y tristeza, en la mujer sometida; transgresión, modernidad y triunfo, en*

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regarding the kawaii woman, sexual attraction, pleasure and seduction; in the case of the kirei woman, maturity or innocence, and the lolita stereotype is inversely related to sweetness.

**Keywords:**

Representation of women; female stereotypes; Japan; gender; advertising.

*la mujer transgresora; atracción sexual, placer y seducción, referido a la mujer kawaii; madurez o inocencia, en el caso de la mujer kirei, y en el estereotipo de mujer lolita que se relaciona inversamente con el atributo dulzura.*

**Palabras clave:**

*Representación de la mujer; estereotipo femenino; Japón; género; publicidad.*

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1. The representation of “femininity”

A particularly relevant area for this study is that of social representations of femininity. Bourdieu (2000: 21) considers that social structure is based on a system of arbitrary conventions by the “division between sexes”, creating a sexualised reality that goes beyond the physical differences between men and women, attributing them with different and contrasting schemata, such that men are associated with concepts of “outdoors (fields, assemblies, markets)” and women with “indoors (home, garden, fountain, firewood)” (2020:23). Furthermore, this social order is thought to be long-established, as the *habitus*, as “lasting and transferable dispositions” which condition personal options and act as the “organising principles and generators of practices and representations” (Bourdieu, 1991: 92), has reproduced these patterns unconsciously, in some way regulating society, and repeating them until now.

In his study, Bourdieu highlights that men, as the dominant part of the man-woman binomial, tend to convert women into objects which must have certain characteristics, placing them in a “state of bodily insecurity” or “symbolic dependence” (2020: 86). The characteristics which women must display are to be “smiling, nice, attentive, submissive, discrete, contained”, maintaining a relationship of dependency and respect towards men (2020: 86), their morality being defined on the outside by their clothing and hair.

Wolf (1991) defines beauty as a monetary system created and politicised by masculinity, with norms and patterns written by men using their perceptions, meaning that any woman who wishes to represent femininity must necessarily comply. This imposed model is currently in crisis, undergoing major modifications, as representations of beauty are no longer so immutable or universal as was previously thought. Thus, the author of this paper affirms that women live subjugated by the myth of standards of beauty that are widely disseminated and accepted.

Given that both western and eastern societies are largely patriarchal, there has always been a tendency to reinforce sexism and to make traditional gender roles seem natural. This, together with the fact that most positions of power are held by men and that they tend to impose their leadership and authority on decisions (Kuperberg & Stone, 2008), means that these “traditional roles” have been perpetuated in the media over time.

Here the concept of “stereotypes” comes into play, such that if Maisonneuve’s definition (1989) is reformulated using the terms of Wolf (1991), it could be said that men, as a historically larger social group, have generalized and attributed to women certain patterns (to be discussed below) to which they must mould themselves in order to be considered women. Thus, if they wish

to be seen as such, women have to reproduce these models, generating problems of self-representation. Therefore, it can be said that stereotypes are to be found in collective representations and in those of the collective imaginary world, and that they generate a relationship of dependency with cultural models, shared by many people (Dittus, Basulto & Riffo, 2017).

Affirming irrefutably that women are subject to a stereotyped representation, it was necessary in Spain to legislate on this reproduction of stereotypes, and Article 3 of the General Law on Advertising (1988) established that women cannot be portrayed:

“[...] in a degrading manner, be it by utilising their bodies or parts of the same, particularly or directly, as mere objects bearing no relation to the product being promoted, or by their image being associated with stereotyped behaviour which vulnerates the basics of our statutes, thereby contributing to the violence referred to by Organic Law 1/2004, of the 28th of December 2004, concerning Integral Protective Measures against Gender-based Violence”.

## *1.2. The media, advertising & social representation*

### *1.2.1. The role of the media in the diffusion of social representation*

The media's main objective is to reach as many people as possible, and in fact this has become one of the chief ways of earning profits: the sale of audience attention to advertising space, whether this be in the press, radio, television, or internet. The larger the audience, the more expensive the advert, as more “impacts” can be achieved, and these impacts may be “converted” into customers. Limited time and space are usually dedicated to these advertisements, there are a lot of brands wanting the slot, and at a high price. For some authors (García-Fernández & García-Reyes, 2004: 44), this is a factor explaining why advertisers feel it necessary to turn to stereotypes which the audience will recognise, allowing them to communicate more in the least possible space and time. That is why they are used so much and have been for so long; that is, they need to be stable, as should they change, the meaning of an image may generate a “lack of comprehension” in the target audience.

Therefore, it must be remembered that the chief aims of any communication in the media are to:

“[...] reinforce certain social values, promote others, change some, encourage new ones, and transmit behavioural norms so that society reproduces and perpetuates them in the way best suited to the historical moment in question” (De los Ríos & Martínez, 1997: 98).

In other words, the media are “reproducers and creators of normative models, that is, of what is socially and culturally considered adequate or normative” (Rodríguez, Pando-Canteli & Zebrio, 2017: 11), showing a model of an idealized, standardised world in which stereotypes set the course of the messages emitted by the media.

### *1.2.2. Advertising & the mechanisms for reproducing stereotypes*

Qualter (1994: 71) considers that “one of the greatest responsibilities of a modern advertiser is the invention and expansion of meaningful symbols”. This means that an advertiser is not dedicated just to providing information about the product or service being promoted, but that this has to be done utilising those meaningful symbols which mark out certain behavioural models

for people. This means that stereotyped images are reproduced in advertising to “maintain an economy of communication” (García-Fernández & García-Reyes, 2004: 44), swiftly alluding to determined characteristics both of the target audience and of the context in which the advert is placed.

It is common to see women represented in diverse roles, that, as we will see shortly, are usually classified as family, at home, job balanced with housework, partner and companion or object of desire. All of these representations have behind them a very important effect, as they transmit values, sensations and messages that identify certain lifestyles assumed to be natural (García-Fernández & García-Reyes, 2004).

### *1.3. The representation of women in advertising*

Since the period 2005-10, the importance of the feminist movement has crossed the barrier of social affairs to also influence the way in which companies communicate with the public. It can be said that, as advertisers, brands stand before their direct audience, independent associations responsible for monitoring advertising practices (such as Autocontrol in Spain) and social researchers, due to the stereotyped image transmitted of a non-existent reality (in this case, that of women), as there are few women who really see themselves adequately represented in advertising.

In fact, it can be demonstrated how the image of women in advertising has been changing over time. In an analysis of the advertising of luxury fashion brands, Díaz-Soloaga and Muñiz-Muriel (2007: 37) found six female profiles: the traditional woman, characterised by the reflection of “love, maternity and family”; the transgressive woman, whose qualities are “success, liberty, conquest, happiness and transgression”; the fragile or subjugated woman, from a reflection of “sadness, weakness, listlessness and oppression”; the hedonistic, sensual woman, characterised by “sexual attraction, seduction and pleasure”; and the functional-modern woman, with attributes of “modernity, joy and comfort”.

