How Do Japanese Perceive Foreigners?
Portrayals of Foreigners in Japanese Media

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A stereotype is a generalization that people share over certain objects, and stereotyping is a way for the media to convey images in a certain way. Studies regarding stereotypes or stereotyping have focused on minorities, in the mainstream media. In addition, studies have found the public's perceptions over certain ethnic groups or people are heavily influenced by media contents. This study also focuses on the stereotypical portrayal, created by the Japanese media over certain ethnic groups, especially, white models, male or female.

Keywords: stereotypes, stereotyping, gender role, frame

Introduction

As Lippman (1922) pointed out, media images construct pseudo environments that only approximate reality. Gerbner and his colleagues have argued that the media tell stories over time that provide viewers with an understanding of how society operates and why things are the way they are (Gerbner and Gross, 1976). With respect to racial stereotypes, the media's construction of reality influences media viewers' understanding about who they are and what they are. Hence, individual stories about race and its stereotypes become summary messages about those races – Blacks, Hispanics, Asians and even Whites.

A stereotype is a generalization that people share over certain objects. Oxford dictionary defines a stereotype as "a widely held but fixed and oversimplified image or idea of a particular type of person or thing." In social psychology, a "stereotype" is defined as "any thought widely adopted about specific types of individuals or certain ways of behaving intended to represent the entire group of those individuals or behaviors as a whole" (McGarty et al., 2002). Media depiction in mass media, such as TV, movies or magazines, may be categorized as so called "Stereotyping." Stereotyping is a way for the media to convey images in a certain way, and it is the ready-made label, symbol, image, identity, and ideology used in interpersonal communications to predict and perceive other (Chi and Baldwin, 2004).

Most of studies regarding stereotype or stereotyping have focused on minorities, such as blacks, Hispanics, or Asians, in main-stream media, such as Hollywood movies, TV dramas, or advertisements. And, these studies have found that public's perceptions over certain ethnic groups or people are heavily influenced by media contents. Out of media contents, advertising has been playing a major role in shaping public attitudes and perceptions because of its influence on people, in

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particular young adults, and many scholars have found there is some sort of stereotypical portrayal over those minorities in ads (Eisend, 2019; Ferguson et al., 1990).

This study is also focusing on stereotypical portrayal, created by Japanese media (advertising) over certain ethnic group (especially, white models, male or female) and its impact on young Japanese adults. Japan has been the most successful country, economically, since World War II. Also, Japan has been heavily influenced by American capitalism, while American military controlled Japanese system after WWII. During this occupation, Japanese had developed positive impressions over Americans (Tanabe, 2011). Japan is the country that had used most often American actors and actresses (mostly white) for their advertisements. Although many actors and actresses appeared in Japanese commercials and advertisements, there has been no specific studies on how Japanese companies use foreign actors and actresses and on how those foreign actors and actresses are portrayed in Japanese advertisements. Especially, these days, there are some conflicting reports regarding between Japanese perceptions of foreigners and foreigners' experiences in Japan. That is, although Japanese perceive foreigners positive, majority of foreigners in Japan have negative experiences by Japanese (PEW Research Center, 2016). If majority of foreigners have negative experiences in Japan, Japanese real attitudes toward foreigners might not be revealed at the time of survey. Therefore, it will be interesting to see how foreigners are really portrayed in Japanese media, because that real portrayal by media may explain Japanese's real attitudes toward foreigners.

This study consists of two parts. First, we conducted in-depth interview to understand how Japanese adolescents (14-17) perceive foreign people, and how they developed those perceptions. And, second part of this study is on testing whether those perceptions of foreign people are portrayed in media, especially targeting teenagers and young adults. Framing theory by Goffman (1979) was used for content analysis to compare foreign models and Japanese models in advertisements in Japanese magazines.

Literature Review

Media and Stereotypes

Because there is no specific study on portrayal of foreign actors and actresses in Japanese media, we may be able to infer from the results of those studies on minority's portrayal in advertisements. As discussed above, stereotypes can be defined in many other ways. For some cognitive psychologists, stereotyping is a value-neutral mechanism creates some categories, so that people are able to manage the swirl of data presented to them (Lippmann, 1922). Hence, to cognitive psychologist, stereotypes are "beliefs about the personal attributes shared by people in a particular group or social category" (Taylor et al., 1999, p. 174). To some sociologists, stereotypes are the results of acculturation and group interaction. So, stereotypes are learned through in-group interactions. In his studies about stereotypes, Berg (2002) argued stereotypes are believed, learned through repetition,

and stereotypes are ideological. In any definition, stereotypes are categorizing the other (races, ethnic groups, religion, beliefs, etc.) into simplified and normalized beliefs.

