

A Cognitive Analysis of Media Discourse and Gender Ideology

メディア・ディスコースとジェンダー・イデオロギーの認知言語学的分析

(Doctoral Dissertation)

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Background

Despite advances in legal rights for women in many countries all over the world, the lack of diversity in positions of power is stark. Women of all colors are being well educated, in some groups more so than their male counterparts. Even with what should be an influx of talent of all genders and colors, the same demographic continues to rise to the top at the expense of others. At the time of this writing, the most salient example of what is commonly called “the glass ceiling” that prevents women and minorities from obtaining the ranks that would be expected from their qualifications, is that of Hillary Clinton. Despite her experience and qualifications, she was deemed less fit to be the President of the United States than a mogul who has admitted to multiple incidences of sexual harassment.

This is one of many truths that point to something deeply rooted in society, that keeps not only women, but people in other marginalized groups in their place. Just as famous remarks about Hillary Clinton being a “nasty woman” and other slander testifies to the power of language in swaying popular opinion. The phrase itself points directly at the underlying problem of gender ideology. Ideology describes a set of beliefs that govern how one thinks, with gender ideology dictating how one conceptualizes gender roles and characteristics. Only in a society with different standards based on gender do “nasty” and “woman” go together so seamlessly. Gender ideology can be thought of as an artifact of a long history of oppressive gender roles, much of which is obsolete. Despite no longer serving us, this way of thinking is seamlessly ingrained into our cognition as a society.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development reports a gender wage gap of 18.88 percent in the United States (2015) and 25.87 percent in Japan (2014), meaning that in these years women still earn that much less for the same work their male counterparts do¹. The

¹ The gender wage gap is a phenomenon of people systematically being paid less than the standard (which is, of course, a man of the dominant social group). These organizations give figures based on how

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) reports that women in the United States earn 18.88 percent less, and women in Japan earn 25.87 percent less than their male counterparts (for the same job and same work) as of 2015 and 2014 respectively. These figures are adjusted for the different jobs men and women tend to do, which could be used to explain away the wage gap as a matter of choice in terms of university major or lifestyle. In the U.S., the gap is even more extreme for women of color, the American Association of University Women estimating a difference of 20 percent for all women (AAUW 2018:7), 61 percent for Black women, and 53 percent for Latina women, as analyzed by AAUW(2018:9) based on census, education, and labor statistics.

Even though much of the legislation that prevents women from participating in governmental operations or working outside of the home has been done away with, gender ideology guides people to have certain preferences, interests, and life paths. While the wage gap is significant even in the same position, women are more likely to be in supporting occupations: service, or caregiving rather than technological fields, and less likely to be in managerial positions or in highly specialized fields (Boston Globe March 07 2017). CNN Money lists the most common jobs for women in 2010 as secretary, cashier, elementary/middle school teacher, nurse, and nursing aide, a slight change from 1950 which was secretary, bank teller/dispatcher/clerical worker, sales clerk, private household worker, and teacher (CNN Money January 31 2013). The idea of women's work and men's work (and women's roles and men's roles) is ingrained from an early age, as demonstrated by the types of toys we give them to play with and the way we describe them. While kids playing with baby dolls may not all be aware of the injustice that awaits them when they enter the job market, they may start to form a sense of belonging in certain places, with certain people, and in certain roles.

Despite Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's policies in place to increase women in the workforce, "Japan has actually slipped in the World Economic Forum's (WEF) global ranking of the gender gap - dropping from 111th in 2016 to 114th in 2017. Ten years ago, it ranked 80th" (BBC News February 17 2018). Though Japan is notorious for its harshness for women in terms of the

much women make for each dollar a man makes, but the gap becomes more pronounced when overlapped with status as ethnic or racial minorities.

workplace and general societal attitudes, there are improvements being made in many areas. More companies are putting women in managerial positions and more individuals are receiving higher education. Observing the development of gender and language in the increasingly globalized society is important in finding universal features or underlying structure, if such exists.

Personal choice, such as the one to prioritize having a family over a career and stay at home with one's children, is commonly believed to be the reason women do not advance in their careers. While social pressure is a real, but often undermined factor, institutionalized sexism blocks qualified and motivated women from career paths, as so frustratingly demonstrated by the recent admissions discrimination scandal at Tokyo Medical University. In August 2018, the university was outed for limiting the number of successful female applicants by automatically subtracting significant points from their interview scores (BBC News 08/02/2018). The justification for this discrimination of qualified applicants was that women leave medicine to get married and have children, so training women as doctors is less meaningful. In 2018, women are still defined by our anatomy, and not just by some vague lack of confidence or motivation, but by a society that tries to squash us from multiple angles. Women and their bodies remain a threatening, though inconveniently necessary, part of society.

While blatant injustice is met with public outrage, the thought patterns that allow the systems of oppression to remain in place are potentially more subtle: not setting off the sexism alarms we have in place thanks to political correctness. Some, generally those in positions of privilege, still claim that both the wage gap and lack of women in certain fields and positions within a company are due to the nature of women that makes them less adept at tasks associated with masculinity. As so publicly demonstrated by the viral memo written by former Google employee James Damore, which insists that gender (and racial) imbalance in technology is based not in discrimination but in biology, the position of women as complete and competent members of society is not as secure as we would like to imagine (Conger 08/05/2017).

1.2 Purpose

The purpose of this research is to explore the ways in which gender ideology still controls modern people, even decades after women gained many basic rights under the law, at least in Japan and the

United States. This research analyzes language, societal output, to more thoroughly understand why society remains unjust in its treatment of women. Unpacking some of the hidden, largely unconscious, internalizations and conceptualizations of gender is a necessary step in dismantling the injustice that inhibit people's freedom even after they technically have rights under the law. This research is based on the premise that feminism is not about just women's rights, although it most saliently affect the the lives of women in terms of basic rights, but the freedom for all people to make their own decisions without insurmountable social pressure or the institutionalized sexism (and racism/classism) holding them back. It is built on intersectional feminism, which means that issues of race and class are considered to be inexplicably linked to gender, influencing the expression and ideology, and cannot be fully separated. As they include the reduction or elimination of stereotypes, intersectionality, diversity, and inclusivity can make both life and research more nuanced and complicated to understand, but the alternative is to continue judging each other based on biased media representations or archaic beliefs, myths passed on by the sexist, racist, classist society steeped in the injustice commonly believed to be of the past.

When society is so full of gender ideology that we color code and our children with pink princesses and blue trains down to their diapers, it is hardly surprising that it significantly affects how we think about and understand our role in the world. The insidious nature of gender ideology makes it difficult to examine through purely quantitative research. This study aims to go beyond simply describing the linguistic phenomena and explore the social cognition that leads to its continued prevalence. Language, especially that used in the media, has the power to encourage or discourage outdated beliefs that prevent women and minorities from reaching their full potential in society, whether it be through external or internal factors.

As two First World countries with very different cultural backgrounds, looking at Japan and the United States offers the potential for a well rounded perspective of gender ideology. With the different backgrounds and social constructs, similarities are likely to have a degree of universality in the cognition of first-world patriarchal society.

1.3 Methods

This research analyzes linguistic evidence from various media sources to explore the embodied experience of women in an ever-changing, increasingly homogenous, and yet still male dominated global society. It is built on a cognitive linguistic framework, and relies heavily on concepts such as metaphor, focusing, and network model to analyze real world data. In addition, as discussed above, unpacking gender ideology is a central theme, and a necessary step in building a more just, diverse, and compassionate society.

Nakamura (2002) places great importance on the link between language and gender ideology, and proposes a cyclical relationship between language use and gender ideology as experienced in a culture. She presents language used in media as both a factor in maintaining the established structure, as well as a tool for transforming gender ideology, that is to say, society itself.

<Nakamura's Model of Language and Gender Ideology>

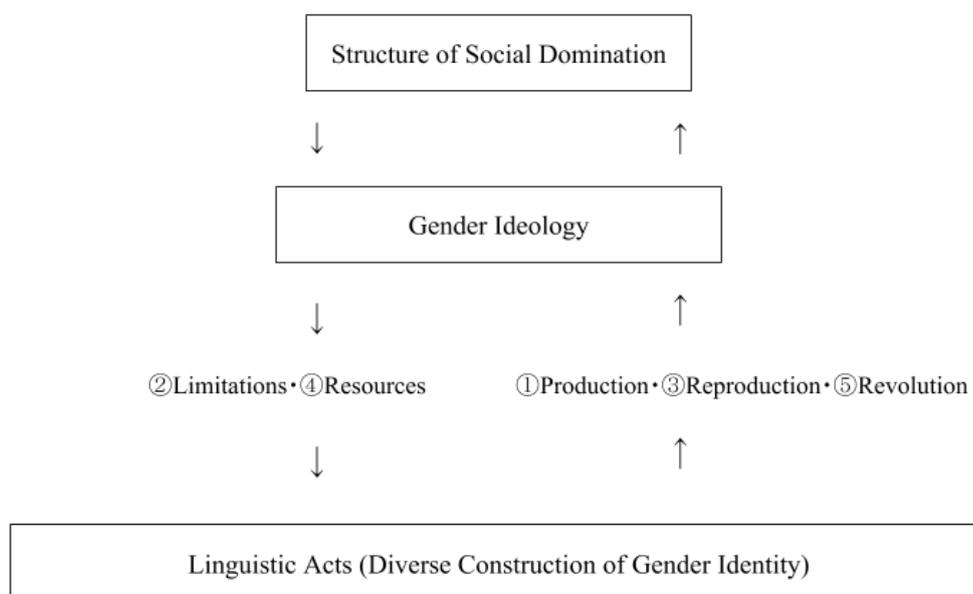


Figure 1-1

(Nakamura 2002:29, translation mine)

Linguistics research conducted with data obtained from media sources is frequently criticized as unnatural or unrealistic. This way of thinking, that ranks recorded conversations over the abundance

of media that we are exposed to day in and day out from childhood. Nakamura posits that media plays a large role in the acquisition of what is widely thought of as women's language in Japanese.

Women's language is not a style of speech used by actual women as the essentialist-evolutionary approach claims; rather, it is knowledge speakers acquire by listening to or reading conversations in the various forms of media. As the use of particular features by female characters in the media is repeatedly reproduced and widely consumed by a large audience, those features become associated with particular feminine identities.

(Nakamura 2014:13)

In order to have a clear and complete picture of the culture behind the linguistic acts, it can be said that analysis of each type of data is important.

Evidence of these social attitudes is found in our everyday language. And for those of us who struggle to part with our smartphones long enough to even use the restroom, the language accessible through our mobile devices may carry even more weight than those of "real life" acquaintances. Perhaps for the first time in history, modern people in the First World are exposed to some form of media for a larger proportion of their time than people in the same physical space. Sense of community can be strong even when formed via television or the internet, as well as group norms and practices². And in our capitalist society, advertisers use every form of media to convince us to take part (and part with our funds) in a practice that involves the product or service being sold. Social Networking Service (SNS) presents a particularly intriguing case, in that it offers its consumers, at least superficially, the opportunity to return with their thoughts and opinions. This may be part of its appeal when used between individuals, but the potential as a tool of consumerist, capitalist institutions should not be ignored.

Media, often thought of as harmless, if a waste of time, has a profound effect on people's decisions. Using language in the media, a cognitive approach to gender ideology gives us the opportunity to dig beneath surface words or behaviors and question ways of thinking that are easy to

² See Wenger (1998) for a more thorough discussion of Community of Practice, and Holmes and Meyerhoff (1999) and Holmes and Woodhams (2013) for the concept used in a sociolinguistic context.

take for granted. Cognitive science as a discipline can be a tool in obtaining a holistic understanding of oppression and freeing people from it.

1.4 Organization

This dissertation consists of six chapters, including this introduction. After discussing previous studies and theoretical framework in Chapter 2, the following three chapters focus on a specific type of media based on primary intent: general mass or entertainment media (Chapter 3), political media (Chapter 4), and marketing media (Chapter 5), and the discussion and conclusion (Chapter 6). Though, as mentioned in the individual sections, it is not always possible to cleanly isolate media types, the content and purpose affect the ways in which gender ideology is used to encourage a specific behavior. Discussion of overarching themes, possible generalizations, and conclusions are made in the final chapter, Chapter 6.

1.5 Some Terminology and Concepts

This study makes a distinction between biological sex and gender, which is a collection of behaviors performed based on social category. For those who have privilege to not have to consider gender, it may seem like feminists overly complicate simple nature. However, even if we set aside people who are intersexed or gender nonconforming and only consider males who identify as men and females who identify as female, separating actual physical traits and processes (such as genitalia or menstruation) from learned behaviors (manner of dress, role in the home, etc.) allows us to challenge assumptions made based on the conflation of sex with gender. Whether women are actually not capable of logical thinking, or whether men are suited to housework or not are questions that can only be asked after considering the possibility that men and women have different lives not because of simple nature but because of a social construction.

Although cisgendered people that identify with the category of woman/girl or man/boy that their physical parts fit them into, some people have a different experience. As mainstream society, and thus the media, works on a gender binary and generally assumes cisgendered heterosexuality, this paper deals largely with those archetypal, common media examples. Although gender as a

binary can be understood as a social construct rather than a hard and fast biological role, people of other genders and sexualities have been generally ignored by society, and thus less represented in the media. Lack of representation is thought of as contributing to continued discrimination, making it an important topic of research, but because it is widely believed as fact in patriarchal society, this dissertation focuses on the stereotypical model of female women and male men on a binary with nothing between or outside of them. As part of a gradual shift away from the heterosexual, cisgender man with ethnic and racial privilege as the standard actor in society, direct focus on marginalized groups will likely be the next step in future research. Gender ideology is the same machine that powers misogyny, homophobia, transphobia, and toxic masculinity, and must be dismantled one piece at a time.

Chapter 2

Previous Studies and Theoretical Framework

This chapter serves to review major related studies and situate this dissertation within the existing body of research. While not every work will be discussed, a framework for analysis in the coming chapters will be laid out. Other, less central works will be brought up in the following chapters as relevant.

2.1. Language and Women

Traditional gender and language studies focus on analyzing differences between men's and women's speech patterns, in terms of politeness and other factors. This approach is limited in that it assumes that these patterns are fixed, and in some cases, natural reflections of biological factors, especially in the case of Japanese women's language. More recent studies acknowledge that simply analyzing gender differences in speech is limited³, and acknowledge the role of society in educating women of appropriate behavior, including speech acts. Society (and by extension, the media) has the additional effect of normalizing stereotypes, including language patterns, that may or may not be reflected in everyday life.

2.1.1. Marked Femininity and Feminine Frames

More than four decades after her "Language and Woman's Place" was published, Robin Lakoff remains a major voice in the discussion of gender and language. She is credited with bringing gender and linguistics together as an academic problem, and connects linguistic expression with

³ Analyzing the speech of actual men and women has been found to not only not conform to the stereotypes of how men and women speak, such as those presented in Tannen (1993), but blatantly oppose them. Cameron found the hyper-masculine speech of young men to be "unlike the 'wine, women, and sports' stereotype of men's talk—indeed, rather closer to the stereotype of 'women's talk'—in various ways, some obvious, and some less so." (Cameron 1997:255)

social rights, citing instances of “marked femininity” and “marked masculinity” (Lakoff 2004). While she does not use cognitive linguistic framework, she connects the use of these gendered prototypes with the way individual language users conceptualize gender roles, and thus the social rights of women.

For categories in which masculine is the standard, femininity is marked. She gives examples of biological categories “man” and “human,” “lion” and “lioness,” “tiger” and “tigress,” as well as job categories such as “doctor” and “lady doctor.” Revisiting her assertion in a cognitive linguistic light, we can see that this conceptualizes the masculine as central to the category, for which it is named.

In cases of marked masculinity, in which the feminine is the standard of the category, there is something about the feminine that makes it central to the category. Lakoff’s examples (Lakoff 2000) of “cow/bull, goose/gander, duck/drake” hint to the commercialism of femininity. In our society, cows are used for milk and meat, and geese and ducks for eggs and meat. The actual physical processes associated with femininity are used more often in our everyday lives, making femininity salient.

She gives one more type classification of lexical level differences in the way we label masculine and feminine, in which the feminine and masculine are not simply central and peripheral to the category, but give an entirely different impression.

(a) Mary hopes to meet an eligible bachelor.

(b)*Fred hopes to meet an eligible spinster.

“It is the concept of an eligible spinster that is anomalous. If someone is a spinster, by implication she is not eligible (to marry); she has had her change, and been passed by.”

(Lakoff 2004:61)

Markedness, rather than being neutral, often has weight in itself. Marking something or someone, and bringing attention to the category it falls into simultaneously assigns value based on what the label stands for. While in some cases, like the above, this assignment of value is more obvious than in others, it is not an arbitrary process in any case. This falls in line with the one-form-one-meaning stance largely taken by cognitive scientists.

