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A Manual for Femininity? Evolving Models of Gender in Japanese Beer Advertising

Abstract

Beer in Japan is both essential to socialising and a normative practice. It is also highly gendered and people are informed about how to perform their gender via beer advertising, which disseminates these practices across Japan. This paper explores four models of gender which have appeared in Japanese television advertisements during the post-war period. It charts how these four models – the Loner Male, the Vanished Geisha, the Couple, and the Androgyne – have evolved and their relation to masculinity and femininity in Japan.

In 1992, concerned about the effect that alcohol advertising had on drink driving and children, Lance Strate examined American beer advertisements, noting a range of themes and locations which served to provide American men with a guide on how to be men. These advertisements were, he contended, a “manual of masculinity” (Strate 1992: 79). Japanese beer advertisements could equally be said to provide a manual of masculinity for Japanese men. However, there is no singular model of masculinity which appears in these advertisements and these advertisements often feature women in roles where they are neither objectified nor performing a supportive function. This paper will examine how four different models of gender have been constructed within Japanese beer advertisements during the period 1957–2007 and will reveal how masculinity and femininity is performed, presented and disseminated to the country at large. These models are not static, however, and by showing how they evolved

during the post-war period, we can understand how differences in location and the type of beer advertised can affect representations.

Integral to socialisation in Japan, the importance of beer within Japanese society cannot be understated: it is not only a cultural object, but also a cultural performance, indicator and tool with its consumption especially a highly gendered activity. This activity is presented to a wide audience through television advertising, which, open as it is to decoding, requiring less prior knowledge, and featuring typical people and situations is easily understood and can have a powerful impact on values, beliefs and behaviour (Josephson 1996: 158, Kang 1997: 980, Romaine 1999: 252–254). It can be said to contain the latent and unconscious ideas that a society holds about itself and it disseminates not only methods of how to drink, but also particular models of masculinity and femininity back to its own population. A number of scholars have noted the hugely influential, and symbiotic, role that advertising plays in constructing gender (Barthel 1988: 6–7, Gilly 1988: 75, Gamson et al. 1992: 374, Romaine 1999: 282) with the roles and depictions of men and women in advertising sometimes reinforcing and others undermining “traditional” gender roles and behaviour. These four models – The Loner Male, The Vanished Geisha, the Couple, and The Androgyne – became prominent in beer advertising during the latter half of the twentieth century and could, with varying degrees of accuracy, be said to be particularly Japanese models of masculinity and femininity. Further locating these evolutions within wider socioeconomic events also provides an opportunity to utilise advertisements as a historical source in order to question and contextualise idealised representations of masculinity and femininity.

In order to show how the type of beer advertised was integral to these representations and their evolution, some background on the Japanese Beer Industry during this period as well as the methodology chosen to analyse these advertisements is necessary. Until recently, the Japanese beer industry was composed on the whole of five main breweries – Suntory, Kirin, Sapporo, Asahi, and Orion – which were national in scope and operated throughout this period so their adverts would have been seen throughout Japan (Suntory was a late comer into the market, however, arriving in 1964 – for more details of the evolution of the Japanese Beer Industry in English see Alexander). Beer surpassed sake as an embedded drinking practice by the 1960s (Gauntner 2002) and was starting to level off and decline (see figure A). In the 1980s, beer changed to match dietary habits with Asahi’s development of *Super Dry* which consequently led to

a number of “dry” beers whilst Japan’s peculiar tax system of taxing beer based on malt content hastened the development of *happō-shu* (low-malt beer) and third- or new-genre – a beer with no malt. The performers who appear in these advertisements have different, and significant, meanings compared to those who appear in the “real” beer advertisements. Whilst it would appear that “real” beer sales have been declining, their place has been taken by *Happō-shu* (graph A) and for all intents and purposes, whilst the beer market has suffered some decline, when one considers *happō-shu* to be beer, then it has remained steady for the last few years of the period of this study.