Depictions of gender and minorities by the mass media (television and movies) have been of interest to researchers because of the inherent social implications (e.g., Eisend, 2019). However, many media critics have long argued that mainstream media coverage of minorities such as blacks, Hispanics, and Asians is biased or stereotyped (Turk et al., 1989). They have argued that not only is the amount of attention given to minorities insufficient, but also the coverage that portrays minorities often misrepresents minorities and fosters stereotypes of them (Ericksen, 1981). The major problem of stereotypes is that those stereotypes (created especially by mass media) affect individual's knowledge, attitude, and behavior against a certain person or groups (including race, ethnic groups) (Eisend, 2019). For, example, exposure to sexualized advertising can lead to increased selfobjectification in both men and women (Eisend, 2019; Karsay et al., 2018).

For example, studies have shown that there are huge differences between 'real image' of blacks and 'reel image' of blacks by mass media. Take a pause and visualize the "reel" Blacks, which often appeared in Hollywood movies:

> *Lazy, fat, gambling with friends, gangster, shooting each other, sex, drug selling, gang fighting, etc. In his background, boss of gangsters or pimp in a limousine is collecting money from drug dealers or black (sometime white) prostitutes.*

Can you picture him? If you picture white man, you must be from a different world. How about Latinos? Once occupied by blacks in "reel" is now being replaced with Latinos, Muslims, Chinese, and North Koreans. Only difference is the color of the skin and languages. However, "real" images of blacks are:

> *robbed of their property by whites, killed by whites without any reason, raped by whites, denied basic civil right for a long time, segregated and even lynched easily.*

These were the images not by "reel" but by "real" for blacks in America for a long time. Then, why do we have totally different images against blacks? People have argued that these distorted images are mainly due to mass media (including Hollywood movies). Nowadays, Hollywood's motion pictures reach everyone in the USA and the world. Hence, cinematic illusions are created, nurtured, and distributed worldwide, reaching viewers everywhere, from Korea (even North Korea?) to Saudi Arabia. Blacks and Latinos images have an effect not only on Americans, but also on international audiences because of the power of Hollywood "reel" and the powerful distribution of those movies.

Another good example on distorted image by media is on the images of Arabs. Shaheen (2003) has studied for a long how media in America have distorted the images of Muslims, main Arabs (Arabs are only 12% of Muslims in the world, but Americans think Arabs = Muslims). According to him (2003), the images of Arabs have been cruelly distorted, so Americans can't even think what the real images of Arabs are. He also pointed out that the distorted (in his word, pernicious) images by media are sometimes reflected in the attitudes of actions of American people

(journalists and government officials). The best example was the bombing in Oklahoma City. Right after the bombing, even though there was no evidence that American of Arab descent was involved, they (Arabs) were instantly targeted as suspects. We also can see lots of these incidents in the USA.

In Japan, as stated above, Americans have been generously perceived by Japanese. Here, we mean Japanese think of Americans as friendly, trusty, hard-working, etc., very much opposite to those of images over Americans by other countries (PEW Research Center, 2016). This positive image of Americans is even stronger among the youth in Japan. The same research shows that 76% of Japanese youth (14-18) say that Americans are clever and inventive. Obviously, there are some historical backgrounds we have to consider – after WWII, Japan has been under US military control and American capitalism was introduced with other American cultures, such as pop music, and American sports, such as baseball. Hence, younger Japanese easily embraced American cultures through media. Baseball became the National game in Japan.

Even though we consider these historical backgrounds, it is very unusual that Japanese youth perceive Americans in that positive way.

Theoretical Background

After World War II, there had been dramatic changes in Japan in terms of politics and social movements. Japan rapidly adopted an American-style politics and were influenced by American cultures. In Japan, rapid industrial development transformed Japan into a post-industrial society. Since the rapid industrialization, Japan experienced growth of their middle classes and a concurrent increase in educational opportunities for both men and women.

Cultures and Values in Japan

Women's position in Japan has been disadvantaged by traditional Confucian cultures and Samurai cultures. Japan has a hierarchical social structure consisting of strong class consciousness and a patriarchal, large family system which tended to maintain separate and unequal roles for women and men. There are a few key ideas about gender that persist (Yamaguchi, 2000):

- Men should work outside the home.
- Genders should be brought up differently.
- Women are more suited to household work and child rearing than men.
- Full time housewives are valuable to society because of their family raising role.