In addition to the language used in referring to women, according to Lakoff (2004[1975]), women's language has particular characteristics, and this research continues to be cited in works concerning language and gender. These characteristics include polite language and avoidance of expletives, a richness of vocabulary within certain domains, and speaking in italics, referring to the inflection found in womanly speech.

Lakoff discusses that fulfilling the expectation of speaking in feminine ways a double bind for women. Although using feminine language is expected and masculine language negates some femininity, feminine language marks the user as being less powerful and less worthy of being taken seriously. She discusses four letter words as a strong form of expression that is not generally part of women's speech.

Allowing men stronger means of expression than are open to women further reinforces men's position of strength in the real world: for surely we listen with more attention the more strongly and forcefully someone expresses opinions, and a speaker unable—for whatever reason—to be forceful in stating his views is much less likely to be taken seriously.”

(Lakoff 2004:45)

Judging based on everyday speech in the present day, one can tell that it is more common now for women to use these forceful expressive forms, compared to the frame of reference when Lakoff wrote this work. While it is more common in modern American English, however, there still exists the concept of it not being “ladylike” or “proper,” and there is still an awareness that it is somewhat shocking.

The types of gender-specific markedness presented in Lakoff (2004 [1975], 2000) hold true in the examples presented in this study⁴. Marked femininity and femininity are used as framing strategies to both abbreviated character development in entertainment media, as well as to set products within a domain in persuasive media. This markedness is one way in which media consumers' expectations are either confirmed or challenged (possibly leading to a shift).

⁴ Lakoff discusses the difference between “lady” “woman” and “girl” as a marker. She sees “lady” as being without the sexual connotations of “woman,” with a sense of politeness, dignity, and nobility (Lakoff 1975: 61). “Lady” “girl” and “woman” are worth keeping in mind as labels while analyzing the examples in this research.

"We all believe that some ideas, terms, concepts, story-lines, and such, are 'normal'--natural, simple, expected. Others seem more complicated, less probable, even bizarre. We are prone to consider cases of the former as neutral--not requiring defense or explanation--but we subject the latter to severe tests and often still refuse to accept them"

(Lakoff 2000:43)

What we think of as obvious, as the standard, is easily believable, gender roles being an example. These tend to be unmarked, as they do not need the marker to qualify them. This is related to George Lakoff's prototypical examples of categories, and other concepts significant in cognitive linguistics, as discussed later in the chapter. This concept of understanding a particular instance as its generic category of experience as a way to save mental energy is widely discussed in the literature.

Tannen, another major feminist linguist, uses the concept of "frames," (or "schemas" later in her career) as introduced in Fillmore (1982) to explain linguistic acts and our understanding of them (Tannen 1993) . Instead of taking our expectations of the world, which can be thought of a kind of social prototypes of interaction (schemas) as a negative, which they can be in the sense of stereotyping, Tannen acknowledges their usefulness.

This prior experience or organized knowledge then takes the form of expectations about the world, and in the vast majority of cases, the world, being a systematic place, confirms these expectations, saving the individual the trouble of figuring things out anew all the time.

(Tannen 1993:21)

This offers a connection to cognitive linguistics, in that individual experience, whether it be direct or indirect (through media or word of mouth) directly relates to whether an example will be considered central to the experiential category or not. These expectations are, for the most part, useful in making sense of the myriad of stimuli an individual comes in contact with each day.

2.1.2. Gender Ideology

Nakamura (2002, 2003, 2014) takes a more global view of women's language, working on the level of ideology and society as a whole, rather than individual women's linguistic acts. In *Gender, Language, and Ideology*, she discusses the long and complicated history of Japanese women's language. Salient feminine speech is considered a feature of Japanese, but is commonly thought to have decreased in frequency among modern women. This is often attributed to the progression of women's rights and the loss of the femininity that made Japanese culture so unique. As Nakamura points out, however, the feared extinction of women's language, and criticism of modern women who "recently" have lost the ability to use it, has been considered problematic for a long time.

She goes on to explore the origin of women's language, and how it was shaped by the political and social climate in different points of Japanese history: the influx of Confucian values from China, Nationalization, and post-war Nationalism. Nakamura shows that language was largely shaped by the dominant sociocultural powers, whether it be observations of a class of people (women working in the imperial court), popular media (novels, magazines, newspapers), or official textbooks, Japanese women's language is the result of social construction. The attitudes towards the particular speech used in these contexts has also changed along with the eras leading up to modern Japan.

Nakamura completely, and radically separates women's speech from their essence, presenting it as highly influenced by the media and taking down the idea of it as a natural expression of femininity. She offers the important viewpoint that language and ideology cyclically produce and reproduce each other. This goes along with modern feminism and gender studies, which sees gender as more of a performance than an inherent quality. This is all part of gender ideology, a term which Nakamura builds on, borrowing from field of sociology. Gender ideology offers another name for the expectations of people based on their gender. In this study, gender ideology is considered to be a name for a set of societal frames, or expectations placed on individuals based on their gender. It coincides with the above assertions by other feminist linguistics scholars.

While English does not feature women's language on a grammatical level, there can be assumed an amount of linguistic education of how the prototypical example of women, ladies,

speak. This linguistic competence (and the choice to express it) places each individual on a spectrum of ladylike-ness. As language is one of many ways in which gender is performed, the choice of when, where, and how much to express femininity affects the way in which other people react to and interact with the language user. Users of both English and Japanese, and presumably any language to various degrees, must balance the intensity of expression of femininity and masculinity according to the situation and parties involved. This is connected to both what Lakoff likens to being a bilingual in feminine and non-feminine speech as well as interactive frames, as discussed in Tannen (1993, 1994).

2.1.3. Cultural Nuance in Femininity and Language

This all assumes one, homogenous culture within a given space (country, etc.). There is, however, a much more complicated network of subcultures and countercultures within any country or other space. Social scientists frequently refer to “Japanese culture” or “American society,” comparing and contrasting just one aspect of each, missing, or ignoring, the more nuanced and diverse midi and micro-cultures within. The United States, with its convoluted history of immigration, both willing and forced, is an example of many cultures coexisting within the boundaries of country lines. Many of these cultures are marked by race, creating obvious visual markers of some of the above mentioned cultures. While one can guess with some degree of accuracy whether someone considers themselves a part of the Black community or Latinx community, it is not foolproof. Identity is complicated and not necessarily able to be deduced by a third party, and the characteristics of a group are not necessarily equally distributed throughout the group, nor are they necessarily well understood by those outside of the group.

As observed in the studies mentioned above, there is a common idea of the generalizations that we make, that are convenient in quickly understanding the world around us, can cross over from being beneficial to harming other people. This harm is, perhaps, less direct and less physical in many cases than it once was, but the way people think about a certain group and the people that belong to (or that they are assumed to belong to) it influences how we act towards them. Whether we offer that position, cast that vote, or choose a product has more to do with our perception of the

target than is perhaps comfortable to admit. In this research, we consider this line between harmful and benign to be the main factor that separates the neutral prototype from the harmful stereotype.

Bell Hooks is not a linguist, but much of her research is based on written sources, and she acknowledges the importance of language in conceptualization. She opposes the records that claim that black slave women seduced or had sexual relationships with their owners, while in fact they had no agency in the matter. This twisting of language allows for the softening and covering of nothing other than systematic, culturally sanctioned rape. When history is taught using this same language, the reality of criminal acts is not conveyed and entire generations of people learn a much kinder, gentler version of a heinous reality, misunderstanding the foundations of the country itself. In *Aint I a Woman* Hooks dissects what she calls the “Devaluation of Black Womanhood, (Hooks 1982: 51)” tracing our continued disrespect of and general dislike of black women in modern culture, even centuries after the supposed end of slavery, and decades after the civil rights movement (Hooks 1982) According to Hooks, this stems from the abovementioned misunderstanding and underrepresentation of the systematic rape and forced childbearing that was inflicted upon them. Black women were seen as not only property, and less than human, but the enemy of white femininity, in the sense that they were construed as seductresses ruining otherwise moral Christian men. Their ability to work in the fields alongside men, even immediately preceding and following childbirth was seen as evidence to their subhumanity. This contributes to the image of black women being “masculinized, subhuman creatures” that remains an underlying factor in how we as a culture understand and react to them.

Blackness in America is much more complicated than can be discussed here, and affects both men and women. Black masculinity is seen as dangerous and hypermasculine which can possibly be traced to the more recent killings of unarmed black men, such as those immediately preceding the #blacklivesmatter movement.

The language surrounding the construction of certain historical truths undeniably affects those who learn it. Considering the arguments presented by Hooks in the analysis of modern media allows for a more nuanced view of American culture, as well as the media produced by other, seemingly unrelated, cultures that have been influenced by Hollywood, music, and the like. As discussed in Nakamura (2012) the translation of non-Japanese women’s speech into Japanese is of particular interest in understanding a culture’s concept of femininity.

2.2. A Cognitive Linguistic Approach

While the above studies are extremely valuable and describe the linguistic phenomena, the contribution to an explanation of why they occur is lacking in some cases. While cognitive linguistics has its critics, the tools it offers allows for the use of language for a deeper understanding of human thought. Cognitive linguistics is a powerful toolset that is underused by the the sociolinguistics and feminist linguistics communities. Because many researchers active in cognitive linguistics are of traditionally privileged groups in their particular culture, it is possible that minority experience in the academic literature is even more disproportionately underrepresented than in standard media. This research seeks to use a cognitive linguistic approach to take into account the embodied experience of those in marginalized groups⁵.

2.2.1. Metaphor

Conceptual Metaphor theory, presented by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) explains that metaphor is not a rhetorical device applied to words after the fact, as linguistic decoration, but a foundational part of human thought. They link the embodied experience of being a human, a living organism under the influence of the world around us, with cognition and language.

According to Lakoff and Johnson, the root of a metaphor is embodied experience, and the “basic domain of experience,” or “experiential gestalt” shapes how we think and experience the world. Experiential gestalts “represent coherent organizations of our experiences in terms of natural dimensions (parts, stages, causes, etc.). Domains of experience that are organized in terms of such

⁵ Marginalized groups include both those who are in the minority in terms of numbers and those, like women, who are only represented as minority because of a social power difference. Marginalization is a matter of degree in that the numbers and representation can overlap, creating an overall sense of inferiority and not mattering. While cisgendered women of a dominant social group are marginalized in the sense that they have some social obstacles, cisgendered women of a minority group would have more, and transgender women of that minority group even more.

natural dimensions seem to us to be *natural kinds of experience*” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 117). These natural experiences are a result of “our bodies”, “interactions with our physical environment”, and “our interactions with other people within our culture” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:117). They declare these kinds of experiences to be “products of human nature” (Lakoff and Johnson 1980:117), and continue that “[s]ome may be universal, while others vary from culture to culture” (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 117-118). This begs the question of what experiences are unnatural. If everything is experienced through a lens of humanity, any experience a human has that influences their life should be considered as natural.

Metaphor is useful in picking apart gender ideology in part because it is a multi-level process, appearing both as superficial linguistic expression and as part of the deeper conceptual layer. As conceptualization is an important cognitive process on an individual level, we can expect it to be reflected in larger scale societal cognition. While basic-level metaphors such as GOOD IS UP are included in the embodied experience of humans in general, the question remains about those with nonstandard experience.

Many scholars, like Lakoff and Johnson, are writing from a perspective, (in this case, that of a white, male, able-bodied person) which is considered standard due to the historical turn of events and current societal climate. And though being a sexual or racial minority, or having a disability would not influence the most basic experiences, the possibility that secondary or tertiary ones do, remains. Embodied experience, at its foundation, is of and having to do with the body itself. Because we live in communities within a society, with much of our well being stemming from interactions and status within these social structures, the importance of societal interactions as a potential motivating factor of cognition cannot be ignored.

The writer of this study proposes that there are multiple levels of conceptual metaphor. Beyond the the most basic, physical, POWERFUL IS BIG and the emotional HAPPY IS UP, there is a social component that includes femininity and masculinity, concepts integral to those of us living in a society that assigns social power based on such. While it may not be as central as those bodily experiences all humans presumably go through, it is important to understanding the experience of minority and marginalized groups.

Each individual’s basic experience depends on their situation. While all humans are born and experience gravity, other parts of experience are more abstract and subjective. As seen in the

personal care and diet-related advertisements and product naming in Tynes (2016, 2017a, 2017b), conceptual metaphors can be manipulated to suit the target group by media creators. The evidence points to a fluid and socially constructed human experience. Even hunger and thirst, which are basic experiences for living things, may be experienced different parts of the world or different socioeconomic classes. As social beings, interaction with others determines much of our wellbeing, making it a central part of our experience. Being ostracized, for example, or otherwise treated a particular way is the reality for people in (or not in, rather) certain social groups.

In a society that idealizes a specific outward appearance, certain body types and physical features are valued while others are not. While there are some universal and biologically based standards of attractiveness, such as facial symmetry, much of what we find appealing is socially constructed, as evidenced by cultural differences. In this culture, which places a significant part of a woman's worth in her outward appearance, the struggle to achieve beauty and thinness, and the social status it affords, becomes a basic part of life as a woman. The linguistic acts that shape and are shaped by this embodied experience is worth exploring, in order to more deeply understand and dismantle the linked ideology.

2.2.2. Prototype Effects

Several years later, Lakoff (1987) examines the cognitive mechanisms of categorization and prototypicality. Lakoff gives several ways in which an example of a category can be considered prototypical, such as being a good example, as in, fulfilling the characteristics of a category. Salience is a prototype effect of particular interest to the author of this research in that salient examples, whether or not they accurately represent the entire group or not, often gain a foothold in the creation of discriminative stereotypes. Politicians have been known to use this type of stereotyping to their advantage in fear mongering during speeches, using a specific example of the enemy group to stir up hatred towards an entire people. This particular phenomenon will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

As ideology describes a set of beliefs that govern the way one thinks, it can be studied in conjunction with prototype theory. In the case of gender, as well as other types of social categories,

affects the qualities an ideal example has, and in turn, which examples of a category are deemed prototypical or non-prototypical.

Prototype theory applies to many levels of cognition, as is supported by linguistic evidence. The prototypical example of a category changes along with the culture that conceptualizes it. Depending on the individual, the prototypical example of "mother" presented in Lakoff (1987:79) as a housewife may no longer apply three decades later, when many American women work outside of the home. As supported by data presented in Tynes (2016a), conceptual metaphors used in the context of a group are guided in part by prototypicality. This is one explanation for a female consumer being conceptualized as a warrior acceptable in some cases in English-language media, while Japanese media largely avoids it.

2.2.3. Blending and Frames

Fauconnier and Turner (2002) offer Blending Theory, an explanation of how new concepts come to be. According to blending theory, certain elements of two concepts, or mental spaces, are combined to form a new one that expresses some elements of both.

Blending can be understood in conjunction with Conceptual Metaphor Theory as presented in Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in that they describe two different, but adjacent cognitive processes. Conceptual Metaphor Theory explains one way in which embodied experience shapes how we think, express ourselves, and interact with the world, while Blending Theory offers an explanation of how we make sense of the world and create new concepts. They pertain to different phenomena, with some overlap. Fauconnier and Turner give the following examples of different "fathers."

The Pope is the father of all Catholics

The Pope is the father of the Catholic Church

George Washington is the father of our country

(Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 141)

These could easily be understood as simple metaphors, in terms of the roles a father plays, or one's understanding of what a father does. Both theories are important tools in examining the various

media examples in this study. Fauconnier and Turner discuss the flexibility of human cognition in terms of frames.

All of this feltwork of knowledge is available for recruitment to the inputs and projection thence to the blend. Knowing someone means knowing what that person will do in the most diverse situations, including novel or impossible ones, and knowing that depends on knowing what the person has done in the past, and being able to apply frames to the old and new situations. Similarly, knowing a frame is knowing specific instances and how various characters operate inside it. There is no limit to the amount of detail in frames or identities, and at the neurocognitive level of activations, frames and characters are always intertwined.”

(Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 262)

We can imagine situations that have not happened, or will not happen, based on our experience with past events and circumstances. What if, however, this knowledge were based on social constructions, which do not necessarily reflect the individuals over which the frame is placed.

This brings us back to the idea of frames presented by Lakoff (2000, 2004[1975]), Tannen (1993), Cameron (1997), and gender ideology as discussed in Nakamura (2014). When we “know” women or minorities through the media, our assumptions are based on the constructions created by the producers or other media makers, and the people in positions of power are those who have historically been in power: caucasian men in America and Japanese men in Japan. In other words, those who are creating media representations of minority groups do so largely through a lens of privilege and power. The people who then, consume the media, are exposed to what is potentially fictitious representations of actual people, thus normalizing and fossilizing stereotypes. When the media representations are not balanced by a greater amount of real-life experience, the media representation takes precedence, and any bias taken as truth. The power of media to simulate experience and influence our thought highlights the importance of balanced, fair, representation.