In a later study of advertising in general (that is, not focused on fashion advertising), Díaz-Soloaga, Muñiz-Muriel and Quintas-Froufe (2010: 126) detected five distinct stereotypes: the transgressive, combatant woman, who reflected attributes of “success, competitiveness, professional achievement, loyalty, affective success, conquest, transgression and freedom”; sensual woman, reflecting “an attitude of seduction, an athletic body, an attitude of contemplation, seduction and pleasure”; traditional woman, who reflects “family, maternity, love and house-pride”; passive woman, with attributes of “sadness, weakness and listlessness”; and fragile woman, appearing “lying down or leaning back with a passive or oppressed attitude”. It can be seen in this new classification that the stereotype of modern woman has vanished, while that of fragile or subjugated woman gives rise to two distinct female stereotypes, the fragile and the passive, clearly differentiating between two types of attitudes.

Almansa and Gómez de Travesedo (2017) review stereotypes of woman present in graphic advertising, identifying nine kinds of stereotypes: fashionable, glamorous, celebrity, partner, worker, mother, superwoman, friend and housewife. In this case, the stereotypes correspond to different facets a woman may display in her daily life, so that, excepting that of celebrity, the roles are not mutually exclusive. This model of stereotype identification presents the problem of categorisation, as two other roles are presented (that is, “not differentiated” and “others”) which make up a third of the analysis, and the attributes of these “types” of women are not described. Nevertheless, what is noticeable from this study is the change in the roles which seems to

be taking place, setting to one side the trident of “home-mother-wife” in favour of that of “worker-friend-partner”, which would show a multi-talented woman, successful in both her professional and personal life.

In another study, Treviños-Rodríguez and Díaz-Soloaga (2018) present four stereotypes repeated in luxury brand advertising: modern-transgressive woman, showing values of competitiveness, achievement, transgression, professional success, freedom, risk and modernity; the family woman, amongst whose attributes we find pride in the home, maternity, housework or attention to the children and family; the seductive woman, represented by qualities of sexual attraction, seduction and conquest; and the stereotype of the woman with affective success, reflected by loyalty, love and seduction.

As regards research into this subject in other countries, Zotos and Tsihla (2014: 451) identify four groups of roles shown in graphic advertising in magazines in Cyprus. In the first, “the woman in traditional roles”, they distinguish two main roles, one of dependency, where the man protects the woman, and she takes the unimportant decisions, and the role of housewife. In the second category, what the authors term “decorative roles” are covered: women concerned with their physical attractiveness and as sexual objects. The third category covers women’s roles classified as “non-traditional”, including women as authoritative voices, focused on a professional career or a blue-collar job, or performing non-traditional activities outside the house (golf or football would be examples of this). And finally, a fourth category represents women as equals, with men performing “neutral” roles.

In the Asian context, Chen (2016: 2845) states that Chinese fashion magazines do not display a copy of westernised female power, but that a more “sober, delicate, tender” model is followed, “in contrast with ostentatious, assertive western ideals”, showing women who are more “powerful, confident and self-satisfied” (Chen, 2010, cited in Treviños-Rodríguez & Díaz-Soloaga, 2018: 150). Chan & Cheng (2012), state that magazine advertising in Hong Kong shows a lack of diversity, with woman represented on most occasions in decorative functions, projecting these stereotypes principally in adverts, which have women themselves as the target audience.

#### *1.4. Women & advertising in Japan*

##### *1.4.1. Women in Japan*

To be able to understand women’s situation in Japan one must place oneself within the country’s historical and religious framework. Japan is a polytheist country dominated by two religions; 70.4% of the population practise Shintoism and 69.8% are Buddhists (Statista, 2020a), as, being polytheist religions, they are not incompatible, one individual being able to identify with more than one religion. Moreover, the ideological basis of Japanese culture rests on Confucianism, active since the VIIth century CE (Sánchez, 2010) touching all aspects of the nation, including its economy, politics, and society. The main pillars of Japanese life derive from Confucianism, a strong ethical sense and human relations based on a hierarchy. Several of the books of Confucianism openly declare a gender hierarchy and that there “exists” an obligation for women to obey men due to their “lack of intelligence” (Sánchez, 2010), warning that this extends not only to a husband, but to obeying male children as well. In fact, Dore (2005) states that part of these values have lingered, there being girls’ schools with subjects concerning caring for men and the arts, such as dance or music (Sánchez, 2010), and where the supposed intellectual inferiority of girls fits with

established cultural patterns. Japan also represents one of the apexes of the Hofstede-Hall cultural model, as an example of a reactive culture, the cultures of this apex being characterised by non-verbal communication, with no expression of emotions, considerable use of silences and displaying an aversion to extroversion (Lewis, 2018).

As regards the world of work, two moments have marked women's rights in Japan. The first came in 1986 with the Law of Equal Opportunities at Work, which was highly controversial, as most workers were opposed, stating that women are physically and emotionally different from men, and therefore should be treated differently in the workplace (Molony, 1995). This law proposed that for a woman to have access to a position, the "head" of the family should be registered as having given express consent, and it was only in this way that the labour market was opened to women. The second moment was the 1995 labour reform. Since then, a man's express consent has not been necessary for a woman to work (Onaha, 2007). Due to these two laws, between 2002 and 2018, the employability of women rose by 13.6% (Kawaguchi & Mori, 2019), moreover the number of married working women grew over this period from 59.4% to 73.7%, while that of single working women went from 87% to 89%, something of little significance bearing in mind the increase in the number of married women in employment. Furthermore, these laws did little to alter the employability of older women. It has recently appeared in the media that women have rebelled against the State about wearing something other than skirts and heels in their workplaces, where the Minister stated that "society accepts that wearing them is necessary and reasonable at work" (Cuesta, 2019). Moreover, in 2001, the "Law on the prevention of conjugal violence and the protection of victims" was passed, it has been modified in 2004 and 2007. The order concerning gender violence covers three important points, a restraining order relative to partners and their children, for a maximum of 6 months, an expulsion order, whereby the aggressor is expelled for a maximum of 2 months, during which time he cannot approach the family home, and a gagging order, whereby he cannot request visits to any child the couple had (Matsumoto, 2010).

Yasumoto (2006) speaks of the subordinate position that Japanese women have habitually occupied, in an analysis of 30 articles in the magazine *Aera*, concluding that slight indications of progress can be perceived towards a modern role for women. It should be mentioned that this study was based on textual elements, demonstrating different hierarchies, in which women are portrayed as not taking independent decisions, and with a negative representation, that is, a Confucianist representation of woman. Yasumoto's study (2006) also indicates that age is a crucial factor when studying the transmission of stereotypes, something exacerbated by the importance in Japan of social hierarchy systems which influence the reproduction of stereotypes in advertising.

The studies available show that elderly women are represented in a traditional role that shows a woman at home and men in the workplace, thus reinforcing the perception of the man-woman stereotypes and roles present in society, older women being least frequently represented (Prieler, Kohlbacher, Hagiwara & Arima, 2011). Although the representation of the elderly has increased over recent years, the inclusion of the female sex in this age group has been limited to the category of cosmetics and hygiene articles (Prieler, Kohlbacher, Hagiwara & Arima, 2017), as well as food and drink (Prieler, Kohlbacher, Hagiwara & Arima, 2015), generally being shown in the home.

The fact that the model of an older woman is associated with food is generally due to the great importance which this sector has in advertising in Japan, and that it is associated with the credibility and experience that this social profile grants to the sector.

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning that no association has been found with products related with health and medication (Prieler, Kohlbacher, Hagiwara & Arima, 2015).

Concerning age, numerous studies indicate that a beautiful and essentially young woman is preferable for advertising, as is the norm in most countries (for example, in the case of Spain: Berganza & Del Hoyo, 2006; Chacón, 2008; and Díaz-Soloaga, Quintas-Froufe & Muñoz-Muriel, 2010). In Japan, Suzuki (1995) considers that the choice of younger women in advertising is explained by, as occurs in other countries, these women being attributed with all the characteristics a desirable and beautiful face or body should possess, based always on youth and physical appearance. However, in Japan, men are chosen for their experience, education or social status, so it is commoner to see middle-aged or elderly men in adverts. This relegates more mature women, as theirs is not the “standard” beauty. Chang (2008: 29) corroborates that, apart from the ethnicity or sex of the model in the advert, in order for brands to achieve the desired engagement there has to be a correspondence between the consumer and what the model represents, as well as being in line with their aspirations, pointing out that “for Asian clients, a young Caucasian model may be more effective than an Asian one”. There is another factor considerably influencing the under-representation of older women in Japanese advertising, as they tend to perceive and self-represent themselves with characters between 5 and 10 years younger (Yamasaki, 2005, cited by Prieler, Kohlbacher, Hagiwara & Arima, 2009). This last point has to do with the fact that “in commercial stereotypes, credibility is more important than the individuals who tend to take as true that information which fits with their beliefs” (Quarter, 1994: 91); that is, if women tend to self-represent as some years younger than they are, it is necessary to use models who represent that age group when trying to reach them.

Depending on the characteristics that each advertising message wishes to express, three main aesthetics have been distinguished in Japan, which, due to ease of engagement, have triumphed in advertising. The first model is the *kawaii* aesthetic, deriving from one of the most popular words in Japanese popular culture, and which has crossed frontiers (Kinsella, 1995). To define *kawaii*, one can turn to the Japanese *Nihon Kokugo Daijiten* dictionary (2000), taking the acceptation applied to women and children, who have the attributes of being adorable, attractive, obedient, small and beautiful. One should clarify that this aesthetic is what in Spanish would be termed “*mona*” and in English, “*cute*”, and which is also applied to animals or even to cartoons. Applied to a woman’s aesthetic, it refers to women representing 18 to 29 years of age and is utilised as a means of persuasion in advertisements to make potential consumers feel closer to the model (Lieber-Milo & Nittono, 2019).

The second aesthetic model in women is *kirei*, or simply pretty and attractive, although with a connotation containing touches of maturity, more sexualized bodies, a larger bust (with the intention of eliminating any childlike feature), provocative clothing, corporal expressions reflecting maturity, power or dominance (Johnson, 2010).

Although the features of a *kawaii* woman seem well-defined, this is not so, as there is a variant within the framework of this aesthetic, the model called *lolita*, which in Japan means attractive young woman. It can be said that, as a common characteristic of the *kawaii*, there is no apparent sexuality, but the aesthetic is strongly marked by her baroque style clothes and hairdo, factors described by Bourdieu (2000) which were decisive in a woman’s role, and which is even more clearly marked in advertising. This aesthetic is characterised by wearing a lot of laces, chiefly pink and white; generally pastel colours to highlight innocence and denote a minor (Marcus, Kurosu, Ma & Hashizume, 2017), simulating the appearance of a doll or a baby, and showing greater submission than *kawaii* girls.

These three aesthetics show representations of a mix of the attributes that make up the different roles of women in advertising. Díaz-Soloaga and Muñiz-Muriel's study (2007) shows the profile of a fragile or subjugated woman is associated with being younger, having a seductive, passive and joyless attitude, sharing certain features with *kawaii*. The image of a transgressive woman is related with aggression, competitiveness and athleticism, and she is older than the fragile woman. Also noteworthy is the sensual woman profile, passive, with a perfect body. It should be pointed out here that both the transgressive aesthetic and the sensual woman share certain features with *kirei* women, but none of the roles mentioned fits perfectly with those proposed by Díaz-Soloaga and Muñiz-Muriel (2007).

The representation of foreigners in Japanese advertising shows the male figure as prevalent over that of women. Foreigners are mostly represented by Caucasian actors, in contrast to the low representation of those of African descent. Among existing types, the North American is the commonest, followed by the Europe and other Asians (Higawara, 1998).

It must also be pointed out that, being a society with a strong social hierarchy, in Japan inter-cultural relations are also understood via hierarchy, such that a Caucasian would never adopt a role inferior to that of a Japanese. Moreover, they are constantly employed to ascribe positive aspects to the service or product being advertised; that is, lending a seal of approval that guarantees quality (Ólafsson, 2014), always with a successful and uninhibited attitude. In fact, the representation of the perfect woman, white-skinned and western-looking, has become a new standard of beauty in Japanese society, "assigning a new ideal for national femininity" (Sánchez, 2014: 318). Therefore, it is hardly strange to find studies related to the representation of women in the media in which the ideal young woman sees herself represented by characters with "pale skin, long or half-length hair, large eyes and a balanced figure" (López Rodríguez & García Pacheco, 2011: 1094), stereotypes that appear in advertising as well as in other messages.

From the racial mixture comes the figure of the *haafu* (from 'half'); that is, with half-Japanese features, the other half corresponding to another nationality/ethnic group. *Haafu* are very popular in adverts in Japan, as they contribute to the creation of a stereotype the young find very attractive, automatically granting them certain qualities, such as being "attractive, polyglot, friendly, rich, cosmopolitan" (Want, 2016), all mixed with some Japanese features. Furthermore, *haafu* are frequently utilised in cosmetics ads (evoking the perfection of a white complexion, as seen above), food, clothes and complements, especially wrist watches (Want, 2016), causing insecurity when not meeting the parameters directly associated with them. Moreover, young *haafu* often get modelling jobs for brands in other sectors if they have been "favoured" with the stereotyped features.

Thanks to these "good" characteristics, associated with both foreigners and with *haafu*, it is no surprise that they become celebrities and are hired to give a product or service a stamp of "luxury" or of good quality. As regards female characters, it is essential to distinguish celebrities from idols, persons generally of the female sex who have become famous due to their appearance, having passed through the musical world, whether in one of the groups dedicated to "creating idols" or as a soloist. The objective of these groups is to become famous, work as models for magazines or adverts, and appear in programmes to increase audiences. They are characterised by having the *kawaii* aesthetic, which supposes and guarantees a certain "commercial weight" (Gabraith & Karlin, 2012).



The interest of this paper resides in finding out how female stereotypes are transmitted in Japanese advertising, given the hyper-sexualisation of Japanese women, which reaches even to the West.

### 1.5. Objectives & hypothesis

O1: Identify the stereotypes employed in Japanese advertising in its representation of women. O2: Reveal the values that define each of the stereotypes found.

O3: Analyse the type of character utilised for each product category advertised.

In relation with these objectives, the following hypotheses are proposed:

H1a: There is an association between women's age groups and the stereotypes with which they are represented in Japanese television advertising. Thus, the model of adolescent woman corresponds to the stereotype *lolita*; a young adult woman to *kawaii*; adult woman to *kirei*; and an older woman to the traditional Japanese woman.

H1b: There is a direct association between the roles of traditional woman, transgressive or combative woman, fragile or subjugated, sensual and modern as proposed in other studies, with the stereotypes of traditional Japanese woman, *kirei*, *kawaii* and *lolita* respectively.