This study examines television beer advertisements from 1957 through to 2007. These advertisements, archived at the Dentsu Advertising Museum Library (www.admt.co.jp) or then extant on the beer company websites, were all broadcast during the period with sporting or special events-associated advertisements excluded according to the framework used by Caillat and Muller in their study (Caillat et al. 1996). The adverts were analysed using a combination of the methods of John Fiske and Judith Williamson, both of whom have been influenced by Barthes’ work on semiotics (Barthes 1972). Williamson, in her work *Decoding Advertisements* provides a number of methods which break down how advertisements create meaning, but the most important concept is that of referent systems whereby meanings of one object are used and transferred, and the product comes to mean the same (Williamson 2005: 25). Advertising has been called “an apparatus for reframing meanings” because of its ability to do this (Goldman 1992: 5). Fiske, in his work on analysing television, utilises concepts of connotation and denotation to provide a three-level approach which facilitates our understanding of how certain ideologies and ideas are presented via the use of, for example, camera angles, colour, framing and focus, amongst others (Fiske 1987: 4–5). Taken together, these two methods allow for an understanding of how these beer advertisements have constructed Japanese femininity and masculinity during the post-war period.

The Loner Male

Using Connell’s model of hegemonic masculinity, Dasgupta amongst others has defined the *salaryman* as being the dominant model of masculinity in Japan, idealised, desired and presented as such within the media (though alternative readings do exist, serving to both consolidate and

destabilise this hegemonic discourse) (Dasgupta 2003: 127–128). However, within these adverts the ideal and idealised is not the *Salaryman*, but the Loner Male – alone, independent and exclusive, he stands both apart and distinct from society, lacking ties or social bonds. Whilst the *Salaryman* fulfils the normative discourse of heterosexuality, the Loner Male remains asexual, lacking desire and sexual urges. A series of adverts by Sapporo featuring the same performer from the 1970s were extremely useful in analysing this “Loner Male” as a model for masculinity. One, set upon a ship at sea, features a man dressed in a white top and red jeans, who walks down the length of a boat with a bottle and glass to the bow with various shots of seagulls and the sea. He clinks the bottle as if toasting, pours for himself and then drinks. Accompanying this is a shot of vertical script (connoting traditionalism/classicism) with the words *Otokoha damatte... Sapporo Biiru* (Men are silent and... Sapporo Beer) scrolling down in Japanese.

According to Williamson, having the clothes of the performer match the product’s colours results in the transferral of the meaning and qualities of the performer to the product (Williamson 2005: 20–22). Unlikely to resonate with the experience of most Japanese, the location of the ship makes no real sense, but signifies danger and isolation: the man is not connected to society in any way but is alone at sea, lacking relations with anyone. Were anyone else present he would not have committed the cultural faux-pas of pouring his own drink (see Befu for etiquette concerning social drinking). He is also travelling, escaping from society, independent with no family ties and no sexuality. It has been noted that Masculinity is often constructed and performed by disempowering the other, in this case, the feminine, via exclusion and rejection and this is so here for there is no other – this is the man alone. Opportunities to be masculine through being alone and independent are normally denied by society with men placed in situations where opportunities to express individuality or to exert control are repressed (Fiske 1987: 201). This ship should be a place of work where his individuality, independence and power are all repressed, but he, and only he (for no-one else appears to be on the ship) is able to drink when he wants.

We can therefore see that the qualities of masculinity, that which makes a man masculine, without access to his referent system, are solitariness, isolation, independence, and rejection of society. Not only is it a rejection of society, however, it is also a rejection of the other, of what is not present: family, stability, stasis and the feminine. These themes, of

independence and escape, emerge continuously in various adverts featuring men during this time period.

Accessing the referent system of the actor, however, reveals more about this Loner Male and allows for a deeper reading of his masculinity. The performer in this case is Mifune Toshirō who represents a very clear ideal of masculinity in Japan, with his film roles embodying independence, authority and dynamism. Mifune was also the genesis and expression of a certain masculinity in Euro-American discourse via various remakes of his films – *Shichinin no Samurai* (Kurosawa 1954) as the Magnificent Seven (Sturges 1960), *Yōjimbō* (Kurosawa 1961) as A Fistful of Dollars (Leone 1964) – and whilst his roles were typically that of the loner, he still operated within society unlike these advertisements where he is supremely independent. Noting the importance of non-verbosity to Japanese masculinity, the *Otoko wa damatte... Sapporo Biiru* catchphrase serves as an example of laconic Japanese masculinity (Lebra 1976: 78), but the most important factor is his independence and isolation from society. The lack of relationships with the opposite sex (or the same sex) could well be to signify masculine purity (Standish 2000: 49), but it also allows a subverted reading by marginalised sexualities. This Loner, then, is a stereotypical representation of masculinity. It is based on independence, isolation, age, the ability to shave (he utilises a straight blade razor at one point), individualism, and freedom from the constraints and obligations of society which are (illogically) represented by the lack of appearance of family, home or work.

These representations did evolve over the time period, however, with the Loner Male taking on a different form in more contemporary adverts, best exemplified by stars such as Yazawa Eikichi, a rock artist in his fifties, and Satō Kōichi, an actor in his forties. They both do various activities alone: Satō visits a *Yakitoriya* (*grilled chicken skewers bar*), a *Ryōkan* (*Japanese Inn*), a *Hamaguri* (Shellfish) barbecue Restaurant, and an *Oden* (*simmered foods often seen as masculine*) restaurant; whilst Yazawa visits an expensive *Sushi* Restaurant and partakes in *Hanami* (Cherry blossom viewing) thus positioning his masculinity as particularly Japanese. Whilst slightly reminiscent in looks and age, Yazawa differs greatly from the model exemplified by Mifune. The New Loner Male does not reject society in these adverts, but operates within it and whilst solitary, they interact with other people with women no longer ex-scripted: they feature in background roles, are shown to drink, to be present and in Satō's case, to have direct contact with him. These Loner Males do not challenge

the hegemonic masculinity (i.e., the *Salaryman*) as Mifune did but accept it: Satō, in fact, actually appears to be one as shown when he goes out for *Fugu* (blowfish). Now more patient, there is no rush to escape society to drink: Satō calmly considers his choice in the *Yakitoriya*, hesitating even; Yazawa saunters beneath the Cherry Blossoms; and they wait for food before drinking and do not slurp their beer. Less independent than before, they are now reliant upon others for providing their food and beverages.

This model of a Loner Male does evolve from Mifune's for whilst still nominally alone, their individualism is performed in conjunction with society. There is less independence and more interaction with women who are now visible and able to challenge masculinity as in the *Yakitoriya* when Satō's non-normative actions of hesitancy and lack of decisiveness can be contested. Masculinity is still positioned as having an age-status, but it is more accepting of the feminine and of society.

The Vanished Geisha

A corollary to the Loner Male is the Vanished Geisha. Unlike the Loner Male, the woman on her own, away from society, does not exist. She is vanished – excised from the narrative. In fact, during the early half of this period, the woman on her own even *within* society does not exist as such, though women do appear with other performers. Considered unworthy of representation, femininity is denied, negated, and marginalised with beer consumption positioned as a masculine privilege, a practice done either in order to *be* a man or because one *is* a man. This can be explained by the concept of the masculine republic, whereby spaces for alcohol consumption are reserved for men whilst a woman drinking alone is seen as sexually available (Collins et al. 2002: 75). Furthermore, because femininity needs to be constructed as different from masculinity, women cannot be represented using the same themes. Femininity, deeply linked with society and civilization, cannot seek refuge from itself, but is instead the other, the society from which masculinity flees but within which it also seeks refuge. One Orion advertisement does feature a woman on her own, standing draped in a white cloak, billowing in the wind whilst deep, masculine voices chant, but unlike the Loner Male, she neither possesses beer nor drinks but waits passively and is thereby significantly different from the Loner Male. The question of whether women did drink or whether showing them drinking would have alienated men to the point where they

ceased to consume beer does warrant further inquiry. The explanation for why women could not be shown drinking might lie in the fact that beer is seen as a reward for working and as women were not represented as working they therefore could not be rewarded (Mifune's Loner Male does not work in all his advertisements, but he is active – either riding horses or venturing into the wilderness). This of course fits in with certain idealised and mythologised ideas of women not having to work within the Professional Housewife ideal, one of the pillars of the Salaryman system and one which reflected certain class-based ideals (Ezawa 2010: 197–202).

This vanished Geisha, excised from the narrative and existing only by her non-appearance does evolve over time, however, and a lone woman performer does start to appear in the second half of this period. Exemplified by performers such as Wada Akiko, Araki Kurenai, and Asao Miwa, this representation attests to changing definitions of femininity, feminine behaviour and also the accepted presence of women in society. Similar to the Loner Male, femininity is now constructed on its own terms away from society, without reference to anyone else: newly liberated, the woman is free to drink. However, it must be noted that two of these performers (Wada and Araki) were not advertising “beer” as such but *Happōshu* – a lesser beer – and so an attempt to capture a market without alienating the core male market. It could equally be argued that since these beers are not proper or real beer (at least, according to Governmental definitions), then it is much easier to utilise themes of independence to market them to women, but the fact that Asao advertises the same beer as Yazawa (The Premium Malt's) would negate this argument to some degree. There is one significant difference between Mifune and Yazawa's Loner Male and the Loner Female – these women who do drink on their own are positioned as performing. Goldman contends that women are often defined by the image that they present to the world and the gaze that validates, defines, and objectifies them is often absent, situated instead in front of the performer, in the place of the viewer, and is often a man (Goldman 1992: 117–128). So whilst nominally alone, Wada and Araki are in fact validated through performing and through the gaze of the spectator; however, whilst Wada and Araki both drink and are performing, they do offer differing models of this Loner Female: Wada glugs, Araki sips; Wada is older, Araki younger; Wada's hair is shorter, more masculine, Araki's is longer, more feminine – drinking is now an acceptable practice for all women with a range of behaviours and performances, both masculine and feminine, now permissible. We can therefore see that the Loner Fe-

male represents a variety of femininities and whilst nominally constructed on the notion of the male gaze, they are performing somewhat independently, subverting a feminine-marked activity such as shopping by buying beer for themselves rather than an ideologically-mandated male partner. Furthermore, the Loner Female shows not only an integration of different femininities into Japanese society but also the integration of minorities: Wada Akiko (Horipro Inc 2005) 'came out' around this time as *Zainichi* Korean (Japan-born 'ethnic' minorities). Not only does she represent a Japanese femininity which can drink, but also a minority which can represent Japanese femininity. Changing performances of femininity and masculinity as represented through the model of the Loner are now visible: solitary drinking away from society is no longer a necessary factor in the performance of masculinity for whilst still individual and solitary, it is performed within social settings, integrating and interacting with other individuals. With the greater representation of the Loner Woman in adverts, solitary drinking has become degendered: it is an acceptable practice for anyone and an acceptable practice anywhere; although it must be noted that women are still restricted from performing this activity within the "masculine republics" of restaurants or *Izakaya* (recent advertisements (2010 onwards such as for *The Premium Malt's*) have evolved with women appearing in restaurants alone, but these were not viewed as part of this data set).

The Couple

Whilst the Loner Male and the Vanished Geisha/Loner Female represent solitary drinking and a femininity and masculinity constructed absent the presence of a sexuality which can only be assumed (and the logical assumption would be that these models of femininity and masculinity are asexual in that there is no presence of a preference in any way), another model does position different-sex relationships as normative (Mostow has noted how labels such as homosexual and heterosexual are inadequate to describe sexual preferences in different periods (Mostow 2003)). The Couple in this case is exemplified by two performers who embark upon various activities together, which naturally involve beer at some point. During these activities, which include a steam-train journey, stilt-walking, and a tandem-bicycle ride, the woman is present and does hold a beer. On the surface, it appears an equal relationship. The couple in this series of

advert was married in real life and both were actors: Kishida Kyōko and Nakaya Noboru, with Kishida featuring in the films *Sanma no Aji* (1964) [An Autumn Afternoon] by Ozu Yasujiro, and *Otoko Girai* (1964) [I Hate Men] where she preferred to stay single rather than marry and thus became a signifier for feminism and independence.

When we analyse the advertisements more closely, it is clear that femininity is performed by being subordinated to masculinity with this practice of subordination then an integral component in the performance of gender: casual-dominance marks a male as a man, and subordination to the man marks a female as a woman. During all the activities that they do it is Nakaya who leads, points, and controls with Kishida following. The man is positioned as the leader, as in charge; she accompanies him and lacks her own volition. She is subordinated through a system of casual-dominance, that is, dominance that is natural and uncoerced. Femininity is shown (not performed) through appearance with a woman's value in how she looks (Barthel 1988: 9, Goldman 1992: 100) and this is reflected in the tandem scene. Whilst Nakaya wears a helmet and sunglasses, thus protecting his head – the source of authority and knowledge – Kishida wears only a hat to protect her face from the sun. In fact, this hat is ever present and fits in with Ashikari's theory of the "White Face" – a form of make-up which signifies gender and class and which positions the ideal Japanese woman as middle-class whose face is untouched by the sun (Ashikari 2003: 75).

Kishida's version of femininity is also associated with children to some degree – in one advert out of this series, Kishida plays hopscotch with a child whilst Nakaya smokes thereby reinforcing the convention where women are likened to children (Kang 1997, Romaine 1999: 78) and it could be further argued that this activity is so trivial that no male gaze is necessary to validate it. Given the polysemous nature of advertisements (Fiske 1987: 12, Fairclough 2003: 124–125) however, Kishida could equally be independent to such a degree that no male gaze is necessary, that she is free to play whilst it is Nakaya who guards the luggage, here replacing the home. One issue with concepts and theories used for analysing advertising and media products is that the various readings can always be contested with, for example, this same advertisement positioning protection as a masculine duty which liberates the feminine to deal with nurturing activities. The fact that Kishida does follow Nakaya, however, does indicate the subordinate position of femininity to the masculine with only Nakaya consuming beer within these advertisements whilst maintaining control of the resources (the beer bottle). Equally, the act of non-pouring

could be read as either a sign of lack of subordination or equally as a sign that they are not equals; though given the way in which pouring can be a means to access superiors within Japan, it is mostly just a sign of familiarity.

In this model, femininity and masculinity are performed by interacting with the other gender with no division into separate feminine or masculine spheres. Whilst it could be read that the man has the power to invade what was once a feminine sphere, the home, the very fact that they travel together and interact outside would indicate that the division has been discarded. Masculinity is performed by casually-dominating women, but this model of masculinity does not reject or ex-script them and so can be said to be a slight improvement over the Loner Man as exemplified by Mifune Toshirō. These adverts are to be commended for featuring a couple together and showing relations between the genders however femininity is performed through the presence of men: women lack knowledge, self-will and independence and the presence of a man validates her existence for she is only able to perform any activities when there is a man present, under his direction. This model does evolve, however, with more contemporary couples who are younger and engaging in activities equally, and unlike Kishida and Nakaya, both drinking (Kishida often held the beer but did not actually drink) thus providing an example of beer and its consumption being ungendered.

A series of adverts for Kirin's *Happōshu*, *Enjuku*, appear to have similar themes of subordination to the Kishida-Nakaya Kirin models. They also demonstrate how texts can be subverted or mis-read. It features an older man and a younger woman performing various activities in a rural, tropical, and needless to say, "exotic" location – one which has little relation to the urbanised living of most Japanese. They cycle, visit stores and relax by having a beer before their corporeal bodies fade and become beer cans – a technique which Williamson has noted is used to connect the product and performer with the same qualities (Williamson 2005: 140). Again, the woman wears a hat, the man leads and is copied by the woman and is also appellationed "Ken-Chan" by various people – an old woman in a small store, a man in a port (an examination of these roles would consider in the reinforcement of certain employment roles as a factor in gender construction). Before turning into cans, the woman toasts (and teases) the man with this appellation. Whilst this could be read as mocking patriarchal power, he is named whilst she lacks any identity of her own and thus exists only in a supporting role. We see here then a heterosexist dis-

course of gender and the subordination of women with free will and the authority to lead the preserve of men within opposite sex relationships. This reading is not, however, the reading that is intended by the advertisers – within that reading, which was available on the website, they are father and daughter and she has come to visit him in his retirement. This shows how the reading of advertisements can be different to that which is intended. The advert still positions masculinity and femininity in stereotypical roles, however, and were we to follow Stern's advocacy of adopting sex reversal as a technique of analysis for advertisements (Stern 1993) we could see the incongruity of a son visiting a mother and doing the same activities in the same way and same locations and how naturalised and taken for granted this relationship and situation seems. It is the man's ability to retire because he had an occupation and was able to sever ties to move location whereas the woman would presumably still be shown in her original home in Tokyo. From a certain viewpoint, then, this man also serves as a model for the older, Loner Male: rejecting mainstream society and living alone, but also able to operate within society.

The Couple, it must be noted, is heterosexist, denying and marginalising the existence of same sex relationships, which like the Loner Female are conspicuous by their absence. Whilst some advertisements can be read as featuring same-sex relationships in that men outnumber women in group scenes (Orion, for example), it is possible, though unlikely, to be the preferred reading. Some of the men could also be asexual. Same sex couples do not seem to appear or to exist in any way that could be considered significant. A number of scholars have documented the existence of same-sex practices and relationships in different points in Japan's history (Pflugfelder 1992, McLelland 2003, Curran et al. 2005), but their representation is non-existent within these beer advertisements: sexuality is hetero-normative.

Both femininity and masculinity in this model has evolved. Initially performed via casual-subordination to men and requiring protecting one's appearance to operate in the same sphere, the relationship between the Couple became more equal with technical knowledge and ability no longer the preserve solely of masculinity. Masculinity is often constructed, and sustained, via a negation of same-sex relations (Connell 1992: 736, Donaldson 1993: 648) and in this model, both it and femininity is performed through opposite-sex relations: whilst evolving in some aspects, then, this model ignores the various lived experiences of numerous people in Japan whose sexualities do not match the normative discourse of heterosexuality.

The Androgyne

Whilst the other models have evolved in some way and been notable by their absence, it is the final model of gender which provides the greatest evidence of change and evolving attitudes – or at least, evidence of an attempt to capture market share. Acknowledging the existence of different identities, The Androgyne is a more dynamic model of gender, featuring actors whose gender performance cannot be categorised as overtly masculine or feminine. The shifting boundaries of gender can be seen in a variety of adverts from the pre-contemporary period where gender-marked clothing and activities came to be used predominantly by both sexes. This can be seen in the advertisements by Kirin featuring Kishida and Nakaya, which, although only a small example, are illuminating. In many of these adverts, Kishida wears trousers, an item of clothing which has typically been used to mark the male-sexed body as masculine (at least in “Western” discourse). The adoption of marked clothing by women can be said to be an indicator of greater equality and an assault on the privileges that have been assigned to men. Femininity is now free to change its markers and so there is some blurring of gender distinctions: trousers no longer maketh the man. However, Kishida is still marked as a woman in other ways: her hat, as noted, indicates her need for her appearance to be protected and as Romaine notes, uni-sex clothing is generally an acceptance of females adopting masculine coded dress: this would only truly be a shifting of boundaries were a man able to wear a skirt or carry a hand-bag and not be coded as effeminate (Romaine 1999: 309). The gender differences then are not blurring really, but instead women having to adopt the markers of masculinity in order to gain parity.

Kishida does not truly count as the Androgyne and it is only recently that this model has appeared and it is best represented by a performer mentioned previously, Wada Akiko, and by Katori Shingo of SMAP fame. Wada is a representation of femininity not just as the Loner Woman, but also of the shifting boundaries of gender. Wada’s gender performance is very masculine: she has a deep voice, broad shoulders, is tall and as McLelland notes, “does not use the hyper-feminine speech used by other female personalities... [she] is somewhat forward and aggressive in her interaction with men” (McLelland 2000: 44–45). Wada, however, has changed her gender performance *recently*: on the cover of her 1960s albums she appears with more feminine hair and it is only in recent years that she has come to have shorter, more “mannish” hair, further reinforcing the notion

of shifting gender boundaries which allows Wada to change her appearance and to still be used to represent a model of femininity.