Coulson (1997), a student of Fauconnier, builds on frames and blending, further exploring the concept of frame shifting in a sociolinguistic context. She examines examples the language surrounding morally and politically charged topics such as the morality of abortion (Coulson 1997). She asserts that differences in semantic and pragmatic choices point to differences in the language user’s underlying moral framework.

2.2.4. Cognitive Sociolinguistics

Koller (2008a, 2008b, 2008c) takes a cognitive linguistic approach to sociolinguistics and critical discourse, specifically in regards to gender (Koller 2008a, 2008c). Koller uses Conceptual Metaphor Theory to analyze the portrayal of female CEOs in mainstream and lesbian-oriented magazines, differences in the ways in both the CEOs themselves are conceptualized, as well as how they are seen as positioned within their community. She observes several seemingly contradictory metaphors, such as BUSINESSWOMEN AS CAREGIVERS and warriors, and attributes the gap to that between these women and the conventional role of women in society (Koller 2008a). Koller takes a holistic approach, venturing into the semiotics of pink as a sexuality marker in the media (2008c). She also looks at the conceptualization and personification of companies as a whole through their mission statements (2008b).

Koller's work is of particular interest to this research in that it considers both commercial and noncommercial media from a cognitive sociolinguistic approach.

2.2.5. The Cognitive Linguist's Toolkit

In addition to the specific researchers mentioned above, this study uses tools widely used throughout the cognitive linguistic community to explain and clarify the concepts discussed, heavily relying on figures and concepts presented in Langacker (2002, 2008) and Yamanashi (2000, 2012). Although the above mentioned studies may, at a glance, seem unrelated, thanks to the flexibility of and holistic approach afforded by the cognitive linguistic enterprise, we can understand many of the media strategies, especially those in media meant to convince, as part of the schema-prototype-extension network.

Concepts such as central-peripheral, the domain matrix, and cognitive processes including but not limited to categorization, backgrounding, and focusing are integral to analyzing the linguistic phenomena that appear in this case study. The ways in which the above influence how a given category grows or shrinks in relation to the gradual process of extension through the addition or exclusion of particular examples.

For the purpose of clarity, these cognitive processes are presented as separate and distinct from one another. In natural linguistic acts, however, several of these, as well as additional processes, such as focus shift and blending, may co-occur. This study is conducted from the perspective that meaning and understanding are dynamic, on-line processes that influence and are influenced by context in both a narrow and wide sense. Frame theory, as discussed in Fillmore (1982), Tannen (1993, 1994), Tannen and Wallat (1993), Coulson (1997), and others, provides a basis on which to analyze such contexts

2.3. Category Manipulation and Gender-based Domains

The strategies used in persuasive media can be assumed to be different from those of entertainment media. In entertainment media, prototypes (and stereotypes) based on gender ideology are used as primarily an abbreviation of actual context and character development. Any obvious difference in the value system between the media and the within the viewers themselves (and thus the main culture of which they are a part) would be jarring, but may play less of a central role than in that of persuasive media.

The role of prototypes in persuasive media may be greater, in that they set up the media consumer (reader/listener/watcher/etc.), who also plays the role of the assume conceptualizer, to play a certain part. In other words, the audience is not simply observing the scene played out in the media, but is invited to be active in the sense of buying the product, paying for the service, or taking some political action (whether it be less obviously political, such as changing one's lifestyle in the sense of taking on roles traditionally occupied by the opposite gender, or explicitly political, such as in voting for a particular candidate).

As experience with a particular subject or concept increases, its potential to be normalized within a particular conceptualizer's mind also increases. On one hand, women and minorities appearing in the media more frequently can be considered a positive improvement, but the quality of those exposures is also important. Representation that relies on stereotypes based on gender and other ideologies runs the risk of fossilizing those stereotypes. In other words, increasing instances of more realistic representation that acknowledges the natural variation within a group, including minority groups, is the ideal. Because language used in the media and other public spaces is in a cyclical

relationship of creation and re-creation with ideology in a given society (Nakamura: 2002, 2003), it has the potential to normalize the natural variation that already exists within social categories⁶.

Acceptance of variation within a category is a process of understanding something as an instance of that category, thus broadening that category.

Generally, these types of ability reflect the capacity for categorization, based on a prototype. Capabilities related to categorization are not limited to these. Through the cognitive process of similarity between multiple cases, as well as the ability to extract more general schema from these cases, are notable aspects of the ability to categorize.

(Yamanashi 2000: 180. My translation)

These processes of instantiation can be thought of as deeply connected to normalization.

Persuasive media⁷ often strategically uses this process of instantiation when encouraging behaviors that go against gender ideology (or other ideologies), including those that may have been traditionally forbidden for that group. The conceptualizer's existing conceptual categories are shifted to include the product/service, or political action as an instance of that category.

In this strategy, by placing these under a schema as instances of desirable behavior, the category stretches to include this particular extension. We cannot, however, say that categories can endlessly stretch to accommodate new cases, because there is the possibility of instances becoming obsolete and being excluded from the category. For example, although corsets were standard garments centuries ago, corsets are no longer part of the conceptual category of modern speakers of English. They may have been everyday items at some time, but now they are relegated to

⁶ In this research, "language used in the media" or "media language" holistically refer to words spoken or written by the people who appear in the media themselves, explanation/description of or comments about those visible people, speech or text aimed at (or engaging with) the viewers, readers, or listeners themselves, and any other linguistic acts in the media.

⁷ The objective of political and marketing media can be taken as to convince the viewer/reader/listener of something and get them to take a specific action. This action can include the financial, paying for a service or product, or political, as voting for a candidate or adjusting one's lifestyle in line with particular views. This is in contrast with entertainment media which, although often supported by sponsors who have financial interest, enjoyment on the part of the media consumer can be thought of as its primary purpose.

Halloween costumes and the like. Manipulation of the way categories expand and shrink is an important skill of persuasion.

<Instantiation Processes in Category Manipulation>

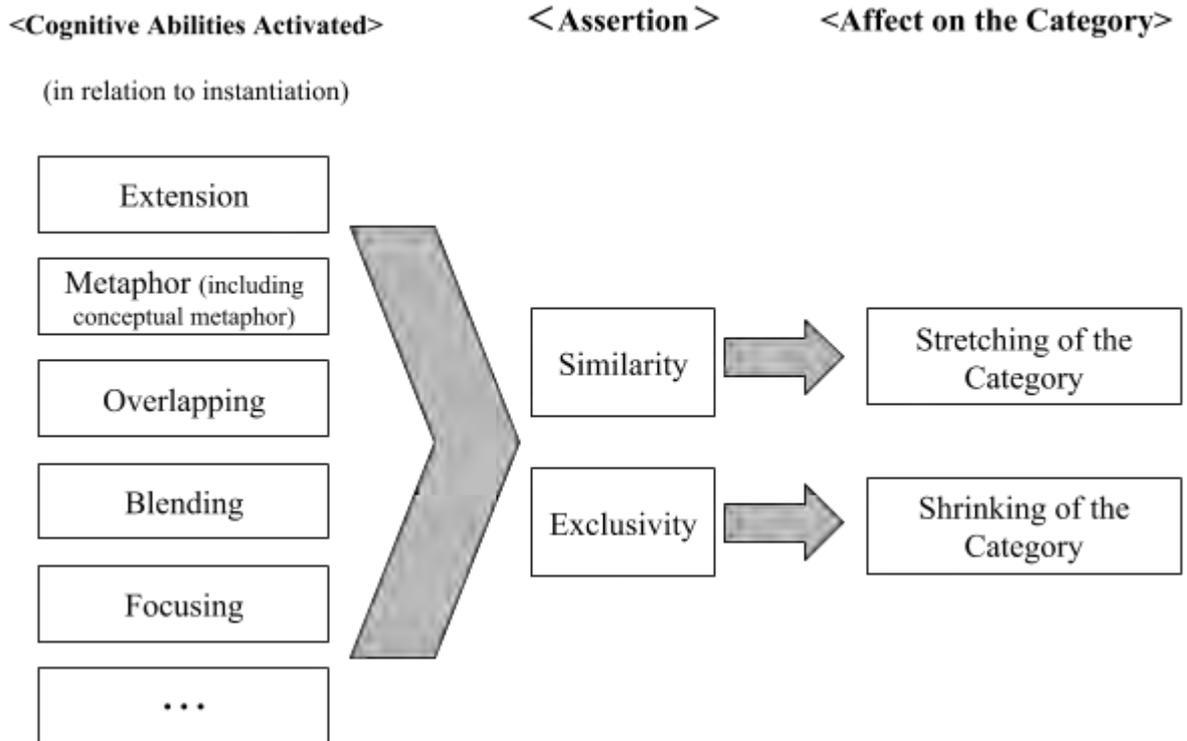


Figure 2-1

There may be some overlap and processes that can possibly lead to either category expansion or compression, depending on the usage. The processes of expansion and compression can be imagined as a flow in order from the mainly activated capacity to secondarily activated ones. These processes can be used to expand the category to something outside of the domain dictated by gender ideology, as well as to guide the choice of a specific example within the category⁸. Being outside of

⁸ Both domains that are set in opposition to each other (for men, the feminine, and for women, the masculine), and those that are not yet fixed in terms of masculine or feminine are outside of one's domain. However, as it is not necessary to neutralize the "opposite" gender in a new concept, it would be easier to incorporate, relative to concepts with established gender ideology. Because men and women are presented as binary, if a concept or behavior is connected to masculinity or femininity, it is difficult to then place it in the opposite domain.

the domain can refer to the concrete level of the actual behavior or product, as well as the expression (cf. advertising method) of it.

Gender ideology and media language reflect each other, meaning not only that conceptual shifts are expressed linguistically, but also that social reform can start on a linguistic level. By taking advantage of this cycle of discourse and society, we can hope to approach greater equality. In order to improve this situation, it is necessary to understand the current circumstances. In our case, this means close examination of linguistic phenomena in the media, and analysis of any patterns that emerge.

In this chapter we have discussed the existing body of literature and the theoretical framework on which this study is built. A combination of sociolinguistic, critical discourse, and cognitive linguistic techniques provide the tools to thoroughly examine modern media. The following chapters will use this framework to analyze real-world media examples, plus any studies that are directly related to each particular type of media.

Chapter 3

Mass Media Discourse and Gender Ideology

This study separates media into three main categories: entertainment, political, and marketing media. While there is some overlap, especially when strategies, such as product placement within entertainment media and commercials in which the lines between entertainment and marketing blur are considered, organizing the dissertation by media type allows us to find patterns the way in which cognitive processes are evoked in the frames of entertainment, social action, and as a consumer.

The mass media discussed in this chapter is that which is primarily accessed for entertainment, whether there are sponsors that heavily influence the content or not. It is a very broad category that includes print, audio, and audiovisual sources, but tied together in the sense that it is not directly related to capitalism or politics.

Whether to include non-political social media here is an important question. Social media is important in actually looking at social trends, as it is not filtered through a chain of decision makers (in positions of power and privilege, thus unable to speak from the minority experience) who OK media as it is produced. As it is impossible to analyze the entire internet, this research will consider major trends in social media, while keeping in mind the special features that distinguish it from one-way, more intentional media.

3.1. Language and Gender

As demonstrated by the research of numerous linguistics and gender scholars, gender, and as other socially defined characteristics, affects how people understand the world, and is connected to how we express ourselves and express thoughts about others. Lakoff (2004[1975]) brought attention to the perceived gender gap in the English language. While not all of the characteristics are still relevant to the degree they once were, feminine and masculine language has been extensively

studied (Holmes 1986, Holmes 1995, Lakoff 2004/1975, Tannen 1994, Cameron 1997). These scholars examine women's and men's language in terms of subtle factors such as politeness and lexicon. The above scholars focus on English women's language. This section Japanese, however, has clearer delineation between masculine and feminine speech, which is especially observable in entertainment media. The following is an overview of gender and Japanese language.

3.1.1. Women's Language and Men's Language

Onnakotoba, or women's language, is extensively used in the Japanese media. Even without any visual or aural cues, it is quite possible for readers to understand the speaker's gender. As discussed in Nakamura (2012) and Tynes (2016), even media that was originally in English, with less obvious gender cues, translation into Japanese yields a dramatic rise in femininity. Beyond the inflection, lexicon, and politeness commonly referred to in discussions on feminine speech in English, Japanese linguistic features, such as the sentence-final particles "*wa*" and "*yo-ne*" clearly mark feminine speech.

Otokokotoba, or men's language, is widely considered to be the opposite of women's language, which is likely because of the binary conceptualization of the social categories men and women. As discussed in Nakamura (2014), the men's language that includes the sentence-final particles "*ze*" and "*zo*" is not exactly the opposite. Women's language, as we can see from the social context of people complaining about its loss, is the ideal women are to aim for in their never ending quest for femininity. Men's language, on the other hand, expresses not the standard for men, but a rough, threatening, and sometimes violent masculinity. Suzuki (1993) calls these "Word forms that women cannot use [*Josei no tsukaenai go keishiki*]." Each of the following word forms is a conjugation, ending both the verb it modifies and the sentence in its entirety.

"*da* [it is]" "*da-yo* [it is (emphasis)]" of assertion

"*u/you* [let's]" "*mai* [not]" of volition

"*na* [don't]" "*na-yo* [don't]" of imperative form/prohibition

"*ka* [is?]" "*kai* [is?]" inquiries in plain form

(Suzuki : 1993)

This marked men's language is often used to express perceived dominance, and is not standard for polite conversation. As discussed in Nakamura (2014), standard Japanese did not come about naturally, but was collected and created by the government as part of forming a unified country out of several distinct cultures. This standard Japanese was a prescription of what they imagined the ideal language for Japan as a country was like, not a description of how people actually spoke. Nakamura (2014) evaluates standard Japanese as being masculine, rather than neutral, which explains why men can use it as is, while women are to enhance its femininity.

3.1.2. Politeness and Gender

Women are traditionally thought to be more linguistically polite than men. Lakoff (2004[1975]) proposes that women are both more polite and less rude, in that they avoid expletives and other language that would be deemed too strong. While gender was not included in the original politeness formula, Brown and Levinson (2001[1987]) do mention the possibility that it is a factor⁹. Due to social standing in certain cultures, women may weigh face threatening acts more heavily than men. To what degree this applies to other languages and the cultures that use them remains a question in considering speech acts.

Japanese has more levels of speech than in English, and can be thought of as having 4 tiers: informal, *teineigo* (desu/masu form), *kenjougo* (humble), and *sonkeigo* (honorific). While English is not without polite speech, as we are more than able to express ourselves appropriately within the

⁹ According to the politeness theory released by Brown and Levinson (1987), politeness has to do with the speaker's Negative Face, the desire to remain undisturbed, and Positive Face, the desire to be well liked, as well as those of the hearer. Social standing affects whose face is prioritized and to what degree. Brown and Levinson (1987) estimate the face risk of interactions with this equation:

$$W_x = D(S, H) + P(H, S) + R_x$$

They identify Weightiness, Speaker, Hearer, Distance, Power, and Risk as important in determining the availability of any particular speech act. The speaker then decides whether to commit the speech act at all, or to soften it with positive or negative politeness strategies, which appeal to the hearer's positive or negative face.

social structure, in Japanese the hierarchical relationship between the speaker and the hearer is expressed on a grammatical level. English politeness works by choosing appropriate words for the interaction (slang, formal words, technical terms) using or not using textbook appropriate grammar (double negatives, etc.), and upping politeness by hedging and other strategies (Brown and Levinson 2001[1987]:).

At the hyper-polite level, Japanese introduces “*go~ni naru*” and “*o~suru*,” as well as entirely different verbs to express either the speaker’s low status (*kenjougo* humble language) or the hearer’s high status (*sonkeigo* honorific language). These politeness levels generally occur in spoken language, or text meant to read like spoken language such as in novels, manga, and blogs. The writer, and thus the writer’s subjective identity tends not to appear in written Japanese. As gender-specific expressions are a part of the speaker’s subjectivity, and honorific/humble language focuses on the hierarchical relationship between the speaker and hearer rather than the speaker’s identity, femininity and hyper-masculinity tend not to occur in, and usually contradict, very polite language.

Women’s language and men’s language are used in the media to mark a speaker as masculine or feminine, reducing the need for explanation and thus reducing the amount of characters or run time used on introducing a character. Kinsui (2003) highlights other types of language that mark the speaker as occupying a specific social category¹⁰. As with other role language, masculine and feminine speech appears most readily in informal speech, where modality and the speaker’s emotion/mental state/identity is most likely to be expressed (Kinsui 2003). He presents the role language index to explain the amount of role language in a specific level of speech.

- 0 Written language
- 0.5 Public spoken language
- 1 Private/personal spoken language
- >1 Includes dialects and other features

(Kinsui 2003: 69)

The writer generally considers the 0.5 level to be unmarked. Usami (2002) breaks Japanese down into six similar, but more detailed levels: (S) Super Polite, (P) Polite, (N) Nonpolite, Nonmarked

¹⁰ Kinsui (2003) discusses the speech of professors, foreigners, and other groups.

Utterances, (I) Impolite, and (W) Written Language. Nonpolite speech can be taken as on part with Kinsui's role language level of 1, as the level in which role language, especially women's language, is readily used. As discussed above, men's language largely displays a rough type of masculinity, lending it more to the Impolite level of speech. Takasaki (1996) suggests the following categories of gender expression in speech on television.

- (a) Linguistic forms/expressions for women only
 - Interjections “*ara* [dear me]”
 - Sentence-final particles “*~mono* [because]” “*~kashira*[I wonder]”
 - Beautified language “*o-keiko-goto* [(honorable) lessons]”
 - Pronouns “*atashi*[me]” “*atakushi*[me]” “*shujin* [the head of the house]”, etc.
- (b) Linguistic forms/expressions frequently used by women
 - Sentence-final particles “*desu-yo-ne* [most definitely]” , “*deshou-ne* [I suppose it is]”
 - Emphatic expressions “*sugoku* [very]” “*tottemo* [very]”, etc.
- (n) (neutral) Linguistic forms/expressions used regardless of gender
- (c) Linguistic forms/expressions not usually used by women
 - Emphatic expressions “*yaa* [naah]”
 - Slang “*dasai* [out of fashion]”
 - Declarations such as “*omotta wake* [thought so]” without “*desu*” or “*masu*,” etc.
- (d) Linguistic forms/expressions that women almost never use
 - Particles “*zo* [(adds emphasis)]”, “*na* [(strong emotion)]”
 - Volitional form at the end of a sentence “*you* [let's]”
 - Presumption at the end of a sentence “*darou* [I guess]”
 - Assertion at the end of a sentence “*da* [is]”

(Takasaki: 1996)

Linguistic phenomena, including sentence ending particles are categorized according to the distance from the neutral (n) category, with (b) and (c) being more neutral than the nearly exclusively feminine (a) and nearly exclusively masculine (d). Over two decades have passed since 1996, and

Japanese has changed during that time. Observation of current Japanese suggests that the forms listed under (c) as not generally being used by women have shifted in to more neutral use, especially among the younger generation. Even the (d) category is sometimes used, although it can be considered a rebellious act. When analyzing media sources, however, these categories are still worth considering.

3.1.3. Beautiful Japanese

Japanese speech can be “beautified” with *bikago*, in which one decorates nouns with honorific markers outside of the context of super polite, honorific or humble, speech. It is somewhat different from honorific and humble speech, as it is centered on the speaker, and marks the user as being of class regardless of their social standing when compared to the hearer¹¹. For this reason, while it may be considered a type of role language, used in performance of the role “lady.” This appeal of classy femininity can be made with virtually any noun, allowing the user to beautify anything from cars to coffee to beer. Granted, this is a matter of degree, with words that are more conventionally beautified than others. In some cases, this structure has become so commonly used that, while having the appearance of *bikago*, it is no longer understood as such. While “*go-han* [meal]” and “*o-bentou* [boxed lunch]” technically have these markers, they are understood more readily as the single word “*gohan*” and, to a lesser extent, “*obentou*.” The separation between the beautifying marker and the object itself is backgrounded, forming one concept rather than the honorable+meal or honorable+boxed lunch construction. This is an example of gestalt effects, which, at the time of this writing, are stronger in “*gohan*” than in “*obentou*,” as evidenced by the fact that in modern Japanese there are people who say “*bentou*” but very few that say “*han*,” even in an informal context¹².

¹¹ Technically, marking objects with the honorific “*o*” or “*go*” honors the object, implying a sense of classiness in the person who comments on or interacts with it.

¹² On the other hand, the same character’s *kunyomi*, or Japanese reading is “*meshi*,” which is commonly used in informal, masculine speech.

<Gestalt Effects in “Gohan”>

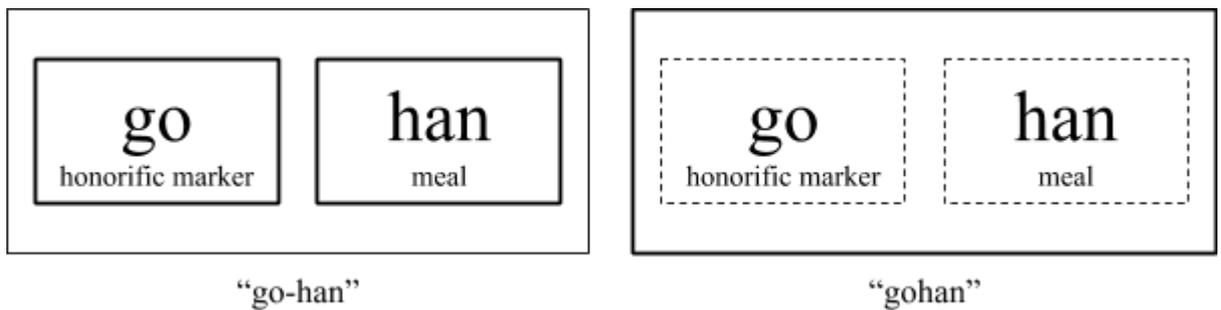


Figure 3-1

Beautified language, much like beauty in outward appearance, can be considered an important feminine feature. Much like the concept of being a lady, it is not an innate characteristic, but instead must be learned from the surrounding culture.

It is interesting that while masculinity and femininity are socially constructed and socially mandated, speakers are expected to take it on as their own identity. This compulsory identity appears not only in speech, but in other forms of self expression, such as the outward features of clothing and hairstyle, and even in one’s choice in career. While some jobs have become more neutral and accessible to people regardless of gender, such as nursing¹³ and medicine, others remain distinctly masculine or feminine, such as firefighting or homemaking¹⁴.

In all parts of a woman’s life, attractiveness is a major factor in her value. We value women based not on their deeds or accomplishments, but on how pleasant they are to be around, in terms of

¹³ In modern Japanese, the word for nurse is “*kangoshi*,” which can be directly translated to “master of nursing.” This word was adopted after the gendered “*kangofu*,” or “nurse woman” went out of style after being labeled discriminatory language. This can be thought to coincide with an increase of men choosing to go into the field.

¹⁴ The word “*shufu*,” meaning housewife, includes the same “*fu*” as in note 4, meaning woman. Because of the flexibility afforded by Chinese characters, the male version retains the sound “*shufu*,” but the “*fu*” in this case is the character for husband, creating the Japanese version of househusband. Chinese characters in Japanese generally have at least two readings, the *on-yomi* based on the original Chinese reading and the *kun-yomi* Japanese reading. This can be considered a blend of housewife (“*shufu*”) and husband (kun-yomi: “*otto*,” on-yomi: “*fu*”) to create the new concept.

her physical beauty, personality, and other (socially constructed) traits. Women are for consumption, for looking at rather than listening to. Considering the available linguistic characteristics in Japanese, femininity in language has some importance in construing a character as beautiful or attractive in Japanese media. Jugaku (1979), who is credited with bringing the study of women's language to Japan, points out that "In so-called masculinity, cuteness is not a requirement. In femininity, this characteristic that is not even considered in masculinity is the first on the list (Jugaku 1979:124)." Both for outward appearance and behavior such as language, her ideas about the concept of cuteness in femininity still ring true today. This concept of cute, that is particularly central to Japanese femininity, so much that "*kawaii*" is now a world-famous concept, both visually and linguistically.

<p>Soshite kawairashisa no gutaiteki na koumoku wa, ooku no fooku ga iyani nukenuke toutatteiru you ni kodori ya kojika, koinu nanoda. Inu ni mo ookii dosshirishita, kore zo inu toiu shurui ga tata aru ga, sore wa onna no imeeji de wa nai noda. Koinu ya banbi, soshite karen na chiisa na tori tachi. Hossori shite otoko no tenaka ni osamerareru you na taoyakasa.</p>	<p>The concrete items cuteness is, to many folks, a somewhat miserable baby bird, fawn, or puppy. There are many types of dog that are big and chunky with such an essence of dog-ness, but that is not the image of a woman. That is the puppy or Bambi, or lovely little bird. So slim and delicate that the hands of a man can contain them.</p>
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(Jugaku 1979: 125)

This particular breed of weak and fragile cuteness remains important in modern Japanese femininity, which explains why linguistic cuteness, in the form of women's language, is often added in English to Japanese translations. This femininity helps in constructing sufficiently cute, attractive characters in the media.

3.2. Prototypes in Character Development

Playing into our prototypes is an effective and widely used strategy in media. Because we have expectations of what will happen in a given situation, the media makers skip the necessity of telling that part of the story. These can be thought of a type of experiential gestalt, whether the experience is within our own lives and physical experience, or "experienced" as witnessed through

the media. As we continue to experience through the media, those particular instances become increasingly central in our, the media consumers' minds.

Some of these tropes extend into and go back and forth between the parts of our lives lived firsthand and those lived through media. As we are the same beings while we go to work and school and when we sit in front of our screens, the prototypes that are solidified in the media are likely to be brought into other areas of life, and the decision making processes that occur there. Using prototypes (and when they become harmful, stereotypes) in media allows the media makers to abridge the character development or explanation process, saving valuable run time or space on a page.

While the prototypical version of mother given by Lakoff (1987:83-84) as a stay at home mother may not be as realistic in our economic climate more than three decades later in which many mothers work outside of the home in both the United States and Japan, it may still be considered the ideal.

Tynes (2016) links this idea of prototype to those of central and peripheral given in Yamanashi (2000).

<Image Schema of Central and Peripheral A>

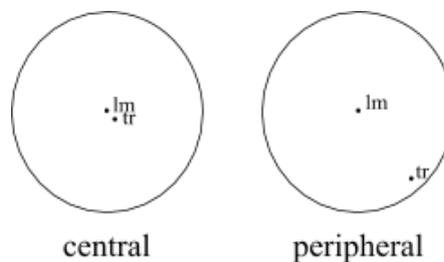


Figure 3-2

(Yamanashi 2000: 148. Labels added)

<Image Schema of Central and Peripheral B>

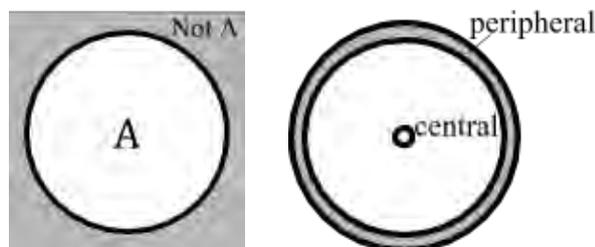


Figure 3-3

(Yamanashi 2000: 160-161 Labels added)

The degree of centrality (central, peripheral, or outside) of subjects in categories that appear in sentences such as “This is outside of my field” or “The answer was far from the right one” overlaps with the prototypical centrality as discussed in Lakoff (1987). Tynes discusses that the more anti-prototypical factors a subject has, the further they tend to be from centrality in the category which, in turn, reduces the degree to which it is valued as an example of the category.

<Conical Model of Social Value>

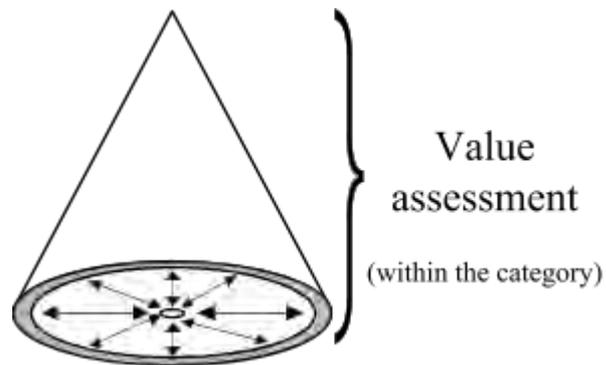


Figure 3-4

(Tynes 2016b: 38)

The more central the subject is, the more value it has as an example of the category. Tynes (2016) gives the following examples of non-prototypical examples of “mother” and “father” as shown below.

<Prototype as Expressed in the Conical Model of Social Value>

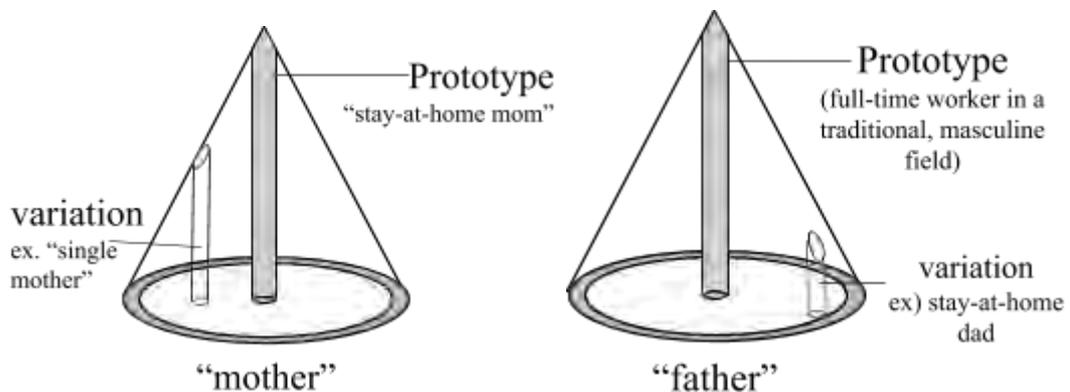


Figure 3-5

(Tynes 2016b: 39)

Tynes (2016) asserts that this degree of prototypicality tends to be reflected in language in the media.

<Conical Model of Social Value on the Level of Language>

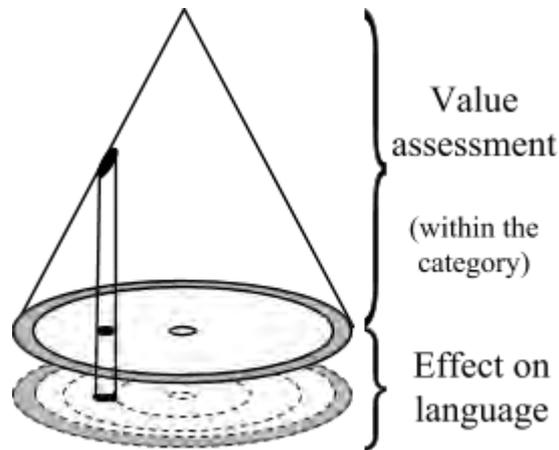


Figure 3-6

(Tynes 2016b: 40)

3.2.1. Examples Consistent with Gender Ideology (Central)

In a patriarchal society, such as modern Japan or the United States, men are the center of most spaces. The beliefs dictated by gender ideology that men go out into society and work, while a woman's place is in the home and anything else she wants to do is extra, still prevail, though they are becoming less pronounced in modern times. The male experience is the standard in most cases, and women, who are thought of as being the opposite in a binary, are more easily conceptualized as objects to be acted upon rather than subjects. Most media features men as the protagonist, and when women do act as such, the premise of the story often involves a romantic relationship or pursuit of some man or men. While many believe that we have achieved the goals of feminism and no longer need to focus on women's issues, it cannot be ignored that mainstream media often cannot pass something as simple as the Bechdel Test¹⁵. This lack of ability to see women as more than just an accessory to men can be explained by a social tendency to not value women's experiences.

¹⁵ The Bechdel Test is a commonly referenced set of rules for assessing gender bias in works of fiction. A media work passes if it fulfills the criteria that there are (1) at least two women with names who (2) speak to each other about (3) anything other than a man at least once. While this test comes up in gender studies, media

In this section, we reveal the inclination to view women as objects as being rooted in social cognition, through the processes of conceptualization, categorization, metonymy, and metaphor. The following examples are of internet and print magazines (some being both) which, though they may have underlying purposes of selling a product or recommending a lifestyle or political stance, are primarily for entertainment as far as the reader is concerned. Just the fact that magazines labeled “women’s interest” exist at all is a testament to the belief that beauty and matching the male gaze are things that women are supposed to find interesting. Of course, nowadays a woman can also have other interests, such as music or gardening, but some of her interests are assumed based on gender. While magazines are considered to be main media, accessed primarily for their content, because of their product reviews and recommendations, there is financial motivation beyond that of selling the magazine itself. Grooming the readers to have a certain preference or be loyal to certain brands ensures customers in to the future as well.

The following examples establish a theme that we find in all types of media discussed in this dissertation. While it can be said that all people belong to the culture they live in, in a patriarchal society, men of the dominant race and class are the actors, while people in other groups are objectified to varying degrees. The influence of gender ideology is the focus of this study, with race and other ideologies not explored beyond the intersection with gender,

Whether someone is likely to become subject or object in a conceptualization depends in part on social hierarchy that gives context and organizes the interaction. Certain affordances are granted (the right to comment on bodies of a certain shape/size/color) or taken away depending on one’s position, including ones that to command the public space and the people whose bodies occupy it.

studies, and related fields, it was originally introduced in a 1985 comic strip by Alison Bechdel. See <https://bechdeltest.com/> for a list of movies and whether they have passed or failed.

3.2.1.1 The Importance and Necessity of Beauty

Just as is described in its subtitle, “‘*Gaaru*¹⁶’ *kara* ‘*Ledi*’ *e* (From ‘Girl/Gal’ to ‘Lady’), targets women in their 20s, helping them to become “ladies” rather than “girls.”

Dai tokushuu	Special feature
Shizentai de onna-rashii—	Natural and feminine—
Kare mesen mo daiji ni shita fukusou	Choosing clothes that cherish his eyes too
erabi dakara futari de narande e ni naru♥	means that the two of you side by side is like
Imadoki suteki kappuro no	art♥
kanojo sutairu tte	Nowadays nice couple’s
risou no oshare	girlfriend style is
	ideal fashion

(“‘Kare Mesen’ de Seichoushita Watashi no Oshare” JJ 2017:35)

(“My Style that Grew Up Because of ‘His Gaze’” JJ 2017: 35)

The idea that “natural and feminine” must be taught is contradicts itself, unintentionally highlighting the social construction of gender, and is evidence that gender is more a matter of what is normalized through ideology than the nature of any individual. In order to become a "nice couple" specifically the woman’s style comes into question¹⁷. If one needs the equivalent of an instruction manual to realize her "natural" self, then we must rethink what nature means in this context. The concept of "natural" in the world of beauty seems to mean something quite different from the standard usage. Rather than expressing something in its unaltered state it points to a state in which the cosmetics or other beautifying devices themselves do not stand out. “Natural” appears to mean “appearing natural,” with the work that went into creating the facade being hidden from view. It can be thought

¹⁶ There are two versions of “girl” in *katakana*, the neutral “*gaaru*” and “*gyaru*” that denotes a specific subculture that rebels against the classic restrained Japanese woman, featuring gaudy clothes, bright hair, and heavy makeup. This subtitle contains the neutral “*gaaru*,” which can be thought of as an equivalent of the English word, but with a somewhat modern and worldly nuance brought forth by its status as a loan word.

¹⁷ The assumption that there is a boyfriend and girlfriend is, of course, in the case of a heterosexual couple. As society, and mainstream media, is heteronormative, unless otherwise marked, a heterosexual couple in which both parties are cisgendered is assumed.

of as in contrast to the “LOADED BOLDS” lipstick commercial analyzed in Tynes (2017a), and uses the tools of beauty to adjust one's appearance to coincide with the ideal rather than using it in an unconventional way to rebel¹⁸.

<p>Shigoto mo ganbari-doki de, tomodachi to no jikan mo taisetsu. To wa ie jibun no jikan datte hoshii— Itsu datte yokubari no 20-dai dakeredo, hitohada koishii kisetsu wa Yappari ren'ai no koto o kangaeru. Mukashi dattara, deeto no zenjitsu ni wa "kare no sukina fuku" o souzoushite Kiai o ireta "THE mote fuku" o erandeita keredo, ima wa, watashi-rashii jibun no suki na fuku o beesu ni kare ga "ii ne" tte itte kureta aitemu mo sukoshi tori irete mitari. . .♥ "Nandaka o-niai dana" to omou kappuru no kanojo no oshare wa, ima, watashi-tachi ga mezashitai "shizentai de onna-rashii" sutairu wo kanaeru hinto ga tsumatte isou desu!</p>	<p>Now is the time to work hard at my job, and spending time with friends is important. That said, I want time to myself too— Even though my 20s is a greedy time, during this season when I miss the touch of another person, I think of romance. In the past, on the day before a date I would imagine “his favorite clothes” and give it my all in choosing “THE attractive clothes,” now I base (my outfits) on clothes I like and look good in and try including a some items he’s said “that’s nice” . . .♥ The girlfriend’s style in couples you think “somehow they seem nice together” might give us a hint about the “natural and feminine” style we are trying to go for!</p>
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(“Kare Mesen’ de Seichoushita Watashi no Oshare” JJ 2017:35)

(“My Style that Grew Up Because of ‘His Gaze’” JJ 2017: 35)

According to this article, the responsibility of both the creation of the couple, plus how they are received by those around, them is the woman’s. Changing her clothing choices to fit the man’s is yet another instance in which men are the protagonists in society, with the right to decide what is good in their particular sphere of influence.

On the other side of this concept of “natural and feminine” is “unnatural” and “unfeminine.” Although men are just as able to look for items his partner would like and think carefully about how to match her style, that ability is backgrounded because worrying about appearance is part of the feminine domain, and thus her responsibility. It must be reframed and recategorized for it to be brought into the domain of masculinity, just as the examples we will examine in the next section.

¹⁸ The “LOADED BOLDS” line features bright, obvious colors such as red, blue, and black, using fighting metaphors in its advertising. See Chapter 5 for a more thorough analysis.

The following examples are from *Mrs Plus*, a magazine aimed toward women somewhat older. The title implies that the reader is already married, unlike those of *JJ*, *Non no*, *An an*, and the others, who are presumably looking to attract a mate or solidify her relationship.

Though she is not defined in her relationship to a particular man, a woman in the workplace is valued in part because of her visual influence. Her skillful performance of womanhood ensures that she is well received and seem smart without losing her feminine worth. With value tied up in youthfulness, however, it is doubtful that the illusion of societal power gained compares to that of younger women. This particular article is part of a special feature for working women and introduces "Highly Favored Business Style [*Koukando no Takai Bijinesu Sutairu*]."

Natsu ni mukau kore kara no kisetsu wa akarui iro no suutsu o erande, karuyaka ni koukando o appu sasemashou.	During this season, as we start heading towards summer, let's choose brightly colored suits to up our favorability rating.
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(〈Tokushuu〉 Hataraku Josei-tachi e 2018:38)

(〈Special Edition〉 To Women Who Work 2018:38)

Shinpuru na jaketto wa tomosuru to <u>kashikoi inshou</u> ni narigachi. Sutairingu ni gara o toriireru koto de <u>jouhin na joseirashisa</u> o apiiru shimasu.	Having a simple jacket tends to leave a <u>smart impression</u> . Including patterns in styling it makes an appeal to <u>classy femininity</u> .
--	--

(“ 〈Tokushuu〉 Hataraku Josei-tachi e” Mrs Plus, No760: 40)

(〈Special Edition〉 To Women Who Work 2018:40)

Appearance continues to be an emphasized for women in the workplace, even if she is not in the process of attracting a mate. The idea that women are for decoration, and their womanliness comes from beauty, is not one that only exists in women's magazines. The fact that these articles and other media do not have to explain the concept that women must be beautiful, that there is no clear explanation of our roles in society, is because it is background information made obvious by social context. Because media language reflects the mainstream cognition of the culture it comes from, the embedded gender ideology will appear in some way in any form of media.

While advertising media has strong and obvious ties to marketing, consumerist femininity can appear in other kinds of media, as it does in these fashion and lifestyle magazines. Media can encourage readers, listeners, or viewers to buy a certain company's product, pay for a service, or

even simply participate in fashion trends as a way to make herself more attractive simultaneously encourages consumer culture as a system. These media makers use prototypes and concepts that already exist in the community to create a sense of need and market effectively too that group.

3.2.1.2. The Male Gaze in Men's Magazines

It comes to no surprise that men's magazines would be written for men largely from the point of view of men, in order for the reader to feel a sense of belonging and camaraderie. *Tarzan* is described as "a men's health magazine sold by the Japanese publisher Magazine House," and in issue No. 741, published in May 2018, features the creation of a functional body.

GOOD PERFORMANCE BODY

Hoshii no wa "Ugokeru Karada"

Taazan no hansamu sengen! Sono ippo to shite "Ugokeru Karada" o torimodosou. Shisei o tadasu. Fankushonaru toreeningu o jissen suru. Atarashii supoutsu o hajimeru. **Doushin** ni modotte, shinshin o **kaihou suru**. Nani kara hajimeta tte ii. Kono 1-satsu de, keikai katsu jizai ni ugokeru karada wa, kimi no monoda!

GOOD PERFORMANCE BODY

What I want is a "Moveable Body"

This is Tarzan's declaration of handsomeness! Let's take the first step to get back that "Moveable Body." Fix your posture. Practice functional training. Start a new sport. Go back to **childhood** and **release** your body and mind. Start with anything. With this one volume, the nimble body that can move freely is yours!

(Tarzan No. 741, emphasis added)

A major step for a man to be "handsome" is his own level of comfort in his body, that it moves as he pleases. How attractive he is to others is secondary, the motivation to change being that the reader himself feels younger and feels good physically and mentally.

Along with the man-oriented content, there are some articles in which women appear, such as in this post on the magazine's blog, "*KyouTore (TrainToday)*".

Wachichi ga Kawaru
GO!GO!
KyouTore GIRL

Wachichi Changes
GO!GO!
TrainToday GIRL

Gurabia tarento • Wachi Minami ga Kami
Bodii ni naru made.

Until the gravier¹⁹ talent • Minami Wachi
becomes a god body.

“Tarzan”
No.738
Omake no Wachichi

“Tarzan”
No.738
Bonus Wachichi
(KyouTore GIRL | by Tarzan)
(TrainToday GIRL | by Tarzan)

The diminutive nickname, “*Wachichi*” is derived from the model’s last name, “*Wachi*,” and imparts a cute, immature impression. “*Kami bodii* (god-body)” likely refers to a body type that is worshipped as ideal, but unattainable for most women. Becoming a god body can be assumed to be for the viewing pleasure of other people, specifically the readership. Perhaps, as the series continues, she will gain a higher social position linguistically, but this is doubtful, as we will see in later examples in this section. Even women who are worshipped for their bodies are still more like objects of desire than people to be respected. It is worth noting that the introduction for the magazine itself discusses men’s bodies as a possession (“*hoshii* [wanting]” “*torimodosou* [get it back]” “*kimi no mono da* [it’s yours]”) while this woman’s body is something to become (“*kami bodii ni naru* [become a god body]”). How much of a person their body is, how important it is to their worth, is conceptualized as dependent on what gender they perform.

“*Omake*” is a bonus, which implies that it was not important enough to be included in the main magazine, relegated to the blog. Watching a woman become more worthy of objectification is not essential to the main purpose of the magazine, the betterment of men.

The idea of recommending training for women, and the “GO! GO!” in large, bold letters can be taken as female empowerment, at least on the surface, but has no real effect on the urge to objectify them (whether it is by others or themselves). In this male-oriented magazine, she is the

¹⁹ Gravier is a genre of men’s entertainment media that is somewhere between pinups and softcore pornography, consisting of lightly clothed, generally passive models. It often features softer, more buxom girls and women than in all-ages Japanese media.

other, and her training is not for her health or wellbeing, but for the benefit of the men who are more stimulated by women who more closely fit their ideal.

As we continue the article, photos of the model exercising are accompanied by captions like the following:

“Onaka mawari o massaji sareru to dokidoki suru....Kono hyougen, hen desu ka? (warai)” “When the area around my stomach is massaged, I get excited....Is that a weird expression? (laugh)”

(KyouTore GIRL | by Tarzan)

(TrainToday GIRL | by Tarzan)

If the photos of a scantily clad woman exercising was not enough to make it clear that this is intended for the male gaze, the word choice does. The onomatopoeia “*dokidoki*” is the sound of one’s heart beating quickly, and is often used in the context of romance, reminding the reader that the speaker is an object of sexual desire. Though on the surface, this series of articles seems to empower women with the possibility of self-directed change, but the obligation of beauty placed on women by gender ideology, remains unchanged²⁰.

The following example is from the homepage of a men’s magazine *Men’s NON-NO*, which focuses on fashion and lifestyle rather than health and exercise. It’s aimed at a less rugged, gentler type of (young) man.

“Riaru Mine Fujiko” Koto Ogura Yuk-san wa Bodi Dake denaku, Egao mo Utsukushii! 2018.03.11	The “Real Fujiko Mine,” Yuka Ogura’s Body Isn’t All That’s Beautiful, Her Smile is Too! 2018.03.11
Shun na bijo to mousou deeto o jitsugen saseru, Men’s NON-NO rensai “Boku no Kanojo.” coonaa. 3/9 hatsubaigou no dai 4 kai ni toujou	Men’s NON-NO serial series, “My Girl ²¹ ” corner realizes fantasy dates with seasonal beautiful women . Yuka Ogura is an actress who appears in the 4th issue, released on 3/9.

²⁰ Whether the female body type men of a culture idealizes differs slightly from the one that women in a culture aspire to, such as whether she would be slender all over or have certain places where “meat” (*niku*) is acceptable, women must still chase an ideal that is likely to be unhealthy, or even biologically impossible, for many individuals. The constant pursuit of a certain look is not a personal choice, but a social obligation.

²¹ “My Girl” (rather than “my girlfriend”) is the official translation, shown on the banner that links to the series on the *Men’s NON-NO* homepage.

shiteiru no wa joyuu no Kogura Yuuka san. Kyonen ni gurabia katsudou o sutaato saseru yainaya, dai bureiku! Shinsedai no chou itsuzai to shite chuumoku o atsumeteiru sonzai da.

Sono **hakuryoku no bodi de wa naku aikurushii egao no focasu shita**, Men's NON-NO naradewa no satsuei! "Tabearuki deeto" no settei ha, konna "te o tsunagu shunkan" no shotto mo. "Machi o burabura suru no, suki desu! Tabearuita ato wa honyasan nimo ikitai na"

Jitsu wa dokusha ka toiu Kogura-san wa, Ekuni Kaori ya Koike Mariko no sakuhin o aidoku shiteiru no dato ka.

"Otagai ni hon o erabi atte purezento suru no mo ii desu-yo-ne. Jibun de wa te ni toranai janru no hon o yomu to, **shiya ga hirogatte** omoshirosou"

Shimen keisai no besuto shotto no suubyoumae, odango o oishisou ni **hoobaru** egao mo uebu gentei.

"Suki na hito to issho ni oishii mono o taberu tte juubuun ni tokubetsu na koto da to omoundesu. Asa, kafe de koohii o numinagara futari de hon o yomu deeto ga risou kana. Futuu sugimasu ka ne (warai)"

Tondemonai! Kogura-san to "futsuu no" deeto ga dikurunara, bokura ni totte zenzen futsuu na joukyou ja arimasen (warai).

She had her big break as soon as she became active in gravure! She is a presence that attracts attention as super talented person in the new generation.

This photoshoot, which focuses **not on her spectacular body but on her lovely smile**, is one only Men's NON-NO could do! We even captured a "hand holding moment" during this "walk and eat date" scene.

"I like to just wander around town! After we're done eating and walking I wanna go to the bookstore."

Actually, Miss Ogura is quite a reader, enjoying works by Kaori Ekuni and Mariko Koike.

"It would be nice to pick out books to give as presents to each other. It sounds interesting to **broaden your horizons** by reading books from genres you wouldn't normally pick up. Seconds before taking the best photo to be printed in the magazine, we got this web-exclusive shot of this smile as she deliciously enjoys a **big mouthful** of dumpling.

"I think it's special enough to eat delicious food with the person you like. I guess my ideal date is in the morning, reading books and drinking coffee together at a cafe. Maybe that's too ordinary (laugh)"

No way! If we can have a "ordinary" date with Miss Ogura, that's not an ordinary situation for us at all (laugh).

(MEN'S NON-NO WEB, emphasis added)

Claiming that they "didn't focus on her spectacular body but on her lovely smile" appeals to the modern gentleman, who is kind to and values women, and may also be "herbivorous"²². Despite

²² One's attitude towards dating is often referred to in terms of the circle of life. *Soushoku?* or "herbivorous" refers to mild-mannered people who do not actively pursue romantic partners, particularly men. The opposite is true of women who take an active role in dating, and are known as *nikushoku?* or "carnivorous." It can be thought to be related to the belief that men are naturally aggressive and women are naturally passive, and there is a need to mark the nonstandard examples.

bragging about this gentlemanliness as being unique to *Men's NON-NO*, distancing it from other men's magazines, the featured women are referred to as being "seasonal." "*Shun na*" is the same way one would refer to fruits or vegetables, edible plants grown for human consumption, and using it to describe people is not standard Japanese. In some cases seasonality can be used in the context of fish or other consumables, but not with animals that are not considered socially acceptable for human consumption, and thus inferior to us. This contradicts the idea that this publication is quite different from other men's magazines

The idea that women are something to consume confirms that the generic viewer the generic conceptualizer is someone for whom women are for. While this would stereotypically be a man in the sense that the male gaze is from the point of view of masculinity, the male gaze can find its way into people of any gender. As we see in some later examples, the male gaze, or at least the awareness of the male gaze, finds its way into that of a by women for women magazine. This is not likely to be an isolated example, in the sense that only women's magazines objectify themselves and other women, because the necessity of attractiveness in a woman's life permeates every level of her life, whether it be the obvious romance, her career Success, or social well-being, how other people see us conceptualizes us, whether it be socially constructed or something natural to that person, affect us perhaps more than we would like to admit. Plant metaphors are frequently used to describe women, further cementing them as passive, especially in the context of romance. The phenomenon of women as fruit occurs in English as well, especially in a sexually charged context, as exemplified by objectifying phrases like "juicy thighs" found in colloquial English.

"*Jitsu wa*" implies that the writer, and presumably the reader, would not expect Miss Kogura to enjoy reading. As if the fact that she works as a model or actress goes against the laws of leadership, we are collectively surprised to learn this fact. By choosing this quote about letting the date choose her reading material, the reader (who is supposed to be imagining her as his date with this model) is placed in a position to teach this young woman who likely is more accomplished than himself. A different article in the same *My Girl* series features a former idol who talks of her love of exercise, a common interest of models, at least according to interviews in magazines. Despite this love of fitness and the outdoors, she is quoted as saying the following:

Undou wa tokui na hazu nan desu keredo, booto o I'm supposed to be good at exercise,
kogu no wa meccha muzukashikatta desu but it was super difficult to row the
boat

(Mo-Musume o Sotsugyou Shita Kudou Haruka-san to Booto ni Notte Deeto Shita!)

(We Had a Boat date with the Mo-Musume Graduate, Miss Haruka Kudo!)

Even for women who are selling their fitness as their appeal, it is unattractive to be seen as stronger than a man. No matter how physically strong someone is she is expected to follow, as gender ideology dictates, the blueprint of strong man, vulnerable woman. By including this self-deprecating remark, the reader is placed in an appropriate position to think of the speaker as cute²³, even if she may in actuality, assuming that her love of exercise is true and not just hiding the rigorous training it takes to be considered attractive enough to be in the spotlight, be stronger physically than him. Creating this power difference between the speaker and the writer/reader of the article on the level of cognition, whether that power be through being more well-read or physically stronger, retains the speaker's femininity, which as we see increasingly as we explore this topic, in some part depends on a degree of submission. The articles describe the model in an attractive way, which, as is dictated by gender ideology, emphasizes passivity and weakness. For the sake of attractiveness, intelligence, physical strength, and other potentially threatening qualities are backgrounded to coincide with gender ideology.

3.2.1.3. The Male Gaze in Women's Magazines

It is to be expected that media produced by and for men would conceptualize women as the other, and even that they would be objectified, considering the society we live in. Women's magazines, however, also display the pattern of being written with a strong awareness of men's opinions and thoughts. The articles in some magazines focus more on the feelings and emotions of not the reader herself, but the man with which she involves or desires to be involved romantically.

²³ Jugaku (1979) gives a thorough account of the concept of cuteness in Japanese and its relationship to Japanese femininity.

The following examples are article titles found on the homepage of the popular magazine *An an*, which identifies as a “weekly women’s magazine/fashion magazine.”

<p>【Otoko ga genmetsu suru...】 Tare-jiri o kabaa! Ushiro sugata mo kirei ni nareru yuushuu botomu Sutairisuto no taikai kabaa tekunikku jutsu #46</p>	<p>【Men become disenchanted...】 Cover your saggy butt! Your view from behind will become beautiful with these first-class bottoms A stylist’s body type compensating techniques, trick #46</p>
<p>Mou hanarerarenai...otoko ga omou “<i>issho ni ite ochitsuku</i>” onna no tokuchou 3-tsu</p>	<p>Now I’ll never leave... The 3 qualities of women that men think “being together is relaxing”</p>
<p>Seiyoku mo useru...otoko ga “beddo de gyottosuru” suppin 3-dai NG otoko uke saiaku! Mote o toozakeru damedame biyou #27</p>	<p>Sex drive vanishes...the 3 big NO GOOD barefaced mistakes that men hate, and will “give him a nasty shock in bed”! You push your attractiveness away with unacceptable beauty (routine) #27</p>
<p>Sutamina manten...! Ouchi deeto no kantan yashoku “kare ga yorokobu men reshipi”</p>	<p>Full stamina...! Easy late night meals for an at-home date, “noodle recipes he’ll love”</p>
<p>【Otoko no honne chousa】 Ouchi deeto de “otoko ga hore naosu” onna no kaori 3-sen</p>	<p>【A survey of men’s real feelings】 The 3 scents of a woman that “men fall in love with all over again” during an at-home date</p>
<p>Gyutto dakishimetai...otoko ga horeru kenkouteki bodi no tsukurikata</p>	<p>I want to hold her tight...how to make the healthy body men fall for</p>
<p>Otomari no yoru ni...kare ga eroku naru “<i>chou kantan otsumami</i>” reshipi #322018.5.</p>	<p>For when he spends the night...these “super easy snacks” recipes will put him in the mood #322018.5.</p>
<p>Dondon hamaru...! 3-kai-me no deeto de otoko ga toriko ni naru fasshon senryaku sutairisuto no fasshon renai jutsu #65</p>	<p>He’ll get more and more addicted/trapped/stuck...! The fashion strategy to make a man become captive in 3 dates A stylist’s fashion romance tricks #65</p>

(ananweb, emphasis added)

Based on these examples, women are expected to dress, make up, or otherwise present themselves for men. With possibilities for both positive motivation (“men fall in love with all over again,” “put him in the mood,” “make a man become captive”) and fear of negative consequences (“men become disenchanted,” “sex drive vanishes”) the way the reader’s (women’s) bodies look is conceptualized as having the power to enhance or ruin lives.

The content of main media, as it is explicitly chosen by the reader rather than something they just happen to come in contact with, is chosen with the needs and wants of the target group in mind. In this case, they are well aware of the social expectation for women to be hyper aware of how they are seen and how their actions impact those around them. Much like movies and television, women are defined by how they interact with and their potential relationships with men: whether they are or could be a worthy mate, for example. With society being as unbalanced as it is in terms of women in the workforce, the female readers likely feel that a large part of their well being depends on their ability to find and keep a romantic partner. This explains a possible cognitive base for the presence of man-focused articles in a woman's magazine. On one hand, it seems powerful for a man to "become captive" by a woman's actions, but the subject of these sentences is a "man" or "him."

These articles imply power to influence men from within her socially limited means, those of beauty, fashion, cooking, that is to say, the domain of femininity. While the actual effect of the clothes worn or food made by readers of this magazine on the likelihood of their entering into a relationship or being proposed to is beyond the scope of this research, it can be said that there is some semblance of power to be gained by obeying social rules. The following internet magazine *Menjoy!* is even more explicit in stating the control of men as a motivation of their content.

Motto nichijou ni LOVE wo! "Menjoy!" More LOVE in your everyday! "Menjoy!"

<p>Kono saito wa, hyakusen-renma no raitaa-tachi ga dan shin o minuku kotsu, umaku soujuu suru houhou, onna to otoko no seisa nado o adobaisu shite iku josei muke magajin-gata uebu baitai desu.</p>	<p>This site is a magazine-type web medium with veteran writers who give tricks to see through men's hearts, how to maneuver them, and advice about differences between the sexes.</p>
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(Menjoy! Emphasis added)

A portmanteau word of "men" and "enjoy," *Menjoy!* seems like it could be the battlecry of progressive, carnivorous²⁴ women who take an active role in romance. At the time of access, the website featured a series of the title:

²⁴ Women described as "*nikushoku*" or carnivorous are the aggressive counterpart to the docile, herbivorous men mentioned above. When animal, rather than plant metaphors are used to describe women, she is prototypically conceptualized as being lower on the food chain, thus making necessary the explicit marker.

Ki ni Naru Kare o Otose! LINE
Teku Tokushuu♡

Take Down the Guy You're Interested In! LINE²⁵
Technique Special Collection♡

(Menjoy! Emphasis added)

“*Otose!* (Take Down!)” is an imperative, which is a form generally considered too harsh for female speakers. It is emphasized further by a small “*tsu*,” which indicates a shortened, broken syllable. This may be an example of in-group informality, using conventions generally reserved for men in order to express closeness and solidarity. This display of power within the constraints of beauty and submission, is likely limited in its effect on actual social power. The collection features a series of articles with a similar man-as-subject sentence structure as in *An an* above.

Kono Shunkan o Nerae! **Danshi ga**
“Joshi to LINE Shitai Kibun” no Sain 3-
tsu

Target This Moment! 3 Signs That a **Boy**
“Wants to LINE With a Girl”

Danshi ga Monzetsu! Joshi ga LINE de
Okutta “Bi-erona Itazura Gazou 4-mai

Boys are in agony! 4 “slightly erotic prank
images” sent by girls

Danshi ga Hisokani “Kawaii!” to
Mune-kyun suru LINE Aikon 4-tsu

4 LINE Icons **Boys** Secretly Think “Cute!”
and Make His Heart Skip a Beat

Honne Dake ni Okurimasu! Danshi kara
“Kyou wa Arigatou LINE” Jitsurei 3-tsu

(He’ll) Only Send It To His Favorite! 3 Real
“Thank You for Today LINE” Examples

(Menjoy | Ki ni Naru Kare o Otose! LINE Teku Tokushuu ♡ Emphasis added added)

(Menjoy | Take Down the Guy You're Interested In! LINE Technique Special Collection♡)

Note that each magazine has a propensity to choose one of the possible words to indicate the masculine subject of the romantic interaction. “*Otoko* (man),” “*kare* (him/guy/boyfriend),” and “*danshi* (boy).” Even in cases in which the subject is omitted, such as the “*Honne Dake ni Okurimasu*,” the action is performed by a man.

Besides the man-as-subject construction in the above examples, causative form can also be observed.

“Hayaku Aitai!” To **Omowaseru**
Saikyou LINE Jutsu~ Hitorigurashi
Danshi Hen

The Strongest Tricks to **Make Him Think**
“I Want to See Her Soon!” ~ Version for
Men Living Alone

Suki na Hito ni LINE Shitai! Kakujitsu

I Wanna Talk to the Person I Like! How to

²⁵ LINE is a mobile chat application, popular in Japan at the time of this writing.

ni “**Moriagareru Wadaï**” no
Mitsukekata

Find “The **Exciting Topic**” For Sure

(Menjoy | Ki ni Naru Kare o Otose! LINE Teku Tokushuu ♡ Emphasis added)

(Menjoy | Take Down the Guy You’re Interested In! LINE Technique Special Collection♡

Emphasis added)

Other pages on the site include:

【Tokushuu】 Anata ni Kareshi ga Dekinai Genin wa? Ima Sugu Serufu Chekku! 【Special Collection】 Why Can’t You Get a Boyfriend? Check Yourself Right Now!

Otoko ga Horeru Onna no Jouken 10! The 10 Conditions for a Man to Fall in Love!
Otoko wa Konna Onna ni Horerundesu Men Fall in Love with This Kind of Woman

(Menjoy! Emphasis added)

One’s lack of a romantic partner, or not being considered attractive is not conceptualized as a matter of that particular man’s preferences (and the media and society that shaped it), but as flaws that the reader must correct. The female party has an obligation to have an attractive appearance and perform gender appropriately as dictated by gender ideology.

3.2.1.4. Self-objectification in Women’s Magazines

In addition to the tendency for men to be the focus of women’s magazine articles, there are also cases in which the readers, women, are objectified. While the male gaze is not expressed linguistically, the criticism of women and their bodies is rooted in a guess about how (patriarchal) society as a whole would judge her, and thus how she has learned to judge herself. The following are examples from *An an*, the print version of the weekly women’s magazine whose website was discussed above. These titles inform the reader of just who the article is for by labelling them with the body part or quality they should, by societal standards, be trying to hide or improve. The “[quality]san (Miss [quality])” is fairly common in Japanese, but the flawed part-as-whole metonymy is worth noting. The readers who click through can be thought to identify on some level as their unattractive, excessive, or otherwise wrong part.

Karada no O-nayami Betsu “Shiro T-shatsu no Erabi-kata”! **Ninoude Puyo-san,** “How to Choose a White T-Shirt” for **Miss Squishy Upper Arms, Miss Giant**

Kyo-Nyuu-san wa... | Sutairistuto no
Taikai Kabaa Tekunikku Jutsu #61

Pochari-san (h)e...Kuro ni Tayoranai!
Marumi Aru Bodi o Kawaiku Miseru Fuku
| Sutairisuto no Taikai Kabaa Tekunikku
Jutsu #50

Zun-Dou-san Hikken! Kirei na Kubire ga
Jitsugen Dekiru Kantan Sutairingu tekku |
Sutairisuto no Taikai Kabaa Tekunikku
Jutsu #49

Deka-Jiri-san Rouhou! Hippi ga Chiisaku
Mieru Denimu Erabi no Pointo | Sutairisuto
no Taikai Kabaa Tekunikku Jutsu #48

O-Chibi-san Rouhou...! Se ga Takaku
Mieru Teppan Fasshon Teku 3-tsu |
Sutairisuto no Taikai Kabaa Tekunikku
Jutsu #61

Breasts... | Stylist's Body Covering
Technique Trick #61

To **Miss Plump**...Don't Rely on Black!
Clothes that Make Your Round Body
Look Cute | Stylist's Body Covering
Technique Trick #50

A Must-see for **Miss No-Waist!** Easy
Styling Tech that Can Make Beautiful
Shape a Reality | Stylist's Body Covering
Technique Trick #49

Miss Giant Butt! Good News! Points in
Choosing Denim that Makes Your
Backside Look Smaller | Stylist's Body
Covering Technique Trick #48

Good News **Little Miss Shorty**...! 3
Surefire Fashion Techs to Make You
Look Taller | Stylist's Body Covering
Technique Trick #61

(ananweb, emphasis added)

“*O-Chibi-san* (Little Miss Shorty)” and “*Pochari-san* (Miss Plump)” are linguistically made up of one physical feature with “*san* (Mr./Ms./Mrs.)” attached. “*O-Chibi-san*” is the only example to include the beautifying “*o*.” “*Ninoude-Puyo-san* (Miss Squishy Upper Arms),” “*Kyo-Nyuu-san* (Miss Giant Breasts),” “*Zun-Dou-san* (Miss Straight-up-and-down Torso),” and “*Deka-Jiri-san* (Miss Huge Butt),” all include a body part plus the undesirable quality. Shortness and plumpness in and of themselves are undesirable, but having upper arms, breasts, a torso, or a rear end is only worthy of marking in a negative way when they possess certain qualities.

By the process of metonymy, readers are called by their body insecurities in the same way one would call someone “*ojousan* (young lady),” “*oneesan* (big sister),” “*obasan* (auntie),” or “*okaasan* (Mother),” instead of her name (depending on age, status, and region). This identity in fault, in the sense that their body or body part is a departure from the ideal, prototypical example of the category of women, highlights the obligation of women to constantly strive to be visually pleasing to those around them.

The above are the bodies of young Japanese women in Japan, where they are the predominant racial group. It is worth further linguistic exploration of the response to non-prototypical bodies,

such as those of racial minorities, pregnant and maternal bodies, and those of otherwise marginalized groups. As we will see in later examples, even bodies considered to be ideal are scrutinized and its inhabitant judged based on her departure from gender ideology in other ways. Being a woman in public, especially one deemed too fat or too thin, apparently makes her diet a valid conversation topic. This apparent right to make comments about and entitlement to a correction points to the conceptualization of a woman's physical body as existing not for her, but for those who look at her.

In contrast with the romance-oriented *Menjoy* and *An an*, the fashion magazine *Non no* the male gaze is expressed more subtly. The following article titles are from the magazine's homepage.

Haru no Puchi Pura Otona-mie BBQ Sutairu 【Mainichi Koode】	Affordable Grownup-looking BBQ Style for Spring 【Everyday Outfits】
Nishino Nanase ga O-Tehon! Mainichi “Kuro Ryukku & Denimu” demo Kawaiku Mieru Houhou	Nanase Nishino is the Role Model! How to Look Cute even if Every Day is “Black Backpack & Denim”
【 Daikouhyou Kimawashi Kouhan】 Yasashisou de Kouinshou ♡ Nishino Nanase no 7-chaku de Haru Mawashi 5 days!	【 Very Well-received Mix-and-match Second Half】 Seem Kind and [Leave a] Good Impression ♡ Nanase Nishino's 7 Pieces Mixed for 5 Days of Spring

(non-no Web, emphasis added)

As some linguistic phenomena are limited to a specific context or means, we include the following from the then-current issue of the print magazine to rule out an internet-only trend.

Mainichi Koode no “ Kawaige ” UP↑ Joshi-ryoku Koode no Kiwami	Turn UP↑ the “Charm” The Ultimate in Outfits for Girl Power
“Shiropoi Koode” de Joshi-ryoku UP↑	UP↑ Your Girl Power with “White-ish Outfits”
Mainichi Sutairu UP Kimawashi 20days ²⁶	20days of Outfits to UP Your Figure
Nanase no “Kajuaru na no ni Mote- chau ” Natsu Fuku Ruuru 10	Nanase's 10 Rules for “Casual But Attractive ” Summer Clothes

(non-no, emphasis added)

²⁶ The original is reproduced as accurately as possible within the formatting constraints of this document, including the lack of spacing.

The next excerpt is from an article that introduces ways to look slimmer in clothing using a model who is labelled a "*kuishonbou* (someone who loves to eat)." Loving to eat contradicts the idealized slim figure (at least for most of us), and is thus in violation of gender ideology. Where the contradiction begins may be a difference in social cognition between cultures. It is not clear whether participating too much in the act of eating is in itself a major problem, or if it is only negative if it has a notable effect on the body. The implied necessity of slimming clothes in this example suggests the need to hide one's deviation from the ideal body, which incriminates her in failing to perform ideological behavior.

The worries experienced by women who love to eat, that their bodies are subpar, are put up front, building a sense of common experience. In diet culture²⁷, in which women should eat less and be less, what women eat and their body size and shape is a topic of public concern.

Kuishinbou Yua no ♡ Usugi no Natsu
demo, Mainichi Sutairu Appu Kimawashi
day1~day5

From Yua **Who Loves to Eat** ♡ Even in
Summer of Light Clothing, Everyday
Figure Boosting Outfits day1~day5

day1
Jugyou no ato no kaitenzushi. Kyou mo
30-sara kanshoku, gochisousamadeshita ♡
karano, keeki tabe ikou kana♪

day1
Revolving sushi after class. I finished 30
plates again today, thanks for the food ♡ so
now, let's go eat some cake♪

Ootoro, kanpachi, engawa.∞ Kyou
mo oishiku itadakimashita♪ Kubimoto ga
ookiku aita shatsu de kogao ni mo
narerushi, pantsu ni beruto o awasete
uesuto kyutt. **Dondake tabetemo kono
koode nara hecchara.** Tekoto de, dezaato
ikimasuka!

Fatty tuna, great amberjack, flounder
fin.∞ It was delicious today as usual ♪
Shirts with a wide open neckline make your
face look small, and matching a belt with
pants cinches your waist. **If you wear this
it's no problem no matter how much you
eat.** So, let's go for dessert!

(non-no Web, emphasis added)

In addition to the article itself, there are text comments on the outfit photos, as follows:

Ano ko,
30sara kanshoku!!

That girl,
she finished 30 plates!!

²⁷ One that presents thinness as the key to happiness and diets as the way to get there, despite their dismal failure rates, sometimes estimated over 95%.

Sutairu batsugun nanoni sugoi na.....	Her figure is excellent, though amazing.....
Koubutsu wa e · n · ga · wa♥	My favorite is flou · n · der · fin♥
Kiyase POINT Hai uesuto pan tsu ²⁸ de kantan ashinaga♪	Slimming POINT High waisted pants easily lengthen legs♪
Shingawa shiawase ²⁹ ♪	Shinagawa is happy♪

(non-no Web)

The comments written on the photos are accurate in terms of what women, who are public property, are likely to hear when being deemed excessive or otherwise violating gender ideology. A woman publicly eating 30 plates of sushi gives the right to comment to anyone around her.

A conventionally attractive woman acting in ways that apparently contradict characteristics that gender ideology connects with beauty (and are part of the network of femininity), creates a gap that may make her seem more approachable to the readers. Focusing on some flaw of the model, her appetite in this case, helps the reader conceptualize herself as being part of the in-group, making the dream of beauty seem attainable. We can imagine that the comments would be entirely different had the woman eating not been in a socially approved body.

Because of the apparent contradiction of unrestricted eating and beauty that is background information, and the “Slimming POINT”’s introduced in the article, the reader supposedly learns the secret to looking slim without having to diet, thus avoiding the negative social consequences of eating. Although the social power connected to thinness and beauty is limited, it is taught as necessary in diet culture, as well as the self control needed for most of us to obtain it. This explains

²⁸ The word “*pantsu* (pants)” is split between lines in the original, but may have very well been an editing error.

²⁹ Although it is not specifically marked as such, this is likely the the model’s dialogue and not the writer’s. If so, the model is referring to herself in the third person, a stylistic choice that gives an cute and immature impression, though it is more common of the first rather than last name. “*Shiawase* (happy)” is written in *katakana* rather than a combination of *kanji* and *hiragana*, which, in addition to the music note, further highlights the youthful, sing-song quality of the text.

why women's magazines, whether print or online, produce articles in which the idolized feminine body and restraint are separated, such as in the above (supposedly) gluttonous model and the junk food loving celebrities below.

Piza ni Baagaa, Sunakku mo ♡ Jankufuudo o
Aisuru Serebu-tachi
Ninki Moderu datte Serebu datte, Ano
Yuuwaku ni wa Katenai mitai♡

By Erina Hattori
2018/04/08
Piza, hanbaagaa, furaido poteto, furaido
chikin, sunakku gashi. . . . Moji o miteiru
dakedemo yodare ga detekisou na
jankufuudo no yuuwaku ni aragaenai, serebu
mo onaji mitai ♡ soko de konkai wa,
jankufuudo o aishite yamanai serebu o
chousa! Ikitsuke ten no jouhou ya,
jankufuudo o tabetsutsu mo bi-bodi o kiipu
suru hiketsu mo awasete go-shoukai.

Pizza and Burgers, Snacks Too ♡ Celebs
Who Love Junk Food
Even Popular Models and Even
Celebrities, Can't Beat That Temptation♡

By Erina Hattori
2018/04/08
Pizza, hamburgers, fries, fried chicken,
snacks....Just looking at the letters I think I
might drool. It looks like celebs also can't
resist the temptation of junk food♡ This
time we've investigated celebs and won't
quit! We include info about the shops
they visit, and introduce secrets of
keeping your beautiful body while eating
junk food.

(Cosmopolitan.com/jp)

If even celebrities and models lose to their appetite like regular women, (as long as they buy this magazine or use that product) the dream of becoming sufficiently beautiful is protected. While this website is free to access, because of the ad revenue and potential to increase readership, the connection to capitalism cannot be ignored. Consumer femininity (Nakamura 2003:206) promotes the narrow kind of femininity we are bombarded with by the media as a real possibility, rather than the digitally enhanced fantasy version of an already rare eurocentric beauty ideal it really is.

The tendency to conceptualize women as passive entities or objects speaks to a problem greater than entertainment media, of a woman's agency in her own life. When social cognition includes women as public property, there is no surprise that catcalling, sexual harassment in the workplace, groping, and other crimes remain a problem in both Japan and the United States. The belief that women exist to be looked at or as a sex object, while no longer politically correct, robs women of both their freedom and basic safety.

3.2.2. Media Discourse as a Force that Shifts Gender Roles

To be unmanly, that is, feminine, is an insult for a man. Since the kinds of words, actions, and manner that are considered masculine or feminine are socially constructed, they are more fluid than is immediately obvious. Some of what we believe to be an innate quality of manliness are actually learned behaviors, created and maintained by the culture in which it exists. Gender ideology limits women's choices, and with the influence of people in power who are usually men, shapes the opinions of people in the culture, maintaining the social hierarchy. While the influence of patriarchy on women and other marginalized groups is a major topic taken up by feminist linguists and other scholars, gender ideology restricts the freedom of everyone in the system, regardless of gender, including the heterosexual men who are generally thought of as unobstructed.

In this section we analyze media examples based on the assumption that language reflects cognitive processes (and that mass media language reflects the cognition of mainstream society), and explore the gender ideology that influences it. As a collaborative process involving several decision-making parties³⁰, media language can be thought to reflect society more holistically of than the speech of individuals.

When outward appearance becomes an issue of manliness, for reasons having to do with capitalism or otherwise, it acquires other qualities of manliness. Because many behaviors are socially constructed as feminine or masculine, to slide a behavior from the feminine domain it simply must be more strongly attached to masculine traits than feminine ones, through the processes such as blending, metaphor, metonymy, and focusing. This can be observed most blatantly in marketing media, but in the other types as well.

GQ JAPAN, the Japanese version of the famous English language men's magazine, describes itself as "*honshitsu ni kodawaru dansei no tame no menzu • fasshon & quoriti • raifusutairu magajin desu* [a men's fashion & quality lifestyle magazine for men who are particular about the essentials]" (<https://gqjapan.jp>). An article in the May 2018 issue explains the concept of "classic but new."

³⁰This collaboration includes executives in the case of media created by a company for entertainment or advertising purposes, and the collective power of internet users, supporting websites and popularizing posts with clicks and views.

Kurashikku na meihin wa, jidai ni **sayuu sarenai**. Tsumari wa nagaku aiyou dekiru toiu koto. Dakara, **toushi ni miau** dake no kachi ga aru to ieru. Demo, zenshin wo kurashikku de soroeru no wa **kibun ja nai**. Dare mo ga shiru teiban ya sutairu wo arenji shite miseru, **shin=shin** no “kurashikku batto nyuu” sutairu sanpuru wo, teema betsu ni **wakariyasuku** hitotsu hitotsu shoukai suru.

Classic signature items are **not influenced** by the times. In other words, they can be regular favorites for a long time. Therefore, it can be said that it is **worth the investment**. But **I don't feel like** matching my whole body in classic. We introduce & arrange the basic styles everyone knows, and give samples of the **genuine=new** "classic but new" styles, explained one by one in an **easy to understand** way.

(“Kurashikku Batto Nyuu” Tettei Kouza! Sutairu Sanpuru Daikoushin 2018:134)

(“Classic But New” Thorough Course! Style Sample Big March 2018: 134)

(GQ JAPAN 2018:134, emphasis added)

There is a marked difference in the seriousness between this example and those in the women's magazines, even *Misses* for relatively older women. This writer gives the impression of an expert rather than a friend, which is consistent with men's roles in society. Men's fashion is conceptualized as an issue of integrity and self confidence, while simultaneously acknowledging that it may not be something the readers are accustomed to. The article title itself also uses words such as “*Tettei Kouza* (Thorough Course)” that may be in daily use by those working in a company, that is, a traditionally and prototypically male environment, but not so in other contexts. The phrase meaning to not be influenced is made up of the characters left (sa), right (yu), and the verb meaning to be acted upon (“*sare*”) in the negative form (“*nai*”). They will not be influenced by the times, pulled or pushed to the right or left, but continue on, the picture of dependability. “Genuine = new” is expressed with two characters that are homophones. The metaphor of fashion pieces as an investment is, while common in consumer culture, cannot be ignored as being squarely in the business, and thus masculine domain. Surrounding the traditionally feminine concept of fashion with masculine elements allows the practice to be reevaluated as masculine. We can think of this as an example of blending, that of an action which is socially constructed as either feminine or neutral and a traditionally masculine frame (such as business in the above example).

GQ JAPAN is a general men's magazine that deals with lifestyle and fashion, which could explain its lack of interest in the female gaze. As there is a possibility that younger men, who are presumably more active in dating, would be more interested in women's opinion of their appearance. The following examples are from *BITTER*, which may be a better match for *JJ* above in terms of age and

intended audience, as it is more focused on being attractive for prospective dates. Photos including women do, in fact, appear in the pages of the magazine, and even without mentions of “her” or “girlfriend, there does seem to be some general consciousness of women.

Kono Haru Shinchoushitai Komono (<i>rubi:</i> <i>Kodawari</i>)	This Spring Accessories (<i>rubi: Commitment</i>) I Want to Renew
--	---

Saishin no Supuringu Akuse o Minitasukete Kibun mo Motedo mo Agetekou!	Let’s Increase Our Mood and Attractiveness by Wearing the Newest Spring Accessories
--	--

(“Kono Haru Shinchoushitai Kodawari Komono” BITTER, Vol.63:113)

(“The Commitment Accessories I Want to Renew This Spring” BITTER, Vol.63:113)

The headline ends in a strong, active, manly expression “*agetekou* (let’s increase it!).” Though it is presented as secondary to the reader’s mood, one’s attractiveness or popularity with women is a real motivation for looking good. Focusing on the concept of commitment in this section is likely an attempt to attach the act of buying expensive accessories to the positive masculine trait of integrity. This particular article introduces bags, watches, and necklaces, starting with bags, as follows:

Haru no Kodawari Baggu COMMITMENT GOODS 01 Kikonashi mo kimochi mo karuyaka ni ikitai ³¹ haru sutairu ni hamaru no wa tooto. Orijinaru purinto ya riaru rezaa shiyounado, “Baeru Kodawari” ni fiichaa shite erabitai desu yo ne. Atarashii deai ga tenkomori no haru wa, anata jishin o “appudeeto” suru no ni saiteki na shiizun! Toppusu ya botomu ni kodawaru no wa mochiron desu ga, baggu, tokei, nekkuresu mo shinchou shite koso desu. Komono de tsuu na kodawari o misereba, sensu o iyaou naku kamoshi dasemasu yo.	Spring Commitment Bags COMMITMENT GOODS 01 Tote bags fit well with a style of when you want to both dress and feel light. Original prints and real leather specifications are just what I would like to choose to feature as “Shining Commitment.” Spring, with its heaps of new encounters, is just the right season to “update” yourself. Of course we commit to new tops and bottoms, but it’s only when you renew your bag, watch, and necklace. If you show your everyday commitment, you can create that feeling.
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(“Kono Haru Shinchoushitai Kodawari Komono” BITTER, Vol.63:112)

(“The Commitment Accessories I Want to Renew This Spring” BITTER, Vol.63:112)

³¹ “*ikitai*” is written in hiragana, which allows for the reader to imagine two main possibilities, “want to go” and “want to live.”

While the headline is written in casual, colloquial, masculine style, as an ingroup member or perhaps in the voice of the reader himself, the text of the article is distant and polite. Meaningless utterances, such as "*desuyone*," which are a common feature of women's language, may lead the reader to imagine a woman unless they notice the obviously masculine name. This linguistic softening is, although commonly associated with women because of the association with politeness, can also denote a relationship in which polite distance is required, such as that of a shop clerk or stylist speaking to a customer. The word "accessory," generally in the feminine domain, is accompanied by *rubi* meaning "commitment." "*Kodawari*" is not only a nonstandard reading of "*komono*" (which consists of the characters for "small" and "thing") but it is an entirely unrelated term. Although "*kodawari*" is equated to "commitment" in this article, it is generally closer to the idea of being very particular or choosy about something. It implies a sense of conviction, but in this case, the reader is led to allow the magazine do the choosing for him. The English "commit" is fairly well-known, at least as the katakana word "*komitto suru*," which is more or less equivalent to the root word. As both English and Japanese are used in the headlines and section headers of these articles, both concepts are foregrounded and are an active part of the blend with "accessories," resulting in an overall masculine concept that is easier for the audience to accept. Blending as proposed by Fauconnier and Turner (2002) can be thought of in conjunction with the schema network, as a way of adding an extension³². Notice that being selective about the clothes one wears is presented as obvious, at least for readers of this magazine.

³² See Tynes (2017) for a discussion of different types of instantiation processes.

<Masculine Blending of Accesories>

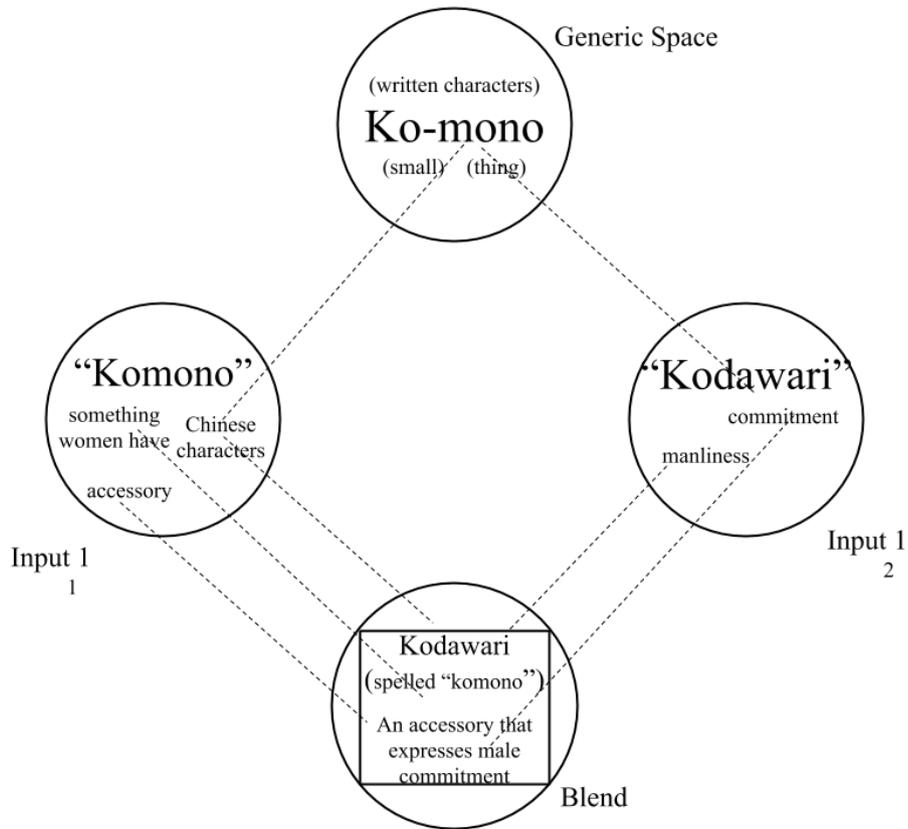


Figure 3-7

Adjusting one's appearance to the male gaze is, while perhaps unconscious, accepted as part of one's responsibility as a woman or girl. One's outward appearance is commonly connected to one's future, happiness, and power in women's media, but there are cases in which it is further extended into the masculine domain.

3.3. Translation and Gender

Intentional media, that is consciously chosen by viewers caters to what viewers, readers, listeners, may want to see, read, or hear. As Lakoff (2000:43) and other feminist linguists point out, we have a story, a sequence of events that we expect and find comfort in. While some niche media capitalizes on the tastes and experiences of specific minority groups, such as ethnic minorities or

otherwise nonstandard people, mainstream media is just that, mainstream. In entertainment media for the general public, we can expect to find generally accepted themes that reflect the culture from which the media consumers come from. In this way, we can observe differences between the main culture and subcultures, or the cultures of different regions, countries, or languages. Cognitive linguistics provides a tool with which to observe those societal expectations and values hidden within what some consider superficial forms of communication.

One interesting bridge across the gap between social media and standard media may be reality television. Reality television includes supposedly real people rather than actors, hence “reality,” and gives the audience the illusion of being someone’s reality somewhere. The subjects are often models or semi-celebrities, but they supposedly go about their lives with some sort of authenticity. Each episode goes through the chain of decision making in the television network, however, including coaching of the participants during filming and editing of the final product, before being broadcast. This makes reality television highly intentional, alongside scripted television and movies, while presenting it as more real, and a more accurate reflection of actual people’s lives.

While some groups of people, particularly intellectuals, widely regard the genre as being completely manufactured, the popularity of these programs cannot be denied. As discussed in previous chapters and throughout this dissertation, media has the potential to affect the individual in more ways than they are consciously aware of.

The following examples are taken from the first episode of “Queer Eye,” the 2018 Netflix reboot of the popular early 2000s show “Queer Eye for the Straight Guy.” It features the Fab³³ Five, five gay men who collaborate to give one person each episode a lifestyle makeover. Each member of the Fab Five deals with a certain aspect of the subject’s life, such as grooming or

³³ The word “fab” in and of itself, is colloquial shorthand of “fabulous,” an adjective typically placed within the feminine domain, and is also associated with gay men. It would likely be categorized by Lakoff (1975) as a frivolous word with no real meaning, thus relegated to women’s language.

interior decorating, to help them become their best selves. The idea is that gay men are better than straight men at certain things, such as fashion, which they are rumored to have a special sense for³⁴.

One can argue that the Japanese translation is the work of the individual translator, and does not necessarily reflect that of the company nor of society as a whole. If one were to say this, however, where, exactly, does the personal end and the public begin? Individuals selected the “Fab Five” who star in the show, who are individuals whose (supposedly) personal linguistic acts are depicted on the show, and the show is edited by different individuals, which is then authorized by others. While it is probably not an intentional one, this natural sort of collaboration should not be ignored, if not simply because of just how natural we are convinced it is. Questioning our ordinary is a major step in dismantling gender ideology.

Gender ideology is not some scheme created by an evil committee that intentionally creates an unfriendly world for women, but a set of ideas that underlies the thoughts and actions of individuals within a society. Perhaps there was no conscious decision, but that may, in actuality, mean that it more accurately reflects the culture and what is expected within it. Translation into what is traditionally considered to be woman’s language in Japanese is sometimes reflected in hesitation (“like”) or other stereotypically female characteristics such as pitch.

In both the original English and Japanese translations, the language used by each member of the Fab Five reflects stereotypical expectations we have of gay men in America. The members each fall in a different place on a stereotypically gay scale, ranging from “normal” masculinity to obviously feminized, marking them as gay³⁵. Because feminine and masculine qualities are set on a binary, feminine speech patterns mark a male speaker as the feminine other. When the feminine gender performance clashes with a biologically male physique, the non-female person is marked as

³⁴ The word “fab” in and of itself, is a colloquial shorthand of “fabulous,” an adjective typically placed within the feminine domain, and is also associated with gay men. It would likely be categorized by Lakoff (1975) as a frivolous word with no real meaning, thus relegated to women’s language.

³⁵ An obviously male voice speaking in a feminine manner whether it be in pitch, word choice, hesitation, politeness, or any other way in which a linguistic act can be marked as feminine, slides the speaker

such. This leads us to the conceptualization of gayness as men who perform the duties and role of a woman.

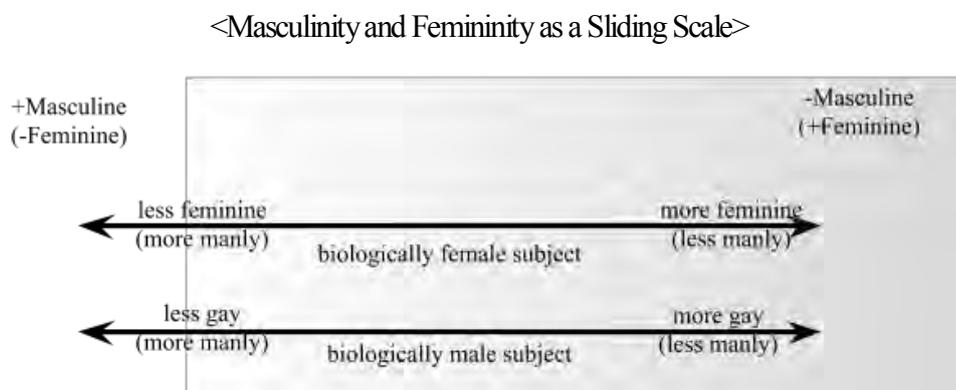


Figure 3-8

The same actions that would indicate a more feminine woman slide a man further towards the less masculine (and thus more “gay”) side of the scale. This is further evidence of another level of the familiar gender binary. Whether the individual has a typically male or female (or neither) body, the way they interact with their surroundings is more important in determining their role in some cases.

The topics which are covered in the conversation beginning at 03:55 into the episode, and the premise of the entire show, for that matter, are not generally accepted as the domain of men. The Fab Five seem to be gossiping, an activity that is often attributed to women, about the target’s love life and physical appearance.

This conversation takes place as the Fab Five is on the way to begin the makeover. Jonathan Van Ness, sitting in the rear passenger side of the car most obviously fulfills gay stereotypes. He is loud, speaks fast, repeatedly uses “like”, as well as words that are typically marked as feminine in English, such as “cute.” Overall, although the Japanese voiceover marks the speakers as masculine with “*boku* (me)” and “*bokura* (us)” to refer to themselves, it feminizes them with varied pitch and intonation. The Japanese subtitles seem to prefer the polite (and non-masculine in casual speech) “*watashi* (me)” for the self pronoun, exemplified by line five, excerpted below.

Japanese (subs)	Japanese (audio)	English (subs)	English (subs)
<p>Watashi no baai wa kanzen ni aite ga warukatta wa</p> <p>Watashi wa warukunai</p> <p>In my case, the other person was completely at fault. It wasn't my fault.</p>	<p>Boku no ba(w)ai³⁶ wa, 100% aite ga warui. Boku ni wa hi ga issai nai no.</p> <p>In my case, it's 100% the other person's fault. I have no faults.</p>	<p>All my failed relationships have been 100 percent the other's fault. It's never me.</p>	<p>All my failed relationships have been like 100 percent the other person's fault. Like, it's never been me at all.</p>

(Queer Eye 2018 Episode 1, emphasis added)

Both of the Japanese translations use feminine sentence ending particles, “*wa*” and “*no*.” Although gay men are not simply feminized men, or men who want to be women, or whatever misconceptions that are perpetuated by pop culture, we tend to conceptualize them as such. The quality that actually does define gayness, that is, sexual or romantic attraction to other men, is seen as so squarely as the realm of women that the rest of the domain³⁷ comes along with it, as does the performance of femininity, and that is demonstrated, in part, by language.

Both the Japanese subtitles and audio chooses to ignore the distinctively American crass sexuality. Although the Fab Five are presumably not interested in romantic relationships with women, themselves, they can still comment on how “hot” one might be. The discussion of hotness and the inherent sexuality it entails, is a nod to the overt sexuality, and sexual agency that is expected in men. This, combined with the feminine speech patterns clearly marks this as that of neither a typical man nor a typical woman, what we can tentatively call queer speech.

³⁶ Note that the word “*baai* [case]” is pronounced differently from the standard in the Japanese audio. Although this is not an established feminine marker, it may contribute to a sense of performativity, as it is a variant that is occasionally heard in the public sphere. It is possible that this has some connection to the flamboyance often associated with gayness in American culture.

³⁷ Beauty, fashion, domestic duties, etc.

The sexual element of stereotypical queer speech, while common in American media (talk of butts and other objectifying statements), the Japanese translations, while different from each other, completely omit it.

Japanese (subs)	Japanese (audio)	English (subs/audio)
Sore wa ichidaiji da	Sore wa ganbaranakucha	Hot rods and hot ladies.
This is serious	[We have to/He has to] do [our/his] best	

(Queer Eye 2018 Episode 1, emphasis added)

The Japanese subtitles end in the assertive “*da* (is),” which Suzuki (1993) and Takasaki (1996) both label as masculine. The audio, however, is more neutral. They focus on the importance of the occasion, rather than objectifying women alongside cars.

Karamo, a black man, is, at least in this conversation, less linguistically marked than the other members. This may be a coincidence, as he has fewer turns than the others, but does happen to be consistent with the idea that black men are more masculine than other ethnicities³⁸. Although the conversation as a whole is marked with both masculine and feminine elements, as opposed to being neutral, the specific turns may or may not be translated as being strongly gendered as the original. While the English audio and subtitles are somewhat feminine, with the inclusion of “little,” the Japanese in line 3 includes “*da* (is),” once again marking it as masculine.

Japanese (subs)	Japanese (audio)	English (subs)	English (audio)
Joushuuhan da ne.	Joushuuhan tte koto da.	A little pattern going on here.	There’s a little pattern going on here.
[He’s a] habitual offender	That means [he’s] a habitual criminal		

(Queer Eye 2018 Episode 1, emphasis added)

³⁸ Black women, as well, are conceptualized as being more masculine, and thus less feminine. This hypermasculinity can bring black people, in the minds of others, into nonhuman territory. Studies have shown that black people tend to be prescribed fewer pain medications, under the assumption that pain tolerance is higher. (Hoffman et al 2016)

Subtitles do have the restriction of having to fit on the screen, generally comfortably enough to actually see most of the picture through it, and tend to be more concise than the audio. As we can see, they tend to include less hesitation and filler words, which tends to be where some of the feminine style lies. By comparing, however, we do get to see what is deemed important to the story.

Lines 13 through 15, spoken by Jonathan Van Ness, are of particular interest, as he most fully embodies the stereotypical gay-as-woman ideology.

	Japanese (subs)	Japanese (audio)	English (subs)	English (audio)
13	Tonikaku genjou kara nukedasaseyou Anyway, get him out of the present situation	Mazu kako no jousei kankei no juubako o toite, First crack open the multitiered box of his relationships with women,	We're gonna dust off these Christmas ghost past of relationships.	We're gonna dust off these Christmas ghost past of these relationships.
14	Imechen sasete ie mo kirei ni suru change his image and fix up his house	Fukusou de imechen shite, ie no naka mo kirei ni suru change his image with clothing, and fix up his house.	Sort out his closet. Get him cute , we're gonna get that house fixed up.	We are gonna sort out his closet. We're gonna get him cute , we're gonna get him lookin' good , we're gonna get the house fixed up
15	Sore de ii yo-ne? That's good, right?	Ikkoku mo hayaku hajimeyou! Let's start without a moment's delay!	We're ready, we cannot wait.	We're ready, we cannot wait.

(Queer Eye 2018 Episode 1, emphasis added)

Accentuated by his fast and hyperbolic speech (“Christmas ghost past”), his theatrical manner is consistent with the “drama queen” stereotype of women, and gay men by extension.

Both the Japanese subtitles and audio include the word “*imechen*,” which is a shortened version of “*imeeji chenji* (change one’s image).” The choice of Japanese-made English in itself is less serious

than the equivalent Japanese, but shortening words in this manner gives an impression of lightheartedness or frivolity, a strategy we see extensively in the marketing examples in Chapter 4.

While line 13 is not particularly dramatic in the Japanese translations, line 15 is comparatively so. The manner in which line 15 is spoken in English is, admittedly, quite strong (emphasis on “cannot”) which is consistent with the rest of his speech, the Japanese subtitles are clearly marked as feminine with “*yo-ne* (right?),” and the audio as being at least as dramatic as the “we cannot wait” in the English versions.

The introduction to the scene beginning at 38:54 demonstrates more of the interactions between the members. The turns taken are quick, with speakers overlapping each other at times, making it seem more natural a conversation than is generally seen in standard (not “reality”) entertainment media.

	Speaker	Japanese (subs)	Japanese (audio)	English (subs)	English (audio)
1	Antoni	Choudo ii It's just right	Ii awa no ryou da It's just the right amount of bubbles	Mm. Just the right amount of head	Mm. Just the right amount of head
2	Karamo	Arigatou Thank you	Sankyuu Thanks	Thanks, babe.	Thanks, babe.
3	Jonathan	Kanpai shiyuu Let's make a toast	Kanpai! (Kanpaaaaaaai) Bobii, kore!	Cheers. Oh, Bobby, here you go.	Cheers. Oh, Bobby, here you go.
4		Bobii, iretayo Bobby, I made your drink [Bobby, I put it in]	Douzo Go ahead		
5	Bobby	Arigatou Thanks	Arigatou~ Oishii!	Oh, thank you boo boo.	Oh, thank you boo boo.

			Thanks! It's good!		
6	Antoni	Tan wa? Atsumatte Where's Tan? Gather around	Tan wa? Hayaku hayaku! Where's Tan? Hurry hurry!	[Antoni] Where's Tan? [Bobby] Come on, come on.	Where's Tan? Come on, come on.
7	Bobby				
8	Karamo	Tomu no jikan da It's Tom time	Tomu no bideo Tom's video	Alright, Tom Jackson time.	Alright, Tom Jackson time.
9	Jonathan	Sou Yeah	Sou Yeah	Yes.	Yes.

(Queer Eye 2018 Episode 1, emphasis added)

As the scene begins we are introduced to the special blend of masculine crassness and feminine roles in line 1 of the English audio and subtitles. The opening line, “Mm. Just the right amount of head” is a double entendre, with “head” having several potential meanings. At the point of this utterance, the outside of the Fab Five Loft is shown, with the speaker not yet on screen. The lack of visual input leads the viewer to imagine the common colloquial meaning, of a certain sexual act performed on a man. When the group is shown, however, it is another meaning of “head,” the stack of foam that appears on the top of carbonated beverages. This play with language, what first appears to be overt sexuality, and innocence is a theme throughout the original English version of the episode.

In line 3 of the English, Karamo says “Thanks, babe” when receiving his drink. “Babe” is an affectionate, somewhat condescending, way for a man to address a woman³⁹. As a shortened version of “baby,” it infantilizes adult woman, and seems to be slowly falling out of favor in

³⁹ Referring to one’s romantic partner as “babe” is no longer exclusive to men in a heterosexual relationship, but it is more strongly masculine when thought of on a scale of masculine to feminine.

politically correct contexts. Although it is becoming archaic, it is fairly easily recognizable as a marker of a man addressing a woman. This leads to a sense that Karamo assumes the male role in this interaction with the other Fab Five members⁴⁰. The Japanese subtitles seem to ignore this nuance with a standard “*Arigatou* [Thank you],” but the audio is “*Sankyuu*,” or “Thank you” pronounced within the Japanese phonetic system. The choice to express gratitude using an English versus a Japanese word gives it a light, bubbly, and decidedly international feel.

While Karamo takes on a more stereotypically masculine role here, the other Fab Five members show their affection in different ways. The nonsensical “boo boo,” which rings strongly of an affectionate female relative. Speaking baby talk could be thought of as a marker of maternity, as women are most often the main caregivers in our patriarchal society.

Although media often portrays minority groups, in this case the LGBT community, as a monolithic entity, each member of the Fab Five represents a different gay archetype. While the expression of their personalities being limited to a combination of stereotypically feminine and masculine markers is problematic, it lends itself to creating an awareness of the diversity that exