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メタデータ	言語: English 出版者: 公開日: 2019-01-18 キーワード (Ja): キーワード (En): 作成者: D, JONES, A, HONDA メールアドレス: 所属:
URL	http://hdl.handle.net/10098/10543

Whiter than White? Part II: Interrogating Images in a Critical Study of the Cultural Practice in Japan of Using White Men to Represent and Advertise Products, and its Educational Implications

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Date Submitted: 2018.10.1

Abstract: Whereas prior approaches to learning about cultures focused on identifying putatively 'essential' differences and/or trite representations, current approaches adopt critical multiculturalism/interculturalism to debunk stereotypes and expose the insidious workings of hegemonic hierarchies. This study draws on the British tradition of Culture Studies (CS) to problematize the cultural practice in Japan of using White models to represent and advertise products. Advertising functions as a powerful force of 'informal' education, setting cultural 'norms,' so CS posits as paramount the unpacking of the processes and (meta-)messages of such mass media. Accordingly, this study semiotically interrogates images of White models in Japanese TV ads. It aims to unveil the processes/practices of representation: how ads are intended to be 'read' and how viewers are unconsciously complicit in duly making those meanings. Collectively, the images indicate a pattern of positive representation of Whiteness, especially as connoting pulchritude, power, privilege, and prestige. In contrast, Blacks are hugely under-represented, but this study will also inquire into how Black people are (usually-stereotypically) represented. Other intersectionally-oppressive representations/non-representations include women being sexualised, and everyone being heterosexual and middle-class (or above), with Japanese viewers likely to assume almost all models are American. Where is the cultural diversity? Part I of the study interrogated images of White women from the 1980s on, noticing a shift in representations (less removed and revered?). Part II here is the follow-up paper on White and Black men, and it notes a similar shift in representations as well as a change to gentler (less-macho) representations of masculinity. Analysing such changes may be a valuable way to challenge the fixity of cultural stereotypes, leading to more positive/equitable intercultural interaction. The study concludes (Part III, forthcoming) by entreating people in Japan (and elsewhere)

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to undertake interrogations of images in their own local contexts to reflect on what (meta-)messages they communicate, and to compare all such 'informally'-educative media influences with the images/attitudes conveyed by 'formal' education (textbooks etc.) to consider, holistically, what it really is that people are learning/having reinforced about cultures (especially a hierarchy of cultures) and then how they might resist/re-envision it in transformative ways.

Keywords: Culture Studies, Interculturalism, Whiteness Studies, Japanese Advertising, Intersectionality

1. Introduction

This paper (Part II) is intended to be read as a continuation of Part I (Jones & Honda, 2017), so there should be no need to rehash the theoretical framework and methodology behind this study too much here beyond the description in the above abstract. In brief, this study draws on the British tradition of Culture Studies (plus Critical Race Theory/Critical Whiteness Studies) to problematize the cultural practice in Japan of using White models to represent and advertise products. Part I of the study looked at White women, and Part II here follows up by looking at White men. Part III (forthcoming) will reflect on the educational implications and possible future directions for meliorating understanding and practice, especially for "reconceptualizing the boundaries of formal and informal learning" (Greenhow & Lewin, 2016, p. 6).

Part I posited how advertising functions as a hugely-powerful force of 'informal' education, setting and reinforcing cultural 'norms' in insidiously-'invisible' ways that usually go unnoticed by society. The sheer volume of ads to which people are subjected is mind-boggling; however, people should not simply allow themselves to be "subject" to it but rather empower themselves, both to notice their complicity in duly making the invidious/iniquitous meanings intended by advertisers and to critically challenge the 'naturalness'/'neutrality'/'normality' of such assumptions and transformationally create alternative meanings/media. Rose and Wood (2005) emphasised this key "notion that the audience actively negotiates meaning from an advertising text" (p. 287).

Culture Studies (CS) posits as crucial the rigorous unpacking/analysis of the processes and (meta-)messages of such mass media. The aim is to develop people's "critical media literacy": to analyse "media codes" and "criticize stereotypes, dominant values, and ideologies" (Kellner & Share, 2005, p. 372). The "basis of media literacy is that all messages are constructed", so it is necessary to understand the "social construction" of the messages propagated by media (Kellner & Share, 2005, p. 381). The "interrogation of the image," rather than its blithe, uncritical acceptance, is a key CS-practice advocated by Hall (1997): "we must probe inside and behind the image," and

deconstruct it, especially to reveal the insidious processes of restrictive representation by "contesting stereotypes" (which "destroys their naturalness and normality").

Part I of this study thus semiotically interrogated images of White women in Japanese TV ads, aiming to unveil the processes/practices of representation: how ads are constructed and intended to be 'read,' and how viewers are usually unconsciously complicit in duly making those meanings. The goal was to show underlying structures, patterns, and contents, and the ways subjects are positioned, portrayed, defined, and persuaded. It found that, as expected, Whiteness is generally represented very positively, especially as connoting pulchritude, power, prestige, and privilege. It also generally seems to connote that the product is good/superior and that its users can have (or at least aspire to) a richer, happier, hipper, more-attractive and more-modern (Western/international?) lifestyle (cf. Maynard, 1996, pp. 257-258; Kelsky, 2001, p. 145; Prieler, 2010, p. 515). This seems to create and sustain an ineluctable structure of feeling that 'White is Right'/'West is Best.'

This cultural phenomenon thus seems a quintessential instance of White Privilege: it is unspoken/unnamed but comes across loud and clear. As Prieler (2010) noted, "Whiteness itself is apparently a stand-alone quality, capable of adding value in the absence of any other attribute or situational cue" (p. 522). It is often enough just to *be* White. Image is all that matters (Mooney, 2000). Thus, this seems to be the exploitation of White Privilege for money, with celebs apparently willing to prostitute themselves in ways they probably never would back home. This is why many of them insist on the notorious contract clause: "'OIJ' (only in Japan)" (Okazaki & Mueller, 2011, p. 216). Would they do that were they really 'whiter than white'? Or can they perhaps intuit that there is something improper about many of these Japanese ads?

There often also seems to be a subtle-yet-distinct power dynamic to the "intercultural dimension" (Maynard, 1996, p. 245) enacted when White celebs appear in Japanese ads. Maynard (1996) characterised the "metamessage" as one of "intimacy endorsed by power" (p. 262): a position of power is often established by having the White celeb appear/speak from up above (i.e. with camera shots taken from below), but this power is not exercised in any overt/threatening way as the celeb will smile to convey intimacy/reassurance (i.e. it is soft power, often imperceptible, p. 256). Part I highlighted some instances of this phenomenon, and it is one to look out for in Part II.

Part I also indicated other intersectional power dynamics that often seem to recur in Japanese ads. Kelsky (2001, p. 187) cited a 1991 survey that showed 30% of Japanese commercials featured foreigners, 85% of whom were White. Prieler's (2010) survey revealed "white people appear in 14.3 percent of ads" (p. 512) whereas Blacks and East-Asians each featured in just 2% of ads (p. 514), reinforcing the notion of a "ladder of civilizations" (p. 514): White, Japanese, Others. Thus, Prieler found that "'whiteness' is a crucial element of Japanese television advertising" (p. 512) whereas

Black people appear far less, and, when they do, they are five times more likely to be male than female (p. 526n.10). The absence/marginalisation of Black females is striking, and this paper will investigate the range of representations of Black males to assess how fixed/stereotypical they are.

Indeed, there seems to be a concomitant wider lack of diversity (a lack of LGBT, developing-world people, and people of low socio-economic status). From the images presented in ads, Japanese viewers are likely to believe that almost-all foreigners are White, American, wealthy (at least middle-class?), attractive, and heterosexual.