H2: The ideal woman in Japanese television advertising is identified with the features of *haafu*

H3a: Traditional women are represented in the home to advertise food products.

H3b: *Kirei* women are chosen to advertise household products.

H3c: *Kawaii* women are mainly chosen to figure in beauty adverts.

## 2. Method

### 2.1. Sample & unit of analysis

The study into stereotypes of women in Japanese television advertising has been carried out utilising quantitative content analysis (Wimmer & Dominick, 1996), a technique which permits the analysis and study of communicative elements, in particular texts, images and voices (Krippendorff, 2004). The analysis has been applied to a sample of 173 advertisements broadcast by the channels TV Tokyo, TV Fujji, NHK, TV Asahi and TBL. These channels were selected as they are the main national television channels in Japan (Takeshita & Mikami, 1995) and as they broadcast live online 24 hours a day. The choice of these TV channels is justified by audience figures: TV Asahi 19.1%, TBS, 10.5%; NHK, 10.2%; TV Tokyo, 10.1%; Fuji TV 9.7%, *primetime* being from 19:00 to 22:00 o'clock, according to Video Research (2020a). Furthermore, television viewing in Japan is still the main choice of leisure activity, for 63.1% of women, and 60.4% of men, followed by a la carte contents such as Netflix or Youtube (Video Research, 2020b).

The adverts analysed were broadcast between 13:00 and 23:00 o'clock (corresponding to the slots 6:00 and 16:00 in Spain) over a constructed week that contained 7 days in April, randomly chosen each day from Monday to Sunday. The days from which

advertisements were taken were the following: 19, 13, 7, 29, 16, 10 and 25 of April, randomly selected utilising the Google *Random Number Generator* - (<https://www.google.com/search?q=generador+de+numeros+aleatorios>).

The unit of analysis for this study are the female figures that appear in the adverts. Of the 173 ads included in the sample, a total of 237 units of analysis have been obtained, without differentiating between leading or supporting characters, in those cases where more than one woman appears in an advert.

## 2.2. Measurement & definition of the variables

The analysis protocol applied in this study (see Appendix I, where the principal variables and their associated categories are indicated) is based on the studies by Prieler, Ivanov and Hagiwara (2015), and Arima (2003), with some modifications, as these studies have been able to approximately synthesise the various roles of women in Japanese advertising. The variables and categories proposed in these studies have been complemented by other elements taken from **Díaz-Soloaga, Muñiz-Muriel** and Quintas-Froufe (2010) in order to look more deeply at the attitudes assumed by the women in the adverts, and which were not covered by Prieler, Ivanov and Hagiwara (2015) or Arima (2003) in their respective studies.

The variables considered for the analysis of the female stereotypes in Japanese television advertising are the following:

*Age.* Referring to the age group that the character represents. A new operationalisation has been proposed with respect to that propounded by Arima (2003), which goes by years. Given that this is an analysis of graphical elements (images), the model's age cannot be affirmed, only her apparent age, therefore there is differentiation between those models represented as minors, youths, adults, elderly and 'does not correspond' or 'is not clear'. Such a categorisation allows us to observe the attributes associated with each stage represented.

*Ethnicity.* Consideration of this variable respects the proposal of Arima (2003), highlighting the express differentiation made between the characters of Japanese origin and other Asian ethnicities. In addition, and due to the great importance that characters of mixed race have acquired in the advertising panorama, it has been deemed essential to add the *haafu* variable. The categories of cartoon, robot or monster of human-female appearance have also been added, as it is common in Japan to see advertisements with such characters. In order to define the various categories, the guide proposed by Rodríguez (2020) has been employed, in which the different features of the Asians are differentiated. Thus, the Japanese can be distinguished from other Asians and the *haafu*.

*Character type.* This variable includes the categories of celebrity and ordinary person. A "celebrity" is any person or being, be it animal, robot or monster, that is easily recognisable as famous or an *idol*, such that by virtue of personal or professional trajectory they have been the object of media coverage. The two categories (celebrity and *idol*) have been joined as one because they perform the same function in advertising, that of being prescriptive of the brand and symbol of quality. When they do not have such characteristics, they are registered as an ordinary character; that is, any person or being, animal, robot or monster, that does not fall into the category of celebrity or *idol*.

*Clothing.* The proposals of Díaz-Soloaga, Muñiz-Muriel and Quintas-Froufe (2010) have been accepted for this variable, with the addition of the attributes of children's and provocative clothing, an important attribute when marking a woman's role

in advertisements, as seen above. Each of the garments has been taken as a dichotomic variable (0=no; 1=yes), as the same woman may have a change of outfit, for example to indicate a before and an after.

*Setting.* This variable refers to the space or environment in which the women are represented, it allows for verification of the negative vision of Japanese woman observed in previous studies. It is for this reason that the places proposed by Arima (2003) have been kept. Furthermore, it is operationalised as a dichotomic variable because, dealing with television adverts, a single character may move from one setting to another.

*Product.* 11 categories have been established, largely following the proposals of Prieler, Ivanov and Hagiwara (2015), which refer to articles of cosmetics and personal care, restaurants and cafes, fashion and complements, telephones and technology, automotive, insurance and financial services, alcohol and tobacco, foodstuffs and supermarkets, medication and health, household and other. This last category has been added given the impossibility of classifying all the many products on the market.

*Target audience.* This category refers to the public towards which the advert is aimed. Four categories have been included: men, women, men and women, and others.

*Body part highlighted.* This marks the part of the character's body that is highlighted in the advert, taking those proposed in the study by Díaz-Soloaga, Muñoz-Muriel and Quintas-Froufe (2010). 11 dichotomic variables correspond to this category: face, eyes, mouth, neck, hair, faceless body, chest, legs, hands, waist and whole body.

*Values reflected by the character.* This variable has been added with the objective of looking more closely at the different roles, with categories based on the proposals of Díaz-Soloaga and Muñoz-Muriel (2007), incorporating some other attributes. These extras are: innocence, maturity and sweetness, to match more closely the models of representation of Japanese women.

The coding table has been segmented into four groups of variables:

- Identification data for the advertisement: 3 items.
- Data relative to the characters' outer appearance: 15 variables.
- Data referring to the context in which the advert takes place: 19 variables.
- Data referring to the values reflected by the character: 18 variables.

### 3. Results

#### 3.1. General aspects of the characters

26.5% of the characters analysed are in adverts for foodstuffs. Together with this category, telephones and technology (19.5%) also provided a considerable number of ads, followed by cosmetics and personal care (13.5%). The others correspond to the categories of medication and health (9.8%), household (7.4%), fashion and complements (5.6%), other (4.2%), insurance and financial products (4.2%), alcohol and tobacco (3.3%), restaurants and cafes (3.3%) and automotive (2.8%). When analysing the advertisements, the target audience were also taken into consideration, with 47.9% being aimed at both men and women,

38.1% at women, 11.2% addressing men exclusively, and 2.8% to other audiences. Furthermore, it was found that 86.6% of the characters were ordinary people, in contrast with the characters considered to be celebrities or *idols*, although these made up a noticeable 13.4%.

As regards the physical appearance of the female characters analysed, and more specifically their socio-demographic characteristics, it is worth noting that most appear to be young (45.8%), followed by adults (31.5%). Finally, with less representation, 13% of the characters represent minors, and 9.7% represent the elderly.