As you can see, these persistent gender ideas have roots in feudal Japan. The roles also work within the vertical social structure of senior-junior relations. Generally, traits associated with individualism like assertiveness, independence, and self-reliance are poorly regarded by the Japanese compared to conformity,

being affectionate, and having leadership abilities. Japanese society has a pair of key concepts that explains the sometimes strange contradictions – *tatemae* and *honne*. *Tatemae* is who one is supposed to be. It is a set of morals people agree upon, such as being loyal or devoted to work. *Honne* is who someone actually is: the personal opinion and who the person is in reality. The gender roles and traits fall under the concept of *tatemae*. The way people really live in Japan, women having careers and men staying at home, are *honne* (Yamaguchi, 2000).

Confucianism has a strong impact on Japan in all aspects. In particular, women was controlled and subjugated under a Confucian culture in Japan. Japan has Samurai Confucianism which altered the face of Japanese society (Gelb and Palley, 1994). Unlike Korea's Confucianism which stresses the role of family in the society (therefore, in Korea, everything starts from family and then goes to community and to the country), Samurai Confucianism assigned loyalty to one's lord (*Shujin* in Japanese) prior to one's family. So, the loyalty to the lord will be the first and filial relation comes to second. Under this Samurai Confucianism, the role of women is primarily "heir providers, which consider women largely as vessels to insure paternity" (Gelb and Palley, 1994, p. 5). And, under this Samurai Confucianism, the husband is the absolute lord and master to the family and women.

Effects of Culture on Advertising

It has been found that culture is the most important factor capable of differentiating the behavioral patterns of the people of one society from another (Hofstede, 1991). Hofstede (1980) defined culture as "the interactive aggregate of common characteristics that influences a group's response to its environment." Therefore, Hofstede called the culture "the software of the mind." Culture is also social norms and values, which are learned and shared by the members of a society. Culture influences members' behavior, their ways of thinking, their attitudes, and belief systems among people. Furthermore, culture regulates human behavior and determines whether specific behaviors are acceptable or not. As a form of social communication, advertising is considered to be particularly reflective of culture (Hong et al., 1987); thus, advertising should differ from country to country, culture to culture. A consumer who is exposed to a specific culture becomes committed to that culture's style of thinking and feeling, value system, attitudes and perceptions (Hall, 1976).

Researchers have long tried to show that advertising is influenced by culture and reflects culture. For instance, differences found in the level of informativeness are explained and supported by the cultural differences between eastern and western countries. Hall (1976) identified context as one of the key features that distinguishes the communication style of one culture from another. He suggested two different levels of communication -- high-context communication and low-context communication. Hall (1976) defined a high-context communication as "one in which most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. A low-context communication is defined as just the opposite; i.e.,

the mass of the information is vested in the explicit code" (Hall, 1976, p. 79; Recited from Taylor et al., 1999, p. 3). Williamson (1994) provided the ideological role of advertising under the cultural contexts. She argued that meaning in advertising is not delivered to the audience. Instead, meaning is created by the audience, under the context of its cultural knowledge. Therefore, each meaning of advertising can be transferred differently by cultures, however, those meanings are reflecting cultural values of that specific time. This is why Jhally (1987) argued that all advertisements must be considered in light of cultural expectations.

Cultivation Theory

One of many theories we can use to explain the effects of media on people's stereotypical perceptions over certain thing can be cultivation theory developed by Gerbner and Gross. The purpose of cultivation theory is to see how mass media programming (including movies) make repetitive patterns of images and representations to people over a long period time, and how those programming affect people about their perceptions of the world. According to the cultivation theory, mass media programming communicates information about the social environment that influences perceptions about the social world (Gerbner and Gross, 1976). This theory is concerned with the overall impact of television over a long period times rather than the influence of a single exposure to television program. In their 1976 study, Gerbner and Gross found, through a nation-wide survey, that television viewing makes a contribution to the "biasing" of conceptions of social reality with most age, sex, educational, and other groupings. They concluded that "TV appears to cultivate assumptions that fit its socially functional myths. ------, television may function as the established religion of the industrial order, relating to governance as the church did to the state in earlier time (p. 194)." Hence, the main proposition of the cultivation theory is that differences in perceptions of the world emerge as a result of varying degrees of exposure to television, such that heavy viewers believe in a reality consistent with that found on television. Cultivation scholars have found concordant results with the suggestion that heavy viewers of television are more likely to believe that the real world reflects media content than light viewers (Gerbner and Gross, 1976; Gerbner et al., 1986). In other words, portrayals of crime and violence on television lead to increased fears and perceptions of danger among television viewers (especially, to heavy viewers).