It is also worth noting that gender stereotypes are often propagated and perpetuated in Japanese ads, with Whiteness in ads often being stereotypically/exaggeratedly gendered, too. Part I indicated the long predominance of the buxom, blonde-bombshell type in Japanese ads, often highly sexual/sexualised (Maynard, 1996, p. 257; Kelsky, 2001, p. 256n.9; Prieler, 2010, p. 517, p. 525), yet still willing to do housework (especially laundry?—i.e. happily taking care of loads). This seems a highly-stereotyped (male-fantasy?) image of the 'ideal' woman. Indeed, most of the White women in the ads may be deemed 'Beauties' and often accordingly promote beauty products. Part I posited the metaphor of 'Beauty and the Beast' for how stereotypically-gendered the roles of White women and men in Japanese ads may be, so Part II here will investigate how far the 'Beast' metaphor holds up.

Part II will also investigate whether the same pattern of increased "acculturation" (to Japan) is discernible in Japanese ads featuring White men as it was in those featuring White women (Martin, 2012): moving from the untouchable level of "separation" (existing outside Japan, having no contact with Japanese), to "integration" and even full "assimilation" (e.g. speaking Japanese fluently). Even if they do become more domesticated/familiar, though, the stars' Whiteness still crucially differentiates them. Prieler (2010) has contended that foreign models are employed to reinforce a sense of essential difference: "'Others' are often stereotyped in ways that differentiate them from Japanese...[T]he representation of Others constructs 'Japaneseness'" (pp. 511-512).

Part I indicated a couple of ads that might possibly be interpreted as subversively challenging putatively-essentialist differences and hierarchical hegemonies (with Whites on top) although they could also be problematic/problematized. Do the ads featuring foreign men analysed here in Part II also manifest any such potentially-subversive tendencies in the images/interaction presented?

Part I emphasised that celebrity and image wield huge power in the world of Japanese advertising. Celebrity endorsement is used far more than in most other countries (Okazaki & Mueller, 2011, p. 217), and Mooney (2000, p. 24n.1) noted how イメージ広告 (*imēji koukoku*, image advertising), "i.e. selling/promoting an image rather than a product," is also a key strategy. However, in view of Hall's (1997) admonitions to viewers not simply to acquiesce by intuiting/making the exact meaning intended by advertisers, such "image advertising" would seem to be fraught with peril (in

terms of fixing meanings, limiting representations, and bolstering stereotypes). Okazaki and Mueller quoted a Japanese ad exec explaining how automatically/'naturally' viewers would grasp the intended message/emotion from the image(s) presented: "Advertising was kind of 'a-un no kokyu', which means an understanding of one another without exchanging a single word...Our message was 'you know what we mean, right?'" (2011, pp. 220-221). The CS approach would be to remonstrate: "Yes, we know exactly what you mean, but we're going to contest, not ingest, it in our interrogation of the image and its metamessage."

The above comprises a reprise of some of the most-pertinent points of Part I to be borne in mind here in Part II. Part I investigated about 15 Japanese ads featuring foreign women (from the 1980s to the present), so the next section of Part II will investigate a commensurate number of ads featuring foreign men from a similar period, with the aim of identifying and interrogating similarities and differences in representation. Section 2 will look at 'Macho'/'Beast'-type White men in Japanese ads (in line with the exaggerated-gender-alterity metaphor of 'Beauty and the Beast'). However, around the time of Disney's original *Beauty and the Beast* movie (1991), a widespread sociocultural change in the image/performance of masculinity seems to have occurred, becoming gentler and less macho, so Section 3 (entitled 'New Men/Metrosexuals') will investigate that type of White man in Japanese ads. Section 4 will look at representations of Black men. Section 5 will offer some final thoughts and look ahead to the final part of this study (Part III, forthcoming).

2. White Men Appearing in Japanese Commercials as Macho/'Beasts'

First, the caveats of Part I bear repetition here. An ironic limitation of this study of images is that it contains no actual images. These images generally only exist on the internet in bootleg form, so readers have to visit sites like Google Images/YouTube, and search for "(celebrity name) Japanese ad/(product name)" (or go to http://www.japander.com/japander/index.htm).[1]

Next, selecting which ads to analyse was, undeniably, an arbitrary/random process. The sheer volume of ads is huge, and pictorial proof of many has vanished. We just used ads that we have seen, aiming to investigate representations of cultural/social categories (especially race) that underlie distinctions between particular groups, especially how race relates to other intersecting forms of oppression, such as gender, sexuality, and social class. The aim is to destabilise/deconstruct simplistic dichotomous/binary, essentialist/monolithic formulations of race/ethnicities/cultures (e.g. 'Japanese' vs. 'Western') and move beyond them to deeper understandings of the complications/contradictions that can underlie and subvert them: a "process of unveiling myths and challenging hegemony" (Kellner & Share, 2005, p. 373).

Accordingly, the method is to critically interrogate the advertising images, as Hall (1997)

suggested and as modelled by critics such as Maynard (1996), Kelsky (2001, pp. 187-198), and Shroeder and Zwick (2004). Our attempts to impose any kind of pattern/order on these ads are also admittedly arbitrary: we may have focused on the more-sensational ones at the expense of more-mundane ones (with more subtlety in their intercultural representations?). Then, we have tried to arrange them to give some sort of vaguely-chronological and/or thematic flow. We aim to show how stereotypical gender/heterosexual roles have often been reinforced as 'natural' corollaries to the revered representations of Whiteness even though the range of representations of White men still seems wider than that afforded White women in Japanese ads.

As posited above, the 'Beauty-and-the-Beast' metaphor may be an apt starting point to characterise the images/roles of White models in many Japanese ads, pushing the gender dichotomy to its traditional/patriarchal poles: beautiful, sexy women and macho tough guys. As West and Zimmerman (1987) rued, little boys are socialized "through the exercise of physical strength or appropriate skills. In contrast, little girls learn to value 'appearance'" (p. 141), but, "in doing gender, men are also doing dominance and women are doing deference": a "powerful reinforcer and legitimator of hierarchical arrangements" (p. 146) that are highly iniquitous. In this world of crystal-clearly-defined gender identities and roles, these opposites seem bound to attract. Butler (1999, p. 194) called this the "heterosexual matrix" that "regulates gender and gender relations so that heterosexuality becomes the 'normal,' right, and only way to be" (Blaise, 2005, p. 85); however, "Gender is a social construction that does not reflect the complexity of lived lives. Emphasis on gender differences can exacerbate inequitable...practices" (Wohlwend, 2009, p. 78). In terms of intersectionality, the gender, (hetero)sexist, and classist assumptions that often accompany the racial ones in ads also bear analysis.

Thus, some famous/infamous 'Übermenschen' are up first in the spotlight. In the Japanese ads, their toxic masculinity is usually fuelled by alcohol, *genki* (energy) drinks, (black) coffee, cigarettes, and red meat. Such alpha-males have traditionally been much favoured in Japanese ads for such products, and, through the magic, mighty-morphing power of advertising, they somehow seem to come to represent/inspire Japan's overworked, downtrodden army of *salarymen*.