Turning to ethnicity, Japanese characters clearly predominate (46.8%), followed by the *haafu*, with 31%. Caucasians have less representation (8.8%), as do non-Japanese Asians (6.4%), cartoons, monsters, robots or anthropomorphised objects (5.1%), and, lastly, a meagre representation of people of African descent (1.9%).

As for the body part highlighted, it is important to point out that there may be more than one in a single advertisement. In fact, the commonest combination found is that of face and whole body which appear equally highlighted in the same spot, therefore the data presented refers to each category in the total number of adverts. Firstly, the body part most frequently highlighted in the adverts analysed is the whole body (77.3%), in second place the face, (51.9%). Less prominent were, the waist (6.5%), hands (4.7%), chest (4.2%), mouth (3.2%), hair (2.8%), eyes (2.3%), faceless body (2.3%), neck (1.9%; and legs (1.9%).

Concerning the characters' clothing, just as in the previous variable, changes of clothing have been considered as possible in audio visual spots, and therefore each of the categories presented are distinct variables measured in relation with the total number of adverts. The clothing type most frequently used by the characters analysed is casual clothes (25.2%), followed by formal (18.2%), children's (17.8%), work uniforms (13.6%) and provocative clothes (11.7%). Less commonly represented are the characters wearing aprons (7.9%), sportswear (6.1%), suits (5.1%), semi-naked (4.7%), with a kimono, yukata or traditional Japanese costume (3.7%), in a swimsuit or underwear (2.3%) and, finally completely nude (0.9%).

As regards the setting of the advert, being an audio-visual element and as there may be several settings in a single spot, they have been measured such that each setting covers different variables. The commonest setting for female characters is inside the home (34.3%), followed by the street or outdoors (25.9%), other interiors (21.8%), at work (15.4%), in places of leisure (11.1%) and other settings (0.9%).

### 3.2. Stereotypes identified

In order to identify the various stereotypes present in Japanese advertising, a factorial analysis was performed utilising the 18 variables corresponding to the different attributes which, as seen in the theoretical framework, are to be found in the roles represented by the female characters in the adverts. Each of the variables has been presented as a dichotomy, therefore, where an attribute has been identified it is marked as 1, and on the contrary as 0. Adaptation of Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) sampling with Varimax rotation gave a value of .728, resulting in a statistically significant Bartlett coefficient of ( $p \leq .01$ ). This analysis shows that the 18 factors explain 63.87% of the variance.

Once the factorial analysis had been carried out, a reliability analysis was performed to analyse the internal consistency of each of the stereotypes found, leaving to one side the components composed of a single variable, as is the case with sweetness (see table 1). By utilising this procedure six factors were discovered, corresponding to the same number of stereotypes:

- the stereotype of *traditional* woman is made up of the variables of maternity, family and love ( $\alpha = .795$ ).
- the stereotype of *subjugated* woman is made up of items which make reference to the reflection of weakness, subjection and sadness ( $\alpha = .648$ ).
- the stereotype of *transgressive* woman is directly related with the values of transgression, modernity and achievement ( $\alpha = .735$ ).
- the stereotype of *kawaii* woman is composed of sexual attraction, seduction and pleasure ( $\alpha = .613$ ).
- the stereotype of *kirei* woman is made up of maturity and innocence, such that they are inversely proportional; that is, the presence of one automatically supposes the absence of the other, therefore the Cronbach's Alpha value is negative ( $\alpha = -.789$ ).
- the stereotype of *lolita* woman has the attribute of sweetness.

**Table 1. KMO factorial analysis with Varimax rotation of the attributes present in stereotypes**

	<b>Traditional</b>	<b>Subjugated</b>	<b>Transgressive</b>	<b>Kawaii</b>	<b>Kirei</b>	<b>Lolita</b>
<b>Maternity</b>	<b>.850</b>					
<b>Family</b>	<b>.809</b>					
<b>Love</b>	<b>.784</b>					
<b>Weakness</b>		<b>.796</b>				
<b>Subjection</b>		<b>.681</b>				
<b>Sadness</b>		<b>.650</b>				
<b>Freedom</b>		-.479	.374			
<b>Loyalty</b>	.412	.440				
<b>Transgression</b>			<b>.802</b>			
<b>Modernity</b>			<b>.786</b>			

<b>Achievement</b>			<b>.546</b>		.424	
<b>Comfort</b>			-.470			
<b>Sexual attraction</b>				<b>.795</b>		
<b>Seduction</b>				<b>.776</b>		
<b>Pleasure</b>				<b>.612</b>		
<b>Innocence</b>					<b>-.767</b>	
<b>Maturity</b>					<b>.767</b>	
<b>Sweetness</b>						<b>-.912</b>
<b>Percentage of variation explained</b>	21.19%	14.03%	8.71%	8.18%	6.05%	5.71%

Source: created by the author

Following the factorial analysis six new variables were drawn up with the stereotypes obtained. To this end, using the SPSS tool “transform variable”, all the attributes present were added up in each of the profiles and divided between the total number of items added. The averages observed in each of the stereotypes are: traditional woman  $M=.132$ ; subjugated woman  $M=.165$ ; transgressive woman  $M=.212$ ; *kawaii* woman  $M=.160$ ; *kirei* woman  $M=.251$ , and *lolita* woman  $M=.346$ .

Concerning the relation between the stereotypes identified and the clothes worn by the model in each advert (see table 2), the image of the traditional woman can be seen to be positively and significantly associated with wearing an apron ( $r=.469$ ,  $p\leq 0.01$ ), negatively correlating with provocative clothing ( $r=-.1175$ ,  $p\leq 0.01$ ). Turning to subjugated woman, she is usually seen in an apron ( $r=.130$ ,  $p\leq 0.05$ ), negatively correlating with casual clothing ( $r=-.204$ ,  $p\leq 0.01$ ) and sportswear ( $r=-.137$ ,  $p\leq 0.05$ ). The transgressive woman has a positive and significant correlation with provocative clothes ( $r=.271$ ,  $p\leq 0.01$ ), and negative with children’s clothes ( $r=-.150$ ,  $p\leq 0.05$ ) and with an apron ( $r=-.1357$ ,  $p\leq 0.05$ ). The *kawaii* woman dresses provocatively ( $r=.490$ ,  $p\leq 0.01$ ) and in children’s clothes ( $r=.210$ ,  $p\leq 0.01$ ), and also has a negative correlation with casual clothes ( $r=-.175$ ,  $p\leq 0.01$ ) and with work uniforms ( $r=-.173$ ,  $p\leq 0.01$ ). The *kirei* woman usually dresses provocatively ( $r=.243$ ,  $p\leq 0.01$ ) and in children’s clothes ( $r=.290$ ,  $p\leq 0.01$ ), with a negative correlation with wearing an apron ( $r=-.207$ ,  $p\leq 0.01$ ). Finally, *lolita* woman has a positive correlation with children’s clothing. ( $r=.351$ ,  $p\leq 0.01$ ).