As argued above, recognizing that the majority of portrayals of both African-Americans and Latinos in the mass media are far more negative than those of their white counterparts, and that these negative stereotypical depictions carried in the contents of mass media could have a significant influence on people's perceptions against these groups, it is reasonable to propose that these types of mass media contents might cultivate increased racial discord among people from other countries.

This reasonable proposition can be applied to Japanese media and positive image of Americans by Japanese youth. If media contents' depictions over white people or Americans result in the stereotypical perceptions, Japanese youth might perceive those white people in stereotyped way, and this will be cultivated into

stereotypical perceptions. In particular, those who do not have enough chances of contacting white people (e.g., Japanese) will have stereotypical view over these white people, and these stereotyping will be more likely presented in the media that Japanese youth have frequently used.

Framing Theory

Advertisements by nature are skewed. They do not reveal reality about gender relations (or other social dynamics). Instead, they offer lessons on how advertisers believe the culture views and accept gender (Klassen et al., 1993). Because advertisements rely on the audience to create meaning, they tend to use stereotypes shared by a mass audience (Kang, 1997). This stereotypical depiction of women and men has been found in many studies (e.g., Belknap and Leonard, 1991; Lenne et al., 2021). According to the results of these studies, advertisements have consistently confined women to traditional mother-, home- or beauty/sex-oriented roles that are not representative of women's diversity. In particular, female role stereotyping in advertising is nearly a universal phenomenon images of women in magazine advertisements remain generally weak, childish, dependent, domestic and subordinate (Ford et al., 1998; Kang, 1997) or sex-object (Sullivan and O'Connor, 1988).

Goffman (1987) introduced frame analysis in advertisement to explain how people frame their realities (same as "developing perceptions") based on their experiences with mass media. Goffman recognized that visual images in advertisements are the main source of transmitting stereotypical views to media users. Many scholars argued that images in ads are the most powerful tool to transmit a certain message to consumers (e.g., Kang, 1997). Goffman's frame analysis has been used to understand how images or visuals in diverse media transmit the images or create perceptions. It involves examination of how visuals contrived, that is, how products and characters in ads are displayed. Analyzing the subtle messages in visuals (in Goffman's study, he used photos not visuals, but in this study, we focus on visual overall) is used to gain insight into how the ad creates stereotypical perceptions over females and over their roles in society. Although researchers have altered Goffman's basic coding categories over the years, the basic premise of frame analysis – examination of the placement and poses of males and females in advertising visuals to understand the gender role in ads, not concern about verbal in ads – remains the same.

For this study, we try to use the Goffman's frame analysis into Japanese magazine advertisements, but adding cultivation approach to the framework. Because of its emphasis on examining the subtleties of gender message in advertising images, frame analysis is especially useful when examining periodicals for media consumers such as teenagers or youth. In what follows, research questions and hypotheses will be provided, based on literatures reviewed in the previous sections.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

We are interested in the portrayals of foreign models in Japanese media, assuming, based on previous studies, that media portrayal will influence public's perceptions over certain group. We were also interested in whether there is a significant difference in portrayal of Japanese models and foreign models between magazines for youth and magazines for adults. As stated above, it is expected that there is a significant difference in terms of sex-role portrayal, because cultural values will have an influence over advertisement. It is also expected that there is a significant difference in terms of sex-role portrayal between Japanese models and foreign models, by the same reason. So, the following questions and hypotheses will be answered in this study.

Question 1: Is portrayal of Japanese model and foreign model different in Japanese media?
Hypothesis 1: It would be expected that Japanese media's depictions of foreign model (male and female) will be stereotyped in certain way.
Hypothesis 2: There will be a significant difference in portrayal of male and female in Japanese magazines.
Hypothesis 3: There will be a significant difference in portrayal between foreign model and Japanese model. That is, the portrayal of foreign model in ads is different from that of Japanese models in Japanese magazine ads.
Hypothesis 4: There will be a significant difference on Japanese media's depictions between foreign model and Japanese models in terms of frame analysis.