First up, a 1995 ad shows Hollywood-wild-man Charlie Sheen (an "alpha-male freak" who seems to "embody testosterone," Marche, 2014) enjoying a smoke. In suit, tie, and glasses, Charlie conveys an image of stylish, stately male authority (the brand name is "Parliament" from Philip Morris Tobacco) and professionalism/privilege/wealth (the ad emphasises these are "プレミアム [premium]" cigarettes, *not* for everyone). The ad begins with a panoramic shot of the Manhattan skyline, with the WTC's twin towers prominent, then the camera circles around the top of the Chrysler Building to show the height and might of the skyscraper (up where New York's business

elite, the Cloud Club, used to convene). The wealth and power of Charlie's character are conveyed through the smart suit and designer glasses he sports as a limo whisks him through the rainy night. He smokes contemplatively, then starts fingering a small Japanese ornament presumably given to him as a keepsake by a Japanese woman when he visited Japan (presumably on business). This sparks memories of the kimono-clad beauty, as he wistfully pictures her with her gentle and demure smile (plus the trinket and red *wagasa* —traditional bamboo and paper umbrella), walking across a traditional-Japanese bridge, with a pagoda nearby. The background music is a bluesy/jazzy version of "The End of the World": "It ended when I lost your love," rues the female singer at this point. Then, Charlie's reverie broken, the camera pans back to the top of the Chrysler building, before the limo pulls up in front of another imposing edifice. Lots of other hot-shot White men in tuxedos are entering the building (presumably for a formal dinner/function). Charlie goes halfway up the steps while having another smoke, then, mid-puff, who should appear but the Japanese beauty? This time she has a red, Western-style brolly and is wearing an elegant, black figure-hugging gown. His expression momentarily betrays a flicker of surprise, which then morphs into a little smile/smirk (that perhaps seems to say, "I'm happy, but maybe not entirely surprised, you've come all the way here just to see me"?). She sashays over to him, but he keeps smoking impassively on the stairs, before finally deigning to step down to her with slow, measured steps.

Kelsky (2001) has also focused on this ad for the many features it combines as a representation of an "Orientalist fantasy...that reinscribes the narrative of white men's global phallic authority," here shown working on a "border-crossing Madame Butterfly in an era of late capitalism" (p. 198). Kelsky cited this ad as an instance of the "racialized desires that operate in the selling of white men as commodity markers of upward mobility" (p. 187). Indeed, much of Kelsky's book is dedicated to showing how reviled as inadequate Japanese men are compared to foreign (especially White) men, making it seem quite 'normal' and desirable for Japanese women to prefer foreign men. Kelsky has provided ample examples of Japanese men being stereotyped as crass and emasculated, lacking virility/potency (including a Japanese book chapter entitled "Japanese Men Have No Dicks," quoted p. 184). In contrast, Kelsky has contended, "White men appear in women's media as sensitive, refined, and without sexism. They are *redī fāsuto jentoruman* (ladies-first gentlemen)" (p. 145): "the white man is packaged and sold as a romantic hero in Japan and globally" (p. 132). Bailey (2006) concurred: the "mythos of white masculinity is reproduced by imagery in all forms of popular consumer culture" (p. 111). Suave, debonair, kind, and chivalrous, yet still strong and powerful, the White man is presented as the desired rescuer/liberator of Japanese women: a "Prince Charming" (Kelsky, 2001, p. 177) of a "transformative agent" (p. 132), enabling the woman to actualise a new, better version of herself, one that is cool and sophisticated (in its conflation of the images of

international/Western/modern/aspirational). Ads like this one illustrate how many Japanese women have been conditioned to have such *akogare* (longing/idealization, Bailey, 2006, p. 110) for a White man (as representative of/conduit to the West): the "akogare-driven image of the white man as romantic object—the prince on a white horse" (Kelsky, 2001, p. 255n.2), figuring in these "eroticized heterosexual rescue fantasies—in other words, the White Man as savior effect" (p. 229). Kelsky has characterised this as the "idealization" (p. 240) and "Fetish of the White Man" (p. 133).

The power dynamics of this ad are striking. Kelsky (2001) has identified flash cars, tall/grand buildings, and expensive suits as emblems of power (p. 189). Such emblems abound in this ad, with the shots of the mighty erections, the limo, and Charlie's tux. Kelsky has also observed how White men often appear in ads clad in fancy threads whereas, frequently, "white women appear conspicuously underdressed" (p. 189).[2]

Such gender alterity is also clearly demarcated in this ad, with Charlie's masculine power tux contrasting with the quintessentially-feminine attire of his lover: kimono then gown. In addition, smoking is often quite a gendered cultural practice in Japan (i.e. a site where gender is constructed/performed), with about 30% of men smoking as opposed to just about 10% of women (http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2016/07/28/national/science-health/smoking-rate-japanese-men-falls-30-first-time/), so this image seems to reinforce that gender stereotype. It also seems significant that she is the one who has made the huge effort to reconcile (not vice versa), an effort he acknowledges in a very-cool (somewhat-standoffish, even blasé?) manner, not rushing into her arms with glee but rather slowly descending (from his elevated position on the steps) to her level. From Martin's (2012) perspective of "acculturation," he seems to remain in a state of "separation" from Japan: she has had to come all the way to New York to see him and attire herself in Western-style, too (i.e. she has to acculturate herself to him). In terms of the intersectionality, the intercultural power dynamics seem pretty clear here: the wealthy White man exercises power over the Japanese woman (albeit still within the "heterosexual matrix"). Although Charlie has usually traded off his bad-boy image in the U.S. (indeed, smoking may be considered one of his tamer vices), Mooney (2000) still cited his ciggie ads, and other celebs' hard-liquor ads, in Japan as commercial enterprises they would probably want kept secret back home (they "do not want that publicized," p. 38).

Mickey Rourke is another Hollywood bad-boy/tough-guy who made a series of ads in Japan for a less-than-wholesome product: Suntory Reserve Whisky (1988-1990). The slick, handsome devil exudes a winning suavity that seems to have again triggered feelings of *akogare* in Japanese women. Mooney (2000) reported that the appearance of the "sex symbol...added a touch of worldliness" and "boosted Suntory Reserve's attractiveness among Japanese drinkers, particularly among young Japanese women who were fans of Rourke and his movies" (pp. 32-33). The ad is a fairly-typical

representation of a well-off White man enjoying the self-satisfied, sybaritic spoils of his success: a hard man enjoying hard liquor. Needless to say, being this cool (and heteronormative) enables him to woo a buxom (Western) beauty, using his rigid digits to engage in a flirtatious *pas de deux* on the bar as she suggestively presents her parted fingers like goalposts (i.e. she seems to get Rourke's drift). This scene then morphs into them actually sexily salsa dancing together. As in the Sheen ad, the gender dichotomy is emphasised by their attire: he in power tux, and she in plunging gown (with oversized round earrings). Soon after making this ad, Rourke became a professional boxer for a while, so there would seem little doubting his hyper-masculine credentials.

The list of other famous White celebs to have made whisky ads in Japan, prefiguring Bill Murray's character in *Lost in Translation* (2003), indicates how whisky-drinking (albeit usually on the rocks as in Rourke's ad) seems to be represented as a rich, tough-guy pastime in Japan: e.g. Orson Wells (Nikka, c.1979, including smoking a cigar), Sean Connery (Suntory), Francis Ford Coppola (Suntory, alongside Akira Kurosawa), Jean Reno (a Kirin-Seagram whisky called 'Hips,' a bottle of which a blonde caches in her cleavage), and Keanu Reeves (Suntory, with a sexually-aggressive vampish White woman in a little black dress [LBD], again with oversized earrings—again, the "heterosexual matrix"). In this genre of ads, as well as the emphasised gender alterity, the high degree of "separation" (Martin, 2012) from Japanese culture is striking. The locations look very foreign, and the beautiful women are White and sexually confident/available to the hard-drinking hard men.

Tommy Lee Jones is another Hollywood hard man who has hawked manly Suntory product in Japan. Since 2006, he has made a series of ads for Boss (canned) Coffee, with the recurring theme that he is an alien, appearing in various guises (e.g. police officer, karaoke-box worker, security guard at an airport, and a super-strict teacher). There is humour and self-deprecation in these ads that can seem subversive of the usual-hegemonic meta-message that White men are the most desirable. For example, when working as a host in a club, Jones is ranked least popular among the patrons, and one girl calls him "uncool" [*dasai,* ダサい] to his face as she much prefers the top-ranked young Japanese host. Moreover, he is shown performing a range of menial jobs (e.g. distributing flyers) that can make his promotion of a coffee called "Boss" seem ironic.