Katori is a member of SMAP, a ubiquitous Japanese boy band founded by Johnny Kitagawa whose talent agency was called the "Pretty-Man Factory" (Schilling 1997: 232). The use of Katori in Asahi adverts shows an attempt to appeal to alternative consumers and also represents an acceptance of a more ambiguously-constructed masculinity. As well as singing, SMAP also "act" in television dramas and the SMAP stars (there are five) are highly androgynous: they cross gender boundaries, have long hair, are sometimes seen wearing dresses, and are also positioned as sex objects, revealing their bodies for audience enjoyment and this androgynous image, though constructed for heterosexual female enjoyment (Darling-Wolf 2004: 359–362) has "won them an enthusiastic following among gay men" (Schilling 1997: 237). Darling-Wolf notes that the construction of masculinity through SMAP's blatant portrayal as sex objects which appeal to both gay men and to women as sexual fantasies may be disruptive and can offer "potentially liberating ways for women and gay males to explore their sexual identity" (Darling-Wolf 2004: 367). Given that many of Shingo's roles involve assuming feminine-associated performances and qualities including a nursery school teacher (Schilling 1997: 232) it can be said that these roles subordinate women by adopting the qualities associated with them whilst women gain neither equality nor comparative status, but by adopting these roles, Shingo also serves to challenge normative models of masculinity by showing caring and nurturing as being masculine qualities which men are able to incorporate into their conceptions of masculinity.

The use of these two performers, Wada and Katori, is indicative of the changes that gender is undergoing as a set of practices in Japan and may be indicative of a shift in the conception of ideal masculinity and femininity in Japan. By crossing various boundaries, both performers allow for a range of practices deemed masculine or feminine to be performed by either men and women without their sexual orientation being brought into question. Katori is the antithesis of the Salaryman and Wada the antithesis of the passive female: she diverges from the ideal femininity of the past – neither demure, quiet, slight, nor subordinated and yet still a woman. Yet it is perhaps of the fact that they are "the Androgyne" that both are not used for 'real' beer: Wada is both too powerful and too ambiguous to be featured in the advertisements interacting with 'real' men, whose masculinity would be infringed by her presence (though she does do so on

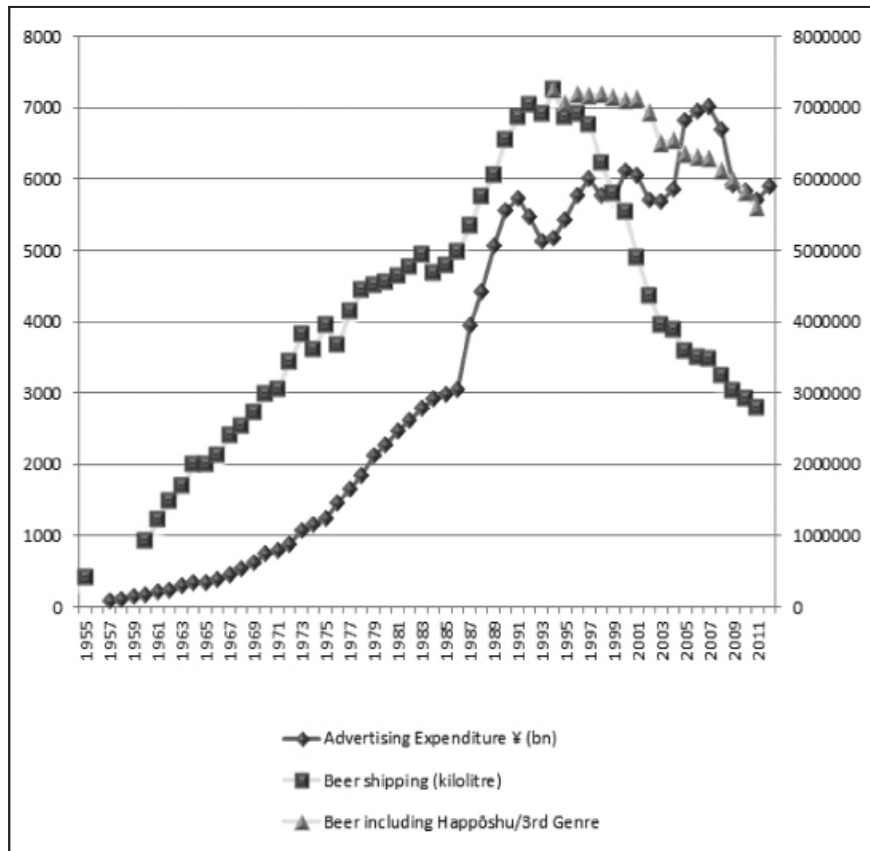
various variety shows); Katori's sexuality and performance is too fluid for adverts for the real beer which the older generation drinks, and since his appeal is to a female audience, to whom Happōshu would seem attractive, it makes sense that he advertises this beer.