Method

For the purpose of this study, we utilized Goffman's frame analysis. Because Goffman didn't apply the cultural background to his study, there is no specific category to address Asian culture, especially Confucian cultural values (family values and role as a family member). We incorporated these values into Goffman's basic six categories. Also, we decided to include female's role into coding category, based on our findings from study 1. In addition to this, as found in previous studies, due to industrialization and western culture influx into Japan (Korea and Japan in their study), concept of female's role in society has changed significantly. Therefore, we expect that those changes will be addressed in the ad. Because of this expectation, we added this change into content analysis categories. Hence, a total categories analyzed in this study was seven. Below are the seven categories with operational definitions:

1) Relative Size – Women are shown smaller or lower, relative to men.
2) Feminine Touch – Women are constantly touching themselves or caressing themselves.

3) Function Ranking – Women are shown in occupational positions subordinate to men.
4) Ritualization of Subordination – Women are shown in flirtatious or childish poses, such as sitting or lying down, canting of head or body, being embraced, leaning on others for supports.
5) Licensed Withdrawal – Women are shown as never quite a part of scene, possibly via far-off gazes.
6) Family Scenes – Women are shown or portrayed as mothers or caretakers.
7) Independence – Women are shown professionally, equal to men and self-assertive.

Data Collection

The magazine advertisement was the unit of analysis for this study. Magazines were selected based on the goal of this study that is comparison among magazines by age. Also, we tried to select popular magazines based on the number of circulations. Hence, the following magazines were selected for this study:

For adolescents and young adults – Seventeen, Cancam, Myojo, Pen
For adults – Brutus for male; Crea, More, Elle Japan for female; Bungei Shunju for both

From all magazines, the most recent available issue of each magazine was obtained. The dates of the issue were restricted to summer/fall and ranged from June to October 2016 and 2017. The sample was a convenience sample and we did not intend to generalize the findings to all Japanese magazines.

Coding Instrument

Main coding scheme was developed and modified based on previous studies and Goffman's frame analysis. For gender portrayal, we mainly used Goffman's categories of decoding behavior in advertisement. As stated above, one more frame category was added to Goffman's six categories. And, we added some other categories that were adopted from the previous studies regarding gender role, in order to answer the research questions under examination. Those variables analyzed included – product type, gender roles in ad, and Goffman's six categories of behavior. For gender portrayal and Goffman's six categories were adopted from previous studies (see appendix 1 for coding categories of the study).

Inter-Coder Reliability

For inter-coder reliability, Holsti's reliability (Wimmer and Dominick, 2016) calculation for nominal data was used. One hundred ads, coded by coders, were randomly selected to calculate the reliability. The inter-coder reliability of each coding category ranged from 0.69 to 0.99. There was no big discrepancy in terms of gender, product category, company name, and number of models in ads, but the reliability was relatively low for deciding the role of women in the ads (0.69) and

depiction of women in ads (0.71). For Goffman's categories, average inter-coder reliability was 0.81, and the composite reliability was 0.89.

Procedure

To do content analysis, researchers recruited students who are fluent in English and Japanese. Since translating coding schemes into Japanese may create differences in meanings, we decided to look for Japanese students who are fluent in English. Four undergrad students who are fluent in English were recruited for this study. One is male and three are female students. These four students were paired into two groups.

Each coding category was defined (definitions for each coding category were shared between coders and researchers during this session), and examples were given by using actual advertisements. Due to the low inter-coder reliability reported in previous studies (e.g., Chung and Ahn, 2003), specific care was taken to instruct the coders; first, regarding women's portrayal in the ads and second, Goffman's frame analysis. After the training session, the coders practiced a set of ads (24 different ads), and researchers answered their questions regarding the coding process. Discrepancies during the practice were discussed until an agreement was made. If the procedure did not resolve the discrepancies, the researcher made a final decision. Four coders worked in joint sessions coding every ad. The advertisements were coded for company, product category, brand name, the number of women, men, and children, the location of the ad, and for women's role portrayals such as age, job status, role in the ad, Goffman's categories, etc.

Results

Description of Data

Four hundred thirteen (413) total advertisements were collected from magazines. Table 1 shows the breakdown of the advertisements from each magazine. 142 (34%) of the 413 were from youth and young adult magazines. 271 (66%) ads were from adult magazines. 66% of the ads have at least either one Japanese or Asian model in the ads, and 63% of ads have at least one foreign model in the ads (the percentage does not add to 100% because there are some ads with Japanese/ Asian models with foreign models). A majority of the products are fashion-related products, such as clothes or shoes (25.9%), cosmetics (16.7%), personal care and hygiene products (9.9%), followed by personal taste (8.0%), hotel/restaurant/resort (6.1%), alcohol drinks (5.8%), cleaning products (3.9%), foods (3.6%) and medicine and pharmaceutical products (3.1%). 61.7% were one-page ads and 38.3% were two-page ads. A majority of ads use one female or two female models (84%). Female models appeared most often in the romantic/fantasy place (25%) followed by outside (14%), home (10%) and work place (8%). In terms of job, most often portrayed as a "housewife or mother" (18.4%) or "professional or

business/career women" (20.6%), followed by "entertainment" (11.1%) (the percentage of location and job is for the first female model, not all female models).

Table 1. *Number of Ads from Each Magazine*

Magazine	Frequency	%
Brutus	67	16.2
Bungei	69	16.7
Cancam	30	7.3
Crea	35	8.5
Elle	54	13.1
More	46	11.1
Myojo	37	9.0
Pen	15	3.6
Seventeen	60	14.5
Total	413	100.0

Hypotheses Tests

Question 2 and Hypothesis 1. The results of focus group showed that there were some stereotypical perceptions by adolescents over foreign people. For example, those adolescents all agreed that they see more foreign models in sports or entertainment. And, most of comments on foreign models (foreigners in general) were centered on appearance, such as sexy, good looking, etc. In content analysis, we tested this through cross-tab comparisons between Japanese and foreign models. For Japanese models, a total of 32.2% were located at "outside home" or "romantic places", comparing to 59.4% of foreign models. Also, 17.2% of Japanese model was located at "home" but that of foreign model was 7.5%. Finally, 21.7% of Japanese model was located at "work place", comparing to 10.2% for foreign model.

To compare the frequency difference between Japanese and foreign models, variables were recoded into one variable. Japanese models were recoded into value 1 and foreign models were recoded into value 2. Those having both Japanese and foreign models together were excluded from the variable, and then cross-tab was run on all dependent variables. Table 2 shows the results of frequency difference between Japanese models and foreign models. First, chi-square confirms the frequency difference between models (χ^2=72.41, d.f.=3, p<0.01). Second, as seen in the table, 41.3% of Japanese models were coded into "outside/romantic places," followed by "work place" (33.9%), "home" (22.3%) and "outdoor/sports" (2.7%). For foreign models, majority appeared in "outside/romantic places" (72.8%), followed by "work place" (20.6%) and "outdoor/sports" (12.5%). Interesting finding was there was no foreign models appeared in 'home' in Japanese magazine ads.

Table 2. Component Differences by Models

Hypothesis	Japanese Model	Foreign Model
Location in ads		
Romantic Places	34.7	65.3
Work Place	88.4	11.6
Home	100.0	0
Outdoor	11.5	88.5
Role Portrayal		
Decorative	40.9	59.1
Sex Object	13.2	86.8
Employment	89.2	10.8
Family	100	0
Models Jobs		
Housewife/Mother	100	0
Employment	77.3	15.7
Entertainment	11.4	88.6
Sports/Athletic	23.5	76.5

*p<0.05; ** p<0.01.

Hypothesis 2 and 3. In this study, following the results of previous studies, we also expected significant differences between Japanese models and foreign models, and differences between male and female models, in terms of roles in the ads and jobs in the ads.

In terms of status in ads, we found similar trends as we found for question 1 and hypotheses 1. In other words, no foreign female models appeared in the ads as a family member. Most of them appeared in the ads as "sex objects" (50%) or "decorative role" (11%). On the contrary, Japanese female models were in the ads, either as 'family member' (22.2%) or as "employment" (20%). As expected, this difference was significant by chi-square (χ^2=99.40, d.f.=4, p<0.01). Also, on jobs, we found the same trends. Japanese female models appeared to have very diverse jobs, such as professional, business or career woman, or house wife. However, foreign female models' job in the ads are more on "sport or entertainment", followed by "business/career woman".

We also compared the differences between males and females in the ads. As we stated in the hypothesis, we expected significant difference in portrayal of males and females in the ads, regardless of their races. About 38% of ads have male models in ads. 76% of them used only one male in the ads. Majority of males appeared at "outside/romantic places" (51.3%), followed by "work place" (18.4%), and "outdoor" (10.5%). Male models most often appeared as "professional" or "businessman" in the ads (27.3%). This difference was also significant (χ^2=15.54, d.f.=3, p<0.01). These differences were further analyzed to compare between Japanese male models and foreign male models. Results show that there were frequency differences between Japanese male models and foreign male models, on entertainment and sports/athlete. However, these differences were not statistically significant (χ^2=6.78, d.f.=7, p>0.45). Therefore, hypotheses 3 and 4 were partially supported by the results.

Hypothesis 4. To test hypothesis 4, we compared the frequency difference between Japanese female and foreign female models. Previous studies have used so called "mean stereotyping", through calculating mean scores of each category (mean stereotyping was calculated by summing up all criteria under each category, then divided by the number of criteria of that frame category). Because we were interested only in frequency difference, not interested in mean stereotyping, we used only frequency difference between Japanese and foreign female models. Table 3 shows the results of frequency difference among all frame categories.

Table 3. Frequency Differences in Frame Categories

Models	Male Taller	Feminine Touch	Occupa-tional	Flirtation childish	No part of scene	Mothers caretakers	Inde-pendent
Japanese	61 91.0%*	90 46.6%	26 68.4%	46 38.0%	2 100%	54 91.5%	29 49.1%
Foreign	6 9.0%	103 53.4%	12 31.6%	75 62.0%	0	5 8.5%	28 50.9%
χ^2	**31.41**	**15.61**	0.81	**47.80**	1.25	**27.41**	**4.74**
p	**0.00**	**0.00**	0.56	**0.00**	0.64	**0.00**	**0.029**

*Reported percentage represents the percentage of that specific frame category.

The results confirm our expectations. For foreign female models, "ritualization" or "feminine touch" were the two most often categories, in frame categories. For Japanese female models, "mothers or caretakers" and "occupational" were the two most often categories. Although Japanese female models were portrayed more often as "business" or "career women", it was foreign models that looked more "independent" in the ads.

Multi-Variate Analysis. In addition to the descriptive statistics for each measure provided in Tables 2 and 3, multivariate statistical tests were also performed. The purposes of the multivariate analysis are, first, to confirm our results from descriptive statistics and, second, to better understand the different influence of variables on females' role portrayals in the ads. Therefore, all of the variables measured for this study were entered into a stepwise regression analysis on frame categories as a dependent variable. The use of a nominal dependent variable in the regression technique has been found to be appropriate in some studies (Javalgi et al., 1995; Malhotra, 1983). The results of stepwise regression were reported in Table 4. Note in Table 4, the results of regression confirmed the results from descriptive statistics and chi-square analysis. As expected in the hypotheses, the frame categories are different by magazine types, product types, and different between Japanese models and foreign models. One category, license, was not significant. Foreign models are more likely portrayed as sex objects or sports/ athletes in Japanese magazines. Although Japanese models were portrayed as family in the ads, there are more ads portraying Japanese models as "business or career women" and "independent" in the ads.

Table 4. Standardized Regression Coefficients Predicting Frame Categories by Magazine, Product Category, Japanese Models, Foreign Models*

	Role Portrayal					
	Relative	**Feminine**	**Function**	**Ritual**	**Family**	**Independence**
Magazine	-0.078**	0.144***	-0.021	0.058**	0.048	-0.036
Products	0.002	-0.024**	0.033***	-0.020**	-0.010**	0.015***
Japanese Model	0.278***	-0.083**	0.071***	-0.052	0.089***	-0.093***
Foreign Model	0.002	-0.098*	-0.017	0.002	0.006	-0.010
Female Job	0.022*	0.063***	0.006	0.111***	-0.120***	-0.033***
Multiple R-Square	0.305**	0.284***	0.272*	0.421***	0.455***	0.140**

*Not significant category was not reported in this table.
*p<0.05; **p<0.01; ***p<0.00.

Discussion and Implication

It has been agreed among scholars that minorities, such as Hispanics and Asians, were less represented or mis-perceived by people, which means reality is different from media image. Many studies have proven that distorted images regarding minorities were presented in movie, TV, or even in the ads. And, scholars agree that media portrayal is responsible for creating those distorted image over certain minority group. This study was the first attempt to see how foreign people are perceived by Japanese youth and how they are portrayed in Japanese main stream magazines. Because Japanese society is so closed society, we expect that most of Japanese just get an information or develop an image over foreign people through being exposed to media, and that this will be represented in media contents.

Content analysis confirmed our overall expectations in this study. As expected, roles of foreign models in Japanese magazines are very skewed and distorted. Role portrayals, such as professionals or business, are very rare for foreign models. Instead, their images are limited into sports or entertainment. Mostly, foreign models are heavily used because of their appearance (such as sexy and good-looking). Interesting finding was on female foreign models. Traditionally, the values of Confucian culture are believed to be reflected in ads (e.g., Chung and Okazaki, 2004). Therefore, in Japan, even if we expected the difference between Japanese model and foreign model, we did not expect this much difference between Japanese female models and foreign female models. We, somewhat, expected traditional values of Confucian culture to foreign models, which is females' roles are more likely as housewives or caretakers in home, and males' roles are more likely for professionals or business. However, those traditional values are not applied to foreign models, especially female models. There are several occasions on foreign male models that they are used as professionals or business in the ads. However, regarding foreign female models, no single female model was used as a "mother or caretaker in home" or as a "housewife." Also, foreign female models are not portrayed as "professional or business women" as often as Japanese female models. Instead,

their role portrayals in ads were very limited to either as "athlete or entertainment" or as "service or sex objects" in the ads.

Conclusion

This study attempted to see how foreign models are portrayed in Japanese magazines ads. Previous historical observations and empirical studies about minorities in mass media have found that minorities in ads were less represented and were usually portrayed as less skilled. We expected the similar trends in Japanese magazines, since foreign models are considered as minorities in Japan. In addition to this, we also expected that foreigners in Japan would be perceived in a certain way by Japanese youth and that this perception will be represented in magazine ads, based on recent survey by Japanese government on foreigners living in Japan. To do this, we conducted content analysis of Japanese magazines.

The content analysis showed the similar results of previous studies. Content analysis shows that foreign models in Japanese magazines are highly used in the ads for sports or entertainment. And, it also confirms that foreign models were portrayed more likely as sexy, good looking, etc. Because of this, foreign models are located in "outside home" or "romantic places" than Japanese models. On the contrary, Japanese models are located at "work place" much more than foreign models. Interesting finding was there was no foreign models appeared in "home" in Japanese magazine ads. This means that Japanese advertisers never use foreign models for home related products.

We also found in content analysis that there were differences between Japanese models and foreign models, and differences between male and female models, in terms of roles in the ads and jobs in the ads. In terms of status in ads, we found similar trends that no foreign female models appeared in the ads as a family member. Most of them appeared in the ads as "sex objects" or "decorative role". On the contrary, Japanese female models were in the ads, either as "family member" or as "employment". On jobs, we also found the same trends. Japanese female models appeared to have very diverse jobs, such as professional, business or career woman, or house wife. However, foreign female models' jobs are limited to "sport or entertainment". The difference between male and female models was also significant. Majority of males appeared at "outside/romantic places", followed by "work place", and "outdoor". Male models most often appeared as "professional" or "businessman" in the ads. However, although there were frequency differences between Japanese male models and foreign male models on jobs, those differences were not statistically significant.

On frame category analysis, the results confirm that, for foreign female models, "ritualization" or "feminine touch" were the two most often used categories. On the contrary, for Japanese female models, "mothers or caretakers" and "occupational" were the two most often used categories. Although Japanese female models were portrayed more often as "business" or "career women", it was foreign models that looked more 'independent' in the ads.

Suggestions for Future Study and Limitations

There are some areas to be further studied in the future. First, as seen above, foreign female model's portrayal was found to be distorted. This is, maybe, due to the types of products analyzed in this study. As seen above, majority of products in this study are fashion-related products, such as clothes or shoes, cosmetics, or personal care and hygiene products. Previous studies have reported that role portrayals of models in the ads are different by product categories (e.g., Belkaoui and Belkaoui, 1976). However, it is not clear whether role portrayals of minorities in specific product category are different, compared to non-minorities. This should be addressed in future study. Second, historically, Japanese are said to be very positive to western culture and very negative to Asian culture (actually, Japanese think they are superior to other Asians). However, our findings are not reflecting those historical perspectives that Japanese are said to have. We suggest that future study do historical comparison regarding role portrayals in the ads in Japan. In this way, we can find out whether role portrayals of foreign models have changed over the time, or same as it is in this study. Final suggestion is on role portrayal of Asian models in Japanese media. Because we tried to see role portrayal of white models, we do not know whether this finding can be applied to that of Asian models in Japanese media. Future study should address this topic.

This study is limited by its examination of one single advertising medium and a limited sample of magazines. There are several thousands of magazines in Japan. Each magazine has very specific target groups. Even if we tried to select most popular magazines among youth and adults, and the magazines chosen are believed to be representative, but differences among magazines still exist. A final limitation to this study regards the imprecision in the cause and effect relationship regarding culture and advertising practices. The same question might be asked of this study: is it culture that determines advertising practice, or does advertising practice change the culture?

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