**Table 2: Table showing correlation between stereotypes and their clothing**

	<b>Traditional</b>	<b>Subjugated</b>	<b>Transgressive</b>	<b><i>Kawaii</i></b>	<b><i>Kirei</i></b>	<b><i>Lolita</i></b>
<b>Casual</b>		<b>-.204**</b>		<b>-.175**</b>		
<b>Sport</b>		<b>-.137*</b>				
<b>Suit</b>						
<b>Formal</b>						
<b>Work uniform</b>				<b>-.173**</b>		
<b>Swimsuit or underwear</b>						
<b><i>Kimono Yukata</i></b>						
<b>Apron</b>	<b>.469**</b>	<b>.130*</b>	<b>-.157*</b>		<b>-.207**</b>	
<b>Nudity</b>						
<b>Semi-nudity</b>						
<b>Provocative</b>	<b>-.175**</b>		<b>.271**</b>	<b>.490**</b>	<b>.243**</b>	
<b>Children's</b>			<b>-.150*</b>	<b>.210**</b>	<b>.290**</b>	<b>.351**</b>

\*\*p&lt;0.01 \*p&lt;0.05

Source: created by the author

In order to measure how the stereotypes are represented in relation to the age variable (see table 3), the averages have been compared relative to each of the stereotypes, with the following results: Adult women (M=.305), are usually represented as traditional (F (3,233) =15.810, p<.01); subjugated women are usually those that present as minors (M=.300) (F (3,233) = 4.420, p<.01). The same thing happens with the profiles *kawaii* (M=.325) (F (3,233) = 7.978, p<.01, *kirei* (M=.425) (F (3,233) = 11.256, p<.01), and *lolita* (M=.600) (F (3,233) = 17.881, p<.01).

**Table 3. Difference in averages between each stereotype and the apparent age of each character**

Stereotype	F	Sig.	Minor	Youth	Adult	Senior
Traditional	15.810	.000	.008	.073	<b>.305</b>	.064
Subjugated	4.420	.005	<b>.300</b>	.118	.164	.143
Transgressive	0.548	.650	.217	.257	.225	.159
Kawaii	7.978	.000	<b>.325</b>	.159	.108	.032
Kirei	11.256	.000	<b>.425</b>	.248	.211	.071
Lolita	17.881	.000	<b>.600</b>	.467	.127	.000

Source: created by the author

Concerning the ethnicity variable (see table 4), the traditional woman is represented by Japanese ( $M=.208$ ) ( $F(5,231)= 3.277$ ,  $p\leq.01$ ); the subjugated woman is characterised by being represented as a cartoon, monster, robot or anthropomorphised object ( $M=.450$ ) ( $F(5,231)= 5.839$ ,  $p\leq.01$ ); transgressive woman is represented as a woman of African descent ( $M=.667$ ) or Caucasian ( $M=.510$ ) ( $F(5,231)= 6.810$ ,  $p\leq.01$ ). The *kawaii* woman may be represented as a cartoon, monster, robot or anthropomorphised object ( $M=.333$ ), *haafu* ( $M=.246$ ), of African descent ( $M=.250$ ), or Caucasian ( $M=.235$ ), ( $F(5,231)= 7.369$ ,  $p\leq.01$ ); and, similarly, *kirei* woman is represented by a cartoon, monster, robot or anthropomorphised object ( $M=.450$ ) or *haafu* ( $M=.309$ ) ( $F(5,231)= 5.960$ ,  $p\leq.01$ ). Finally, the *lolita* woman is represented as a cartoon, monster, robot or anthropomorphised object ( $M=.550$ ) or other Asian ( $M=.500$ ) ( $F(5,231) = 3.153$ ,  $p\leq.01$ ).

**Table 4. Difference in averages between each stereotype and each character's ethnic group**

Stereotype	F	Sig.	Caucasian	Japanese	African de- scent	Haafu	Cartoon...	Other Asian
<b>Traditional</b>	3.277	.007	.059	<b>.208</b>	.000	.070	.033	.146
<b>Subjugated</b>	5.839	.000	.098	.170	.000	.114	.450	.125
<b>Transgressive</b>	6.810	.000	<b>.510</b>	.131	<b>.667</b>	.289	.167	.292
<b>Kawaii</b>	7.369	.000	<b>.235</b>	.061	<b>.250</b>	<b>.246</b>	<b>.333</b>	.083



<b><i>Kirei</i></b>	5.960	.000	.265	.183	.000	<b>.309</b>	<b>.450</b>	.219
<b><i>Lolita</i></b>	3.153	.009	.059	.308	.000	.395	<b>.550</b>	<b>.500</b>

Source: created by the author

When calculating the differences between the averages of the character types (*idol* or celebrity or not) and the stereotypes found (see table 5), it can be observed that it is only found for the stereotype of traditional woman that she is usually not famous ( $M=.153$ ) ( $F(1,235) = 7.733, p \leq .01$ ). On the other hand, the transgressive woman is usually a celebrity ( $M=.410$ ) ( $F(1,235) = 13.467, p \leq .01$ ), the same occurring for the profiles of *kawaii* woman ( $M=.393$ ) ( $F(1,235) = 39.824, p \leq .01$ ) and *lolita* ( $M=.538$ ) ( $F(1,235) = 7.830, p \leq .01$ ). However, the profile of *kirei* woman may be presented as either an idol or a celebrity ( $M=.385$ ) or not famous ( $M=.225$ ) ( $F(1,235) = 13.064, p \leq .01$ ).

**Table 5. Difference in averages between each stereotype and the type of character appearing in the advertisements**

Stereotype	F	Sig.	Idol or Famous	Not famous
<b>Traditional</b>	7.733	.006	.017	<b>.153</b>
<b>Subjugated</b>	3.430	.065	.239	.150
<b>Transgressive</b>	13.467	.000	<b>.410</b>	.197
<b><i>Kawaii</i></b>	39.824	.000	<b>.393</b>	.114
<b><i>Kirei</i></b>	13.064	.000	<b>.385</b>	<b>.225</b>
<b><i>Lolita</i></b>	7.830	.006	<b>.538</b>	.308

Source: created by the author

On analysing the sector variable (type of product advertised) in relation with the stereotypes obtained (see table 6), traditional woman has been found to be the most commonly chosen for automotive adverts ( $M=.500$ ) and household products ( $M=.333$ ) ( $F(10,226) = 3.266, p \leq .01$ ). In the case of subjugated woman, she usually advertises alcohol and tobacco ( $M=.370$ ), other products ( $M=.296$ ), medication and health ( $M=.286$ ) and telephones and technology ( $M=.245$ ) ( $F(10,226) = 3.783, p \leq .01$ ). The *kawaii* woman is the one selected to advertise cosmetics and personal care products ( $M=.283$ ), alcohol and tobacco ( $M=.222$ ) and telephones and technology ( $M=.214$ ) ( $F(10,226) = 2.705, p \leq .01$ ). And the stereotype of *kirei* woman is typically to be found

in spots for insurance and financial services (M=.350), telephones and technology (M=.321) and fashion & complements (M=.313) (F (10,226) = 1.914, p≤.05).