With television beer advertisements, gender is blurring and practices and performances are becoming more fluid and free with individuals who do not fit into traditional practices and performances appearing to sell beer (though it must be noted here that many traditional performances, theatre-wise, in Japan are ambiguous and fluid, with male and female roles in Kabuki a case in point. Mark McLelland has pointed out how cross-dressing within certain spaces is not associated with same-sex desire and is indeed tolerated as part of a celebrity's performance (McLelland 2000: 48). There is still a degree of restraint within these advertisements, however, for whilst Katori can alter his appearance with his hair dyed white, the hair of the women who appear remains dark and the ability to change one's appearance, adopting markers of femininity or masculinity, appears to be restricted to men. Wada's performance is not overtly androgynous in that she performs with some markers of femininity (a dress, earrings) and so whilst we can see that gender is changing with previously marginalised models becoming more accepted, the androgyny only goes so far.

Conclusion

These four models attest to the wide diversity of masculinities and femininities that have been performed in Japan during the post-war period. We can see how each model has evolved over time, never remaining static but changing and adapting. Unlike Strate's work which featured types according to brand and which was synchronic, the models of gender in Japanese beer advertisements cross beer brands and feature women and a range of masculinities and femininities that evolve over time. Essential to these understandings is the location where they take place with, as Copeland pointing out, the meaning of gender changing significantly when that same Loner Male is transferred from the open sea to his bedroom with the beer consumed not at the front of a ship, but in front of a computer (Copeland 2013). This remains true for all the models within these advertisements as the location of the gender performance remains an essential element alongside the markers and the non/appearance of other performers.

Figure A: Beer Shipping (including Happōshu) and Advertising Expenditure (1955–2012)



Source: Dentsu Inc 1987 (revised figures for 1985/6), 2000, 2013;
Kirin Holdings Company Ltd 2012.

These four models are not exclusive, however, with various other iterations and their accompanying referent systems present and used, including notions of *wen-wu/bun-bu* (*Martial/Literary*) (Louie et al. 2003), the intersection of both paid and domestic labour, and the use of non-Japanese (appearance) all creating a plethora of models. Furthermore, the polysemous nature of advertisements, alluded to earlier, means that the analysis differs depending on the person, or even the circumstances of that person so were this analysis to be performed a few years hence, it would be markedly different. This paper, then, is only a snapshot of this period and this area remains ripe for further study. One issue with

the analysis here is that it only examines the content of these advertisements and not what influenced these choices nor the conditions that the industry was undergoing at the time. Furthermore, as Moeran points out, various analyses of advertising, including semiotic-based ones, often neglect the position of advertisements within campaigns or the conventions of the industry all whilst relying upon the brilliance of the individual analyst (Moeran 1996: 32). By analysing one product, beer, the complaint concerning the conventions can be addressed, whilst the use of Williamson's techniques does help understand the various techniques used to construct an advertisement. The background and commentary on these advertisements therefore deserves to be studied and if done so, would go so way to putting Moeran's concerns to rest.

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