On the other hand, though, he often demonstrates his superiority to those around him, such as by performing feats of super-human strength (e.g. lifting cars or manually preventing a tunnel from caving in). He also sometimes wields iron-handed authority that accords well with the name 'Boss," like bringing unruly kids sharply back in line. There seems clear resonance between the careworn, craggy features of TLJ and the Boss-coffee character on the can. These images, combined with the name 'Boss,' seem to evoke a 'reassuring' feeling of White, patriarchal authority and control. Canned coffee is widely believed to be a Japanese invention/abomination, and many Japanese workers

(especially men?) have the ritual of giving themselves an energy boost by chugging one.

Though his foreignness/Otherness is emphasised (he is an alien, after all), and he makes amusing errors based on his cultural misapprehensions, he is at least somewhat integrated into Japanese society (such as in his ability to speak Japanese and work in quintessentially-Japanese locales, e.g. ramen stand, hot-spring hotel, where he easily wins a table-tennis game, or planting rice [at lightning speed]). The "Alien Jones" character seems to have been well "assimilated" into Japanese culture, over a long period of time (even in spin-off ads), and it seems that multiple readings/interpretations of him can be made more easily and tenably compared to many other White men appearing in Japanese ads. All of the humour and self-deprecation may take the edge off him somewhat as an Übermensch, but he nonetheless remains one.

Other Hollywood Übermenschen have also plugged and glugged drinks to give them energy—a vital commodity for Japan's overworked legions. Both Arnold Schwarzenegger and Steven Seagal made ads for Takeda Pharmaceutical's Alinamin energy drinks. Arnie's Alinamin V ads (1990s) are a mixed-bag. One storyline (that seems to prefigure some of the Alien-Jones ones) shows him as an under-performing worker, harangued by his diminutive Japanese boss, prompting him to quaff the energy drink and then start drastically over-performing by showing super-human strength (carrying a dozen boxes on his shoulders as he walks over cars in front of Tokyo Tower—once again, the elevated position [with Japanese people in cars pointing up at him in wonder] and tall building behind may appear to emphasise his masculine strength and superiority). In another, a bottle of Alinamin (in front of a Wild-West town backdrop?) transforms into a Japanese girl in a tight, white mini-dress. She gyrates a bit, then the lid atop her head is unscrewed, causing the golden liquid to shoot out wildly and transform into Arnie's oversized head (bigger than the girl's whole body), laughing manically *above* the girl. Arnie emerging from the bottle and laughing manically became the theme of subsequent ads: in one, he shoots out so amped that he starts booming laughter so powerful that gold coins explode out of his mouth. His power seems immense and irrepressible.[3]

In Seagal's Alinamin ad (1997), the premise is that even this black-belt feels a bit achy/fatigued sometimes (e.g. when hanging on to the roof of a speeding car being chased by cops, as in this ad), so it is lucky he has this 'dynamic' energy drink to pep him up again so he can get right back to kicking butt. The implication is that you can be similarly powered up by imbibing this sugar, caffeine, and taurine-laced elixir. Although Seagal himself was well "assimilated" into Japanese culture (running his own Aikido dojo in Osaka and having a Japanese wife), this ad operates on the level of cultural "separation" (the car chase seems to be in the U.S.); however, he has the Japanese energy drink readily to hand, of course. He may sport a ponytail, but he is still as hard as nails.

Another rock-hard White martial artist to have made ads for energy-boosting products in

Japan is Jean-Claude Van Damme. He made a series of ads for an energy drink called UNIBA-G (ユニバG) in the mid-'90s. In one, he roundly kicks butt, then drinks UNIBA-G (from a wine glass, somewhat paradoxically), before carrying away an Oriental girl in his strong arms. In another, he is losing a kickboxing match, much to the chagrin of a ringside Oriental gentleman (in tux with beauty in blue dress on his arm) who has presumably bet on him to win. The gent intervenes by sending some UNIBA-G over for VD to quaff between rounds, and this enables him to charge back in and vanquish his foe. At the end, from his elevated position in the ring (from a camera angle below), he smiles, and, with bulging biceps prominent, gives the thumbs-up sign to the gent.

He also made a series of ads for Lotte Black & Black Gum (early 1990s). In one, VD cannot shake off his lethargy/sleepiness (even when two bathing-suited blondes gyrate before him, he just feels ennui not horny) until he chews on a stick of this caffeinated gum, *et voilà*, it produces a 'double impact' on his energy levels, and immediately the 'Muscles from Brussels' is back flying high. His rippling muscles are prominent in all these ads, including the latter ones when he presents the gum to reinvigorate sleepy drivers. In one such, VD's kindness backfires because his limo driver gets so charged up by the gum that he slams the pedal to the metal, violently throwing VD (in power tux) out of his clinch in the back with a sexy blonde in an LBD. Again, the gender alterity and concomitant heterosexuality are indicated. This dude is both tough and virile, a lover and a fighter.

Sylvester Stallone (a.k.a. Rocky Balboa, 'The Italian Stallion') is yet another White Hollywood hard man who has made ads in Japan. From the late 1980s~early '90s, he promoted Ito Ham products (it would surely be accurate to characterise these as the only ham-acting performances of his illustrious career?). In one, Sly extolls the company's Bayern wieners while wearing a power-tux (and dicky-bow) and holding a dozen red roses (ready to enact the gendered rituals of the "etiquette of dating" [West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 135]—a White man standing as the object of desire—who may have appeared even more attractive were the image not accompanied by a voiceover exalting "very-mini" ["*cho-mini*"] wieners). Taking the ad in its entirety, viewers may think, "What a wienie!" Others also feature Sly in a tux, sitting at a dining table with White families, exalting how "delicious" ham steaks are. Mooney (2000, p. 32) explained that, "In Japan, eating meat is considered to give one strength. So Ito Ham featured muscular Hollywood star Sylvester Stallone."[4]

The logic of Japanese advertisers in using these preternaturally-strong he-men to promote energy-boosting food and drinks is readily comprehensible, but the insidious intersections of race, gender, sexuality, and class should not evade scrutiny. These White men usually figure at the top of the hierarchy, often signalled by their up-on-high positioning and/or physically besting/outmuscling others. They then reap their rewards, often in the form of adulation, especially from sexy beauties, and

their success, power, and wealth are also indicated by their tuxedos (Kelsky, 2001, p. 189).

Kelsky (2001, p. 189) has also identified flashy cars as a significant signifier of material wealth and power, and many foreign celebs have thus been hired to make car ads in Japan, including yet another Hollywood hard man, Bruce Willis. He seems to have started moonlighting in Japanese advertising c.1989 (when more hirsute) with ads for the Subaru Legacy (and the New Legacy c.2003). These ads show a high degree of "separation" from Japan as Bruce is shown touring through various overseas locales, conveying a sense of freedom. More recently (c.2011-2016?), he has made a series of ads for the *kei*-car Daihatsu Mira e:S (550-660-cc engine). It is hard to imagine John McClane being able to 'drive hard' in such an underpowered vehicle, but that is part of the humour. The Japanese director suggests that action-man Bruce drive the Mira through a wall, but he unexpectedly demurs by calling the stunt "dangerous" [*abunai,* あぶない]. It is an amusing and refreshing change for a White tough guy to admit to such doubts when so many other ads present them as apparently indestructible—a welcome ironic undercutting of the genre.

Other Willis ads, though, make clear the unironic association of his tough-guy image with raw power, like his ads in the '90s for Eneos petrol stations. Carrying a power-pack on his back and a gas-pump in hand, he goes to various (foreign) locales and manically pumps/charges up objects/people with the slogan, "Move you." In one, an American football team (the "Volts") are losing 26-0 at half-time (to the mighty "Whites"), so the Volts' White coach goes ballistic at his Black players (even making them cry). BW then pushes through some cheerleaders and smashes down the locker-room doors, before using his magic pump to energise the Volts. Volte-face complete, the players smash down another door as they stampede back out onto the field, driven on by Willis.