**Table 6. Difference in averages between each stereotype and the sector corresponding to the products / services advertised**

Stereotype	F	Sig.	Cosmetics & personal care	Restaurants & cafes	Fashion & complements	Telephones & technology	Auto motion	Insurance & financial services	Alcohol & tobacco	Foodstuffs	Medication & health	Household	Other
<b>Traditional</b>	3.266	.001			.083	.075	<b>.500</b>	.200	.037	.138	.190	<b>.333</b>	.185
<b>Subjugated</b>	3.783	.000				<b>.245</b>	.167	.133	<b>.370</b>	.149	<b>.286</b>	.167	<b>.296</b>
<b>Transgressive</b>	1.202	.291				.277	.056	.200	.037	.247	.175	.125	.185
<b>Kawaii</b>	2.705	.004	<b>.283</b>			<b>.214</b>	.000	.000	<b>.222</b>	.190	.048	.042	.037
<b>Kirei</b>	1.914	.044			<b>.313</b>	<b>.321</b>	.250	<b>.350</b>	.222	.276	.167	.156	.222
<b>Lolita</b>	1.655	.093				.491	.333	.200	.444	.379	.190	.188	.556

Source: created by the author

In the difference in the averages between the stereotypes found and the target audience (see table 7 in Appendices), the traditional woman is chosen to make adverts for other publics, such as companies (M=.444) (F (3,233) = 4.237, p≤.01). The subjugated woman usually addresses male audiences (M=.483), (F (3,233) = 20.419, p≤.01), as happens with kirei woman (M=.403) (F (3,233) = 5.001, p≤.01). The transgressive woman is chosen to speak to both women (M=.261) and indistinctly to women and men (M=.259) (F (3,233) = 2.966, p≤.05). Finally, lolita woman addresses men (M=.516) and other publics (M=.500), (F (3,233) = 3.555, p≤.05).

As regards the type of setting in which each female stereotype is to be found (see table 8 in Appendices), it can be observed how traditional woman is normally represented within the home (r=.241, p≤.01). The transgressive woman is characterised

by finding herself mainly in the street or other exteriors ( $r=.192$ ,  $p\leq.01$ ) and in other spaces ( $r=.173$ ,  $p\leq.01$ ), inversely related to being in the home ( $r=-.141$ ,  $p\leq.01$ ). The *kawaii* woman is basically found in places of leisure ( $r=.248$ ,  $p\leq.01$ ) and in other places ( $r=.151$ ,  $p\leq.01$ ), and is proportionally inversely related to the workplace ( $r=-.154$ ,  $p\leq.05$ ). The *kirei* woman has an inverse correlation with being represented at home ( $r=-.148$ ,  $p\leq.05$ ) and in other places ( $r=-.151$ ,  $p\leq.05$ ). Lastly, *lolita* woman is normally represented in the street ( $r=.189$ ,  $p\leq.01$ ) and inversely correlated with the fact of being in places of leisure ( $r=-.140$ ,  $p\leq.05$ ).

Regarding the parts of the body highlighted in the adverts (table 9 of the Appendices), it can be observed for each profile that it is infrequent to focus on the face when presenting a traditional woman ( $r=-.166$ ,  $p\leq.05$ ). The subjugated woman's chest is shown more frequently ( $r=.142$ ,  $p\leq.05$ ) as is her whole body ( $r=.133$ ,  $p\leq.05$ ). In the case of transgressive woman, there is a negative relation with the fact of focusing on her chest ( $r=-.128$ ,  $p\leq.05$ ). In *kawaii* woman, the parts most frequently focused on are the face ( $r=.280$ ,  $p\leq.01$ ), mouth ( $r=.136$ ,  $p\leq.05$ ), hair ( $r=.130$ ,  $p\leq.05$ ), chest ( $r=.176$ ,  $p\leq.01$ ) and legs ( $r=.244$ ,  $p\leq.01$ ). The *kirei* woman has a significant and positive relation with displays of her face ( $r=.151$ ,  $p\leq.05$ ), and a negative one with her hair ( $r=-.143$ ,  $p\leq.05$ ) and faceless body ( $r=-.128$ ,  $p\leq.05$ ). Lastly, the *lolita* profile only has a positive relation with focus on her whole body ( $r=.159$ ,  $p\leq.01$ ).

#### 4. Discussion

The principal objective of this study is to find the stereotypes utilised in Japanese advertising, because of analysis of the data, six representations of women have been identified: traditional, subjugated, transgressive, *kawaii*, *kirei*, and *lolita*. Therefore, it has been demonstrated that Japanese advertising still relies on and invests millions in a series of female stereotypes, being third amongst countries with the highest advertising spend, with 46.626 billion dollars, after the USA (\$242.535bn) and China (\$87.533bn) (Statista, 2020b).

The six female stereotypes identified have the following characteristics:

- Traditional woman. She is an ordinary woman (that is, not famous) who appears to be an adult of Japanese descent and reflects love, maternity and family. She is usually represented in the home, wearing an apron. Her profile is used to promote family cars and household products, which refutes hypothesis H3a. This type of woman corresponds to the one identified in numerous studies on advertising stereotypes on Japanese television (Courtney & Whipple, 1974; Arima, 2003), in which this woman responds to the category termed by Arima (2003) “beautiful, wise housewives”. Nonetheless, regarding these studies, we have observed that this role has undergone substantial modifications. First, she is no longer represented as an elderly woman, but as an adult, which may be related to the self-representation of these women with those of a younger age group (Yamasaki, 2005, cited by Prieler, Kohlbacher, Hagiwara & Arima, 2009). Second, she drives; that means she does not depend on a man to move around, although she may be economically dependent.
- Subjugated woman. A woman who reflects weakness, subjection, and sadness. She is usually represented as a cartoon, monster, robot or anthropomorphised object, which is well-known (famous or *idol*), a minor, and may be represented wearing an apron. This profile is generally utilised to advertise alcohol and tobacco, medication and health, telephones

and technology or other products aimed at a male audience. Her complete body may be focused on in adverts, to a lesser degree her chest, something which concurs with the female character's "intention" to serve or please the male.

- Transgressive woman. She is represented by a Caucasian or African-descended model, whose values are those of transgression, modernity and achievement, she normally dresses provocatively. This character is a celebrity or *idol*, and usually addresses a female or mixed audience. In this profile, and coinciding with that proposed in the theoretical framework, successful non-Asian foreigners are common; that is, they are in a position greatly superior to that assigned to Japanese women. Anyway, due to the scant representation she has in Japanese advertisements, it cannot be affirmed that she is a "new ideal of national femininity", as stated by Sánchez (2014: 318), but rather that she functions as a guarantee, as propounded by Ólafsson (2014).
- *Kawaii* woman. This stereotype reflects sexual attraction, seduction, and pleasure. She dresses in a provocative, childlike manner, reflecting the minor she looks like. This is the type of woman manifested by the greatest ethnic variety, as she is shown as a cartoon, monster, robot or anthropomorphized object, ethnically Caucasian, *haafu*, or of African descent. This character type is employed to promote beauty and personal care products, telephones and technology, and alcohol and tobacco, which serves to confirm hypothesis H3c, although all the other sectors for which this type of woman is used should also be included. She is basically represented in places of leisure, and the parts of the body highlighted in the spots are her face, legs, chest, mouth and hair.
- *Kirei* woman. She presents maturity or innocence, although these attributes are not shown simultaneously. Just as *kirei* woman, she is characterised by childlike or provocative clothes. The character represents a minor, she is usually a cartoon, monster, robot or anthropomorphized object or *haafu*. There are hardly any differences between the adverts that represent her with a celebrity or idol or as an ordinary person, though there is a certain preponderance of the former. This character type is used to advertise insurance and financial services, telephones and technology, and fashion and complements, thereby refuting hypothesis H3b. She is chiefly aimed at a male audience, and the body part underlined most in the spots she appears in is her face.
- *Lolita* woman. This character is either a youth or a child who, in either case, dresses as a child, and is commonly represented as a cartoon, monster, robot or anthropomorphized object or other Asian. She is clearly a famous person or an idol, represented in the street or outdoors. Her whole body is usually shown, and the adverts she appears in are aimed at a male audience or other groups, such as companies, which are generally led by men.
- All these stereotypes can be grouped into two types of roles, those of subordination and those of independence. In the case of roles of subordination, it can be observed how, in the case of the traditional woman, one sees a woman at the service of her family and children, willing to sacrifice herself for them, while the subjugated woman represents a woman who is incapable of getting by on her own. On the other hand, among the subordinate stereotypes can be found those which could be termed "trophy women", the *kirei*, *kawaii* and *lolita* women, who match in detail the norms expressed at the beginning of this paper, and who coincide with the results of other research in which they are presented as women fulfilling "decorative roles" (Chan & Cheng, 2012; Zotos & Tschla, 2014). Finally, in the general role of independent woman, only one stereotype of woman in this category has been identified, that of the transgressive woman.

- In light of these results, hypothesis H1a should be rejected, as the stereotypes are not linked to the ages represented, as suggested by the study of Prieler, Kohlbacher, Hagiwara and Arima (2015).
- Hypothesis H1b is partially confirmed, because the values represented by the types of traditional, subjugated and transgressive woman are, in the essential aspects, the same, that is: for traditional woman, the reflection of maternity, family and love; for the subjugated, weakness, subjection and sadness; and for the transgressive, transgression, modernity and achievement. Moreover, the *kawaii* model has an exact correspondence with the sensual woman (Díaz-Soloaga, 2007), being associated with the same values: sexual attraction, pleasure, and seduction. Lastly, two other profiles can be observed, *kirei*, with attributes of innocence or maturity, and *lolita*, whose essential attribute is sweetness, which do not correspond with any of the studies mentioned.
- Hypothesis H2, in which it is stated that the ideal woman is identified with features shown by the *haafu* ethnic group, is rejected, because it is the Japanese ethnic group which has greatest incidence in the advertisements analysed. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the *haafu* are the second most frequently represented, and that they are an important group, one to be taken into consideration, when trying to represent *kirei* and *kawaii* women.

#### 4. Conclusions

This paper has identified the different stereotypes of woman current in Japanese advertising. It has been demonstrated that five of the six stereotypes found correspond to a position of subordination for woman, namely: traditional, subjugated, *kirei*, *kawaii* and *Lolita* woman, which also coincide with stereotypes identified in previous research by Arima (2003, whose data was gathered in 1996) and Díaz-Soloaga (2007). Although some significant differences in the handling of these stereotypes can be observed, particularly regarding the relation with the type of products assigned to each role, and in the appearance of new roles in advertising, these essentially remain unchanged. Only one stereotype has been identified which presents an empowered and independent woman, the transgressive woman, although it would not be correct to speak of a woman represented in a position of superiority, as the figure has not been evaluated in comparison with a male figure.

Although this paper compiles the stereotypes of women in Japanese advertising, there are aspects that could be considered for future research. Among these, it would be interesting to evaluate the position occupied by female characters in advertisements; that is, whether she is the star or a supporting figure, and her hierarchical position relative to men, to classify her as in a position of subordination, equality, superiority or independence.

Advertisements in which a man appears alone could also be analysed, to be able to establish a comparison of the roles performed by the two genders. Furthermore, for a more detailed analysis, the textual element of the adverts should be considered, as in a highly hierarchical society such as the Japanese, individuals are expected to use *keigo* (the language of honour) to relate to others, taking the place corresponding to each person on the social scale (Paterna, 2012).

The *haafu* figure should also be examined more closely, as its place as such an important ethnic group in Japanese advertising would make it interesting to compare the characteristics attributed to it with its representation in advertising. Finally, it would

be interesting to extend the time period under consideration and to include other formats (for example, series or films, from different genres, and other media, such as graphic print advertising or adverts on social networks).

Furthermore, the fundamental work has been done for a comparison between the stereotypes transmitted on television in countries on the other apexes of the Hofstede-Hall communicative model, which would be the linear-active pole, made up of countries such as Germany, Switzerland, Luxemburg and the UK, and the multi-active pole, where countries such as Italy, Spain, Colombia and Peru are to be found.

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## 6. Bibliographic references

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## 6. Appendices

**Table 7. Difference in the averages between each stereotype and the type of audience at which it is aimed**

Stereotype	F	Sig.	Men	Women	Men & women	Other
<b>Traditional</b>	4.237	.006	.022	.146	.133	<b>.444</b>
<b>Subjugated</b>	20.419	.000	<b>.483</b>	.092	.129	.222
<b>Transgressive</b>	2.966	.033	.075	<b>.261</b>	<b>.259</b>	.111
<i>Kawaii</i>	1.182	.317	.237	.149	.153	.056
<i>Kirei</i>	5.001	.002	<b>.403</b>	.230	.235	.083
<i>Lolita</i>	3.555	.015	<b>.516</b>	.230	.381	<b>.500</b>

\*\*p<0.01 \*p<0.05

Source: created by the author

**Table 8. Table of the correlation between the stereotypes and the place in which the character appears**

	Traditional	Subjugated	Transgressive	<i>Kawaii</i>	<i>Kirei</i>	<i>Lolita</i>
Street or exterior	-.021	-.076	<b>.192**</b>	-.082	.043	<b>.189**</b>
Home	<b>.241**</b>	-.031	<b>-.141*</b>	-.102	<b>-.148*</b>	.028
Work	-.049	.045	-.024	<b>-.154*</b>	.089	-.110
Place of entertainment	-.027	-.067	.043	<b>.284**</b>	.101	<b>-.140*</b>
Other interiors	-.055	.043	-.054	.063	.037	-.049
Other	.008	.109	<b>.173**</b>	<b>.151*</b>	<b>-.163*</b>	.109

\*\*p<0.01 \*p<0.05

Source: created by the author

Table 9. Table of the correlation between the stereotypes found and the parts of the body highlighted in the spots

	<b>Traditional</b>	<b>Subjugated</b>	<b>Transgressive</b>	<b>Kawaii</b>	<b>Kirei</b>	<b>Lolita</b>
<b>Face</b>	<b>-.166*</b>	-0.007	.043	<b>.280**</b>	<b>.151*</b>	.078
<b>Eyes</b>	-.022	.080	.039	.003	-.064	.042
<b>Mouth</b>	.052	-.031	.022	<b>.136*</b>	.051	.052
<b>Neck</b>	-.052	-.067	-.040	-.021	-.037	-.082
<b>Hair</b>	-.068	-.087	.073	.130*	<b>-.143*</b>	-.045
<b>Faceless body</b>	-.061	-.039	.071	.003	<b>-.128*</b>	-.027
<b>Chest</b>	-.086	<b>.142*</b>	<b>-.128*</b>	<b>.176**</b>	.090	.061
<b>Legs</b>	-.061	-.078	.103	<b>.244**</b>	.063	-.026
<b>Hands</b>	.012	-.065	-.027	-.090	-.108	.041
<b>Waist</b>	.014	.083	-.085	.006	-.001	.016
<b>Whole body</b>	-.078	<b>.133*</b>	-.083	.115	.082	<b>.159*</b>

\*\*p≤0.01 \*p≤0.05

Source: created by the author