Similarly, there are the ads for 2014 ads for Kowa's canned "Powered Coffee" made by Willis and Schwarzenegger, in which they operate heavy machinery and yell, "Power!" Again, in terms of gender analysis, it may be telling that these 'beasts' are fuelled by black coffee whereas the blonde beauties studied in Part I supped on creamy lattes. The "separation" from Japanese culture is also striking: the work-crews surrounding Willis and Schwarzenegger are almost-exclusively White.[5]

3. White Men Appearing in Japanese Commercials as New Men/Metrosexuals

However, those 2014 Kowa Powered Coffee ads may be seen as something of a throwback to the days when such Übermenschen ads were *de rigueur*. That is because quite-a-significant change seems to have taken place in the representation of White men in Japanese ads, which means that such mega-macho, musclebound 'meatheads' as Stallone, Schwarzenegger, Willis, and Van Damme might have been branded 'Expendables' by Japanese advertisers. In sociocultural/sociohistorical terms, this type of 'beast'-man has undergone a transformation in the advertising world analogous to that of the Beast

in the Disney movie, *Beauty and the Beast* (1991, 2017). As Jeffords (1995, p. 170) explained, "The Beast is the New Man...who can transform himself from the hardened, muscle-bound, domineering man of the '80s into the considerate, loving, and self-sacrificing man of the '90s."

In Japan, this change also roughly coincided with the bursting of Japan's economic bubble (c.1991), which had a major impact on the Japanese advertising industry, with decreased use of pricy foreign celebs (Mooney, 2000, p. 38) and a shift to the more-traditionally-'American' technique of the hard sell (Okazaki & Mueller, 2011). Another trend identified in Part I, re White women in Japanese ads, was Martin's (2012) adducing of "Acculturation theory": rather than manifesting a high-level of "separation" from Japanese culture as before, models came to be cast in roles of greater "integration" and even "assimilation," and the same trend seems discernible for White men. This process of "[d]omesticating foreign actors" (Martin, 2012, p. 170) is believed to resonate better with Japanese consumers (p. 157). In the case of White men, greater sensitivity to Japanese culture may accord with the greater all-round sensitivity of the '90s New Man. Mooney (2000) noted the trend "moving away from the foreign star as an untouchable icon and toward the star-as-neighbor" (e.g. Harrison Ford in mid-'90s Kirin beer ads "as an ordinary salaryman out with his colleagues," p. 39).

Shroeder and Zwick (2004) have contextualised this wider paradigm shift in representations of masculinity: "recent advertising images have reflected...transformations in ideals of masculinity" (p. 33), as the industry "shifts hegemonic masculinity from the realm of aggression...to the domain of consumption" (p. 44). This is the marketing/monetisation of masculinity constructions, bringing them in line with the same profitable processes so long operant with femininity. Shroeder and Zwick referred to Patterson and Elliott (2002) on how "some contemporary images 'invert' the male gaze. Men are increasingly encouraged to view their own bodies as sites of identity management: 'consumers' bodies are the products of labor (body work) that necessitates consumption and the use of consumer goods" (p. 25), causing an "increasing feminization of masculinities, as men are encouraged to partake in the carnival of consumption, to become concerned about their appearance, to get in touch with their emotions, and as male bodies become objects of display subject to the male gaze" (p. 26).

Is this cultural change a positive one? Shroeder and Zwick (2004) claimed it may "suggest a change in the limits posited by the traditional male gaze of advertising" (p. 25), but the possibility comes with caveats—a wariness that maybe *plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*. Thus, Shroeder and Zwick "contend that the gaze has *expanded*, rather than inverted" (p. 26): "despite the potential for transgressive readings,...cultural messages within the advertising discourse still function largely to reinforce traditional gender roles and to *limit* the consumer body to conservative forms of masculinity and femininity" (p. 27, i.e. "gender relations remain oppositional," p. 44).[6]

This global alteration in advertising approach towards men, making them more into commercial consumers (like women), also seems manifest in Japanese ads featuring White men. It may also have coincided with the Japanese cultural phenomenon of 装飾男子 (*soushoku-danshi,* herbivore men, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/japans-generation-xx-1704155.html). The herbivore man is far less red-blooded (generally disinterested in sex and *salaryman* enslavement): a gentle soul who takes care of his appearance and shows sensitivity to others, i.e. more Rimbaud than Rambo.

Michael J. Fox's early-'90s ads for Kirin Afternoon Tea may be apt examples of more-sensitive, less-bestial White men appearing in Japanese ads. As Part I noted, Maynard (1996) cited one of these ads as exemplary of a White man exercising 'soft power' over Japanese viewers, by being positioned in an "opulent tree house" atop a "rope ladder" (p. 254), with the camera filming from below. Meanwhile, though, his direct eye contact and smile establish intimacy/friendship: this is, perhaps, a benevolent power.[7] The ad seems to operate on the level of "separation" from Japanese culture because of its quintessentially-American setting and Fox speaking only in English.

Another example of a more-sensitive White man is Elijah Wood's 2014 ad for Toyota's Noah minivan. Again, there seems a "separation" from Japan as it is set in a foreign-city park, and EW speaks English. Peter Rabbit is in the park, and his attention is drawn to a Noah as it pulls up. Out steps preppily-dressed Elijah and ambles over. He then squats down to Peter's level and greets him, gazing with indescribable gentleness (very different from his vicious visage in *Green Street*, 2005). Suitably reassured that Elijah's intentions for him differ from Mr. McGregor's, and unafraid of becoming roadkill, the twitching, lolloping lagomorph approaches the Noah with curiosity (though he may prefer a Suzuki Alto Lapin?). Elijah's sensitivity seems to make him a real nice guy, and his handsomeness and kindness (*yasashisa*, 優しさ) may have been intended to spark admiration and *akogare* in female Japanese viewers.

However, perhaps *the* archetypally-handsome White man in the Japanese popular imagination is Brad Pitt (a.k.a. "*Burapi,* ぶらぴ," with Johnny Depp maybe his closest rival: Depp played guitar in a 2017 Asahi beer ad). Pitt has made various ads in Japan (e.g. Honda, Rolex [shirtless in bed], Roots coffee, and SoftBank telecom [carrying a Sumo wrestler, snapping a photo of a topless woman in a French village, much to her chagrin, 2008]), but let us look at his late-'90s ads for Edwin Jeans. He dances in several, and, in one, as he rides a motorbike, he turns around to the camera, and, in a foreign accent, says, "Please check out my arse! Very nice!" The camera duly pans down to his Edwin-encased keister to enable his self-enacted sexual objectification. Another ad shows him knocking on the wrong door, but a blonde opens it, so they end up hanging out on the rooftop.

Leonardo DiCaprio is another White man much admired in Japan for his good looks and

coolness, and these attributes have been used to advertise various products: a series of ads for the Oricon credit card (one of which depicts Leo atop a ladder rescuing people, with one crass camera shot taken from beneath the skirt of an ascending girl), a 2013 Jim-Beam ad (exuding an elegant 'Great-Gatsby' vibe as he apparently uses psychokinesis to shatter a huge ball of ice), a series of ads for Suzuki's Wagon R (in one, he opines that, "Style is power," and, in another, a gust of wind from his speeding car causes two beauties' skirts to billow up revealingly), and an earlier Honda Civic ad (1995, showcasing another White-man-Japanese-woman 'couple' as singer/actor Yasuko Matsuyuki leans over and kisses Leo on the cheek. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Leo is the one who is driving). There is some degree of cultural "integration" in most of these DiCaprio ads.

The Independent article on Japan's 'herbivore men' characterised them as a "perfumed army of preening masculinity. Groomed and primped, hair teased to peacock-like perfection and bodies wrapped in tight-fitting clothes," and such a description seems to fit the image of the One-Direction crew in their 2014/2015 ad for NTT Docomo smartphones, too. The 1D boys' look seems to be what is known in Japan as *hosomacho* [細マッチョ]: slim but with muscles. The desired image/feeling in the ad seems to be one that is young, fun, and hip (the campaign targeted under-25s) as each member takes a turn to mimic the martial-arts moves of a monster in a smart-phone game/app. In the West, the 1D boys' tattoos might contribute to such a hip image/feeling, but in Japan a tattoo is taboo (with *yakuza* implications), so they must be concealed so as not to shock/offend. Image is everything.

Likewise, in his recent (2017) ad for Docomo's telecom rivals, SoftBank, Justin Bieber had to keep his tats under wraps. 'The Bieb' is duly dressed in a dandy-blue version of the Japanese schoolboys' traditional uniform, the *gakuran* (学蘭). It was originally modelled on an army uniform, but the blue colour and Justin's smiling face convey that he is a lover not a fighter. He performs his male gender by wearing blue and indulging the attentions/adulations of the schoolgirls in the corridor. Then he shares a handshake of communion with the apparent English teacher: Japanese comedian Pico Taro (of 'PPAP' fame: "I have a pen. I have an Apple"). JB seems fun, cool, and approachable—precisely the image he would want to convey for hawking the coolest accessory a kid these days could ever want: an iPhone.

A hat-trick of soccer stars will conclude this study of White men in Japanese ads. First are the early-2000s' ads for Tokyo Beauty Clinic (TBC), featuring David and Victoria Beckham. With his interest in grooming, male aesthetics, and fashion, Beckham was one of the first celebs labelled a "metrosexual" (Simpson, 2002, who also identified "Hollywood pretty boy" Pitt as one). In these ads, Becks often wears an earring, has bleached-blond hair (accentuating his 'White' features?), and is shown sharing great tenderness/intimacy with Victoria (holding hands, kissing, touching). She is seen through his adoring gaze, supposedly showing off her aesthetic treatments at the TBC. She adopts a

small range of traditional feminine/wifely roles, being shown cooking, suddenly transforming to be wearing lingerie, and even wearing a kimono, all much to David's approval. He even brings her a coffee in one ad. He is clearly another sensitive guy.

Lionel Messi is another footballer shown to take an interest in aesthetics. In a 2012 ad, the Argentinian promotes Scalp D facewash. Products like facewash might have been thought 'girly' by the unreconstructed tough guys who used to star in Japanese ads; however, such preening products are indispensable to the well-groomed, metrosexual 'new men' that advertisers are now targeting (a parodic storyline from *Friends* in 2003 showed aspiring-actor Joey Tribbiani making an ad in Japan for men's blue lipstick, with sexy Asian girls dancing around blowing kisses). Messi speaks heavily-accented Japanese, so at least there is some gesture towards a little cultural "integration."

The last White man in the line-up here is Messi's rival, Cristiano Ronaldo (from Madeira/Portugal). The first ad (from 2014) is a rather-bizarre product, but it shows the extraordinary lengths to which some people will go to look good. This tool is supposed to go in the mouth, and, casual viewers may initially fret that they are attempting to recreate the 'Gimp' scene from *Pulp Fiction* (1994). But, in fact, they are just using it to do 'facial fitness' exercises to maintain/obtain sharp and chiselled angular contours. First, Ronaldo appears (in blue polo shirt, earrings in both lobes), showing some ball skills, then looks pleasantly surprised by seeing the Pau facial-fitness tool. He never actually puts it in his own mouth, but a succession of others do, nodding their heads (and dancing) to make the side-straps waggle as they bite down on the central ball-gag.

To hone his non-facial muscles (especially his abdominal 6-pack, biceps, and thighs), a 2015 ad presents him using the SIXPAD EMS (Electric Muscle Stimulation) training device. Clad only in his own-CR7-brand undies, he stands still with the SIXPAD attached to his abdomen, emitting the electric impulses to stimulate the repeated contraction of the muscles and honing of his 6-pack. A White woman in gym-wear then follows the same routine. It ends with CR7 rubbing his tum, happy with the results. The narcissistic Ronaldo seems an apt choice to front this ad as he is notorious for whipping off his shirt when he scores an important goal and then striking a victory pose to show off his muscular, gym-honed "vigorous 'V' shape" body (Shroeder & Zwick, 2004, p. 38).

Ronaldo's 'whiteness' seems to help fulfil the usual function of creating a feeling of exoticness and longing though it might be worth interrogating that stereotype as his skin is tanned (whereas many Japanese have a horror of being tanned). Even so, when the cumulative impact of all the images of White stars in Japanese ads is felt (blondes, tough guys, and New Men), is it possible to deny that they are being used to structure feelings of racial difference and exoticness/longing? Do no Japanese watch and envy/revere them? To a large extent, are those celebs not simply trading off their White Privilege? If their mere presence is ineffably felt to bestow prestige, then is that not White Privilege

in action? To put White Privilege into some context, how much can the reverse cultural phenomenon be seen in North America/Europe? How much do ad execs there hire legions of Japanese/Asian stars to promote particular images, feelings, and products? It does not seem to happen much (Prieler, 2010, p. 512).

4. Black Men Appearing in Japanese Commercials

Another of Prieler's (2010) observations was that Black people are grossly underrepresented in Japanese ads compared to Whites, and the vast majority of those few Black people represented are men not women (526n.10). The relative invisibility of Black women is scandalous, but so are the stereotypical ways in which Black men are often represented (a narrow/limiting range of representations, just as Hall [1997] railed against). Prieler's (2010) survey revealed that Black men are cast 20% of the time as musicians and 40% of the time as athletes ("fitting the racial caricature," p. 518). Examples of musicians are Sammy Davis, Jr. (brilliantly improvising a tune in a 1973 ad for Suntory whisky), Stevie Wonder (drumming and singing, while girls in pink miniskirts dance, in a 2000s' Kirin Fire coffee ad), and Ray Charles (singing in a 1995 Honda Civic ad, with Yasuko Matsuyuki, the same Japanese singer who kissed DiCaprio in the aforementioned other Civic ad. RC sits in the backseat and never receives a kiss). Miles Davis, Jimmy Cliff, Youssou N'Dour, and Boys II Men have also made ads in Japan. James Brown made a 1992 ad for Nissin Foods' Miso-flavoured Cup Noodle: to the strains of his hit "Get Up (I Feel Like a) Sex Machine" (about his desire to strudel his noodle?), he gives a characteristically-exuberant performance, replacing the lyric "Get up!" with "*Miso-ba!*" (presumably a portmanteau of "miso" and "soba," the key ingredients). But it is not just the star names who are limited to such roles: sometimes, less-famous Black men are used (as kind of background colour?) just to create a feeling through their subservience to Whites (e.g. the pianist playing for Bronson in the MANDOM ad, or the Black security guards with White divas Britney Spears and Katy Perry in the ads discussed in Part I). Usually, as Prieler (2010) stated, Black people "cannot escape the brush of stereotype" when they are presented in Japanese ads in such "limited ways" (p. 523).

By far the most-prevalent stereotyping of Black men in Japanese ads, though, is as athletes/imposing physical specimens. Just as Black musicians are almost-always presented actually singing/performing (in contrast to the ads featuring 1D and JB, which show they have an existence beyond their music), it seems almost imperative that Black athletes be presented in sporting attire, with black skin and big muscles on show (in contrast to, say, the stylish clothes worn by Beckham in the TBC ads). For example, Scottie Pippen, in a 1990s' ad for the Mazda Demio, drives to the supermarket and shops (superfast) in his basketball kit. Similarly, the ads starring rivals Carl Lewis (Fuji Xerox

copiers) and Ben Johnson (Kyodo Oil) depict them both in their sprinting garb. It sometimes seems that the black body itself is a commodity or selling point.

Muhammad Ali and Tiger Woods have also appeared in Japanese ads; however, probably the most-famous Black athlete in Japanese ads is one not nearly so well-known in the U.S.: Bob Sapp (Prieler dubbed him the "most visible 'representative' of blacks in Japan," 2010, p. 519). He briefly played in the NFL for the Minnesota Vikings, then turned to pro-wrestling, kickboxing, and MMA. His size and charisma made him popular in Japan (and Korea); he has cashed in by appearing on many TV shows and in ads. This has been lucrative, but critical questions have been raised about the extent to which he plays up to stereotypes in Japanese popular culture

> depicting blacks negatively. These include: natural athletic prowess or physical stamina (Sapp has a huge body...); mental inferiority (Sapp often makes strange faces and rarely speaks Japanese—although in fact he is known to be very intelligent); and psychological weakness ...it could be argued that these commercials are more about Japanese society's perceptions about black people than they are about Bob Sapp. In turn, Sapp appears to have readily and intentionally appropriated such stereotypical images for himself. In this way, Sapp also functions as a tool for Japanese TV viewers, to define themselves by observing what they are *not*. (Prieler, 2010, p. 519)

Frederick (2003) agreed that Sapp's "appeal in Japan is [...] rooted [...] in the fact that he is a curious and foreign specimen—a seemingly terrifying yet ultimately harmless embodiment of the Other." A big issue here, as Prieler (2010) stated, is that Sapp often appears "directly or indirectly in his role as a fighter, with much of his body bare" (p. 518). His nickname is "the Beast," and, almost every time he appears, it seems imperative he has 'Beast Mode On.' Whereas this study has posited that the previously-conspicuous image of White Men as 'beasts' in Japanese ads has become largely outmoded (replaced by gentler representations of masculinity), it is troubling to see Sapp continuing to play the primitive, unreconstructed 'Beast' (the *bête noire*?). Sapp has said that Japanese viewers see him as a "cartoon character" (quoted Frederick, 2003), and he seems willing to play along and 'be' what they want to see (sometimes confirming negative stereotypes, regrettably). For example, his name and image appear (c.2003) on the wrapper of Lotte's Monaka (wafer-sandwich) ice-cream (http://img.photobucket.com/albums/v226/Skyrat/Misc/bobsapp.jpg). The ice-cream flavour is banana, so Sapp is shown holding a half-peeled banana in his right hand in the image on the wrapper. He stands naked (or shirtless, at least), and smiles as he anticipates biting into the banana. The stereotypically-simian overtones to this image seem undeniable.[8]

Such conspicuous 'Othering' of Black men in Japanese ads also seems apparent in the c.2014 ads for Seiha English Academy. In one, a Japanese father asks his son (in Japanese) how his English classes are going. The boy opens his mouth to answer. Then, a Black man's face appears in his mouth and answers in flawless English: "I'm doing great! We have native-speaking English teachers at Seiha. They've helped me to improve my English." This surreal outburst stuns not only the dad, who rubs his eyes in incredulity, but also a passing old Japanese woman, who gasps in shock. The school's tagline then appears in Japanese: "So much English skill that you won't believe it's your kid talking." This seems to reinforce the sense of essential difference between 'real' Japanese and foreigners (especially Blacks? Is the shock exacerbated by the face in the mouth being black?).

Perhaps the situation is improving slightly now, though. Dante Carver (an African-American not widely known in the U.S.) is currently one of the most-prominent foreign actors in Japanese ads. In 2008, he was voted the most-popular male actor in a TV ad in Japan. He is most famous for starring in SoftBank Mobile ads since 2006. The long-running ads comprise an ongoing narrative. At first, perhaps as in the above cases (though maybe not as extreme?), his appearance in the ads seemed designed to surprise people: his name was "Yosō Guy" (予想GUY, a pun on *yosōgai* [予想外] meaning "unexpected" in Japanese: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dante_Carver). He later became part of the main family unit in the ads, the Shirato (White) family, playing the eldest son. Though it is quite a traditionally-patriarchal family unit, the configuration is surreal: the father (main star) is a talking Hokkaido dog, and the mother and daughter are both Japanese. Moreover, 'Alien Jones' makes cameos as the family maid.

Carver's "assimilation" into the family (making the ads for over a decade, speaking Japanese well) seems a prime case of the "[d]omesticating" of foreign actors" (Martin, 2012, p. 170). He also has a Japanese wife. He brings many attributes to the table, by no means being defined by his black skin alone. He usually wears smart clothes (and glasses) in the ads and, amidst the surrealistic humour, retains his dignity (though he did once appear in a tutu). This seems to accord with Carver's own principles as the actor/model chooses his roles carefully: "If it is the stupid foreign character, I won't do it because I don't want to get typecast. For those foreigners who really don't care and just want to do it for the money, more power to them. For myself, I am an artist, and if it is anything that I couldn't show my parents, I wouldn't do it." He wants to avoid roles that perpetuate stereotypes of Black people, as "often happens," as he feels that he "can do so much more than that" (quoted *Metropolis*, 1/10/2009: https://metropolisjapan.com/dante-peaks/).

5. Conclusion

Carver is totally right to insist on a far-wider repertoire of representations for Black people. Kelsky

(2001) has also lamented the usual "restrictions...of the exclusively racialized, sexualized [black] body" in Japan, compared to the "much broader field of potential signification" (p. 145) available to Whites (especially White men): "The White man is accorded the individuality that the black man is denied in a zero-sum racial economy: if the black man is all race, the white man is no race" (p. 147. Whiteness is 'invisibly' venerated as the 'norm'). As Hall (1997) asserted: "contesting stereotypes means increasing the *diversity* of images in the media" (i.e. increasing the range of representations).

It seems that, in Japanese ads, White men are the top dogs, afforded the widest range of representations, most of which are positive (especially as objects of desire). Moreover, gender alterity tends to be emphasised to demarcate clearly the dichotomy between men and women. White women, meanwhile, may be esteemed for their beauty, but this can easily lead to sexual objectification. Part I of this study critiqued that cultural phenomenon, and Kelsky (2001) also noted how the role of beautiful White women in ads is often to boost White men's power (akin to cheerleaders, pp. 188-190).

The ads interrogated here in Part II show numerous examples of beautiful (though scarcely-individuated) 'arm candy' (both White and Japanese) being attracted and available to the White male leads (regardless of whether they are 'beasts' or 'New Men'). White women thus seem to have a very-narrow range of representations in Japanese ads, and Black men seem similarly to be stereotyped into a restricted range of representations (both White women and Black men in the ads often share the common trait of being underdressed in comparison to suave White men). Meanwhile, Black women have often seemed to be all-but-invisible in Japanese ads (Prieler, 2010, p. 526n.10). The intersections between gender and race (not to mention social class and sexuality) seem clear.

White men sit at the top of the tree, and this power is connoted/conferred in a variety of ways: their power tuxes, flash cars, and beautiful women. They are often shown in up-on-high positions (taken with camera shots from below) or in front of imposing edifices. To varying degrees, these White men lord it over others and flaunt their wealth, strength, status, privilege, and power. Though these ads only represent a small, arbitrary sampling, it seems that very few of them are potentially subversive/disruptive to the dominant discourse and hegemonic hierarchy (e.g. less questioning/crossing of racial lines). Though some changes in the representation of White men seem to have occurred (e.g. Beasts morphing into New Men and becoming more acculturated to Japan), the underlying representation (as innately cool/superior) does not seem to have changed much.

What does it mean for these patterns of representation to be propagated and perpetuated over such a length of time? What is it that viewers are learning and/or confirming? On one hand, it is important to acknowledge that many of these ads are intended to be humorous and to sell products, so perhaps overly-serious or critical analysis is ludicrous for an inherently-zany medium/genre. In

addition, Kelsky (2001) has made the highly-valid point that "Japanese consumers are among the most sophisticated in the world, and irony abounds both in their reception of commercials and other media and in the media productions themselves" (p. 196). On the other hand, though, what does it mean when the same patterns of representation keep being repeated (albeit with some variation)? How much of it is self-referential irony, and how much of it is 'real'? How much can the cumulative effect really be dismissed or resisted? Are children likely to pick up on all of the putative "irony"?

Part I of this study posited that advertising functions in society as a huge, informally-educative force, and that viewers are actively involved in negotiating/gleaning meaning from the images/representations shown. It thus becomes incumbent upon viewers to adopt the Culture-Studies method of interrogating images to assess how and how many of them work to bolster dominant discourses and oppressive hegemonies (often in ways that manifest intersections of race, gender, sexuality, and class): to become more critically media literate and challenge the fixity of harmful cultural stereotypes, ideally leading to more positive and equitable intercultural interaction. Both Part I and Part II have essayed to interrogate the images of foreign women and men in Japanese ads in such ways, and ads which are potentially subversive to the perpetuation of the hegemonic status quo have proved hard to find. As Maynard (1996, p. 256) pointed out, just because the White face in the ad is smiling and seems to evoke warm feelings of intimacy, it does not mean that power is not being inscribed/exercised subtly. If such hegemonic messages are being insidiously and invidiously inculcated in viewers' minds through the appearance of all these foreign faces in Japanese ads, as a powerful, informally-educative force, it raises the question of whether the same messages are being taught/reinforced in other domains of viewers' lives: in their local areas and in school curricula. These issues will be explored in the concluding Part III of this study (forthcoming).

Notes

[1] Leonardo DiCaprio's lawyers apparently issued a 2002 "cease and desist order" to this site (https://www.businessinsider.com/leonardo-dicaprio-made-strange-japanese-jim-beam-ad-2013-2). This and all other websites referenced in this article were accessed on 27/9/2018.

[2] Kelsky (2001) has noted other differences in how White men and White women are often presented in ads as the "white woman functions merely as a vehicle to the larger authority of white men...whereas white women are interchangeable simulacra, white men are more often represented as individuals with recognizable identities" (pp. 188-190). Kelsky gave examples, and a Nicholas Cage ad might be added (for the gambling/pinball game *pachinko*, for Sankyo, in the 2000s. It shows Cage being whipped into a "fever"—including his tongue wildly flickering out of his mouth—by the sight of autograph-hunting blonde triplets in tank tops and pink shorts). Another feature Kelsky has noted is that White women often appear as overbearing, overly-sexual, scary, threatening, and unattainable to Japanese

men ("aggressive, mannish white women," p. 171). In complete contrast to the apparent 'normality/naturalness' of White man-Japanese woman hook-ups (often intimated in ads with suggestive language/phallic symbols, pp. 192-193), White woman-Japanese man couples are often cast as abnormal/undesirable (pp. 194-195)—a curious racialized/gendered twist on the "heterosexual matrix." It seems the perceived greater femininity of Japanese women makes them more attractive to White men, bringing a mutuality/synchronicity to the attraction: i.e. more-masculine men + more-feminine women= the best, 'most-natural' pairing (p. 171, p. 174).

[3] Arnie also featured in Nissin's Cup Noodles ads (1989-1991), again displaying superhuman strength (e.g. carrying a car, flexing his Mr. Universe muscles, pummelling noodle-dough into shape, standing in a warzone with a huge weapon, with the Japanese voiceover surreally saying, "A/my father is a man" [*ottosan wa otoko desu,* お父さんは、男です], posturing high on top of a huge cup-noodle beside a dusty American road, and rowing a boat solo to easily overtake a coxed-four.

[4] Stallone also made ads for Kirin beer, including one in which he rides high on a horse, and for Knorr soup, including one in which his sweaty, muscly body is shown working out, and another in which he is shown apparently merrily directing some footage in which a coloured boy is shot.

[5] Other Hollywood tough guys to appear in Japanese ads include Hulk Hogan, promoting Hitachi air-conditioners (early-'90s), clad only in his tighty-whities, and Charles Bronson, starring in ads for a Yanagiya after-shave/skin tonic in the early '70s. It was a "smash success" and "triggered" (Mooney, 2000, p. 29) the phenomenon of using foreign celebs in ads. The ads form a narrative. The first features a Black pianist entertaining the tux-clad Bronson in a bar. A valet then brings Bronson's car, and he speeds home through the city at night (with skyscrapers in the background). Arriving in his luxury apartment (with skyscrapers again visible behind), the moustachioed macho man performs an orgy of masculinity: throwing off his shirt, sticking a pipe from his pipe-rack in his mouth, splashing the lovely lotion all over his musclebound torso while reliving in his mind his action-movie roles as a gun-fighter and horse-rider. The ad ends with the voiceover thrice stressing the liquid's "manly" qualities as it cuts to the final shot of bottles of the lotion arranged on a table, with the pipe in front and two guns above: the *ne plus ultra* of a manly scene? It may sound rude or random, but the intriguing name Yanagiya gave this cool lotion was "MANDOM"! (The etymology is hard to determine—is it perhaps a hegemonic portmanteau of "man" and "domination," or is it maybe to emphasise the manliness of the product to distinguish it from 'Femidom'?).

[6] Ford et al. (1998) noted a coinciding, similar trend in magazine ads: "some of the previously used hard-line stereotyping has softened considerably since the early 1980s" to "suggest a more egalitarian approach to advertising gender depictions" (p. 122). This may seem so superficially, but perhaps oppositional/oppressive gender dynamics still lurk beneath (Shroeder & Zwick, 2004, p. 44).

[7] Another Fox Kirin-Afternoon-Tea ad (from 1992) depicts him mischievously clipping hedges on the White-House lawn into odd shapes (e.g. a bear), but his satisfaction is interrupted when an irate, overweight (and possibly racialized?) maid comes charging after him with a broom.

[8] Sapp also appears shirtless in a spoof ad for a laxative (it looks like it is a homemade ad on his YouTube channel, or maybe a wrestling promo, c.2012?). The parodic product is "Inoki Unko-Ba-Ye" laxative tea. The name is apparently an off-colour *jeu de mots* on the famous theme/fight song of wrestler Antonio Inoki ("Inoki-Bom-Ba-Ye," which had in turn been swiped from the frenzied chants of Muhammad Ali's Zairean[Congolese] fans in his 1974 'Rumble in the Jungle' victory over George Foreman: "Ali, *boma ye*!", meaning, "Ali, kill him!" in Lingala). Sapp emerges (with newspaper) from a futile toilet visit, rubs his buff tum and rues his tough bum and excruciating constipation. Then, he sits on the throne again, strains and struggles manfully (while gurning) but to no avail (the voiceover implores him to "fight!" as he slaps himself). He then drinks the tea and tries again, confident of success but still in pain. Meanwhile, an Inoki impersonator (with trademark Inoki red towel round his neck) presents a bottle of the laxative tea while chanting "Inoki Unko-Ba-Ye" ("*unko*" is Japanese for "poop," so it is a dirty ditty). The camera cuts back to Sapp, who mops his brow (with red towel, of course) and strains mightily thrice more, finally yielding a satisfying succession of parps and plops, indicating his torment is over as he raises his fist in triumph. Though amusing, and maybe effective for moving product, critical viewers may not experience much comfort. Perhaps one of the few positive observations about it (and his other ads, e.g. for PIZZA-LA, gummies, fabric softener) is that a degree of cultural "integration" is apparent: he speaks Japanese and interacts with Japanese people. Conversely, these ads often emphasise his huge size and strength (e.g. dwarfing 'ordinary' Japanese people as he stands beside them or knocking a door off its hinges while delivering pizza), so this again seems to "Other" him (Prieler, 2010, p. 519. Prieler also mentioned "another fighter of color, Bobby Ologun" [a naturalised Japanese born in Nigeria] appearing on Japanese TV in ways that conform to/confirm "narrow stereotypes," including "hypersexuality," p. 527n.12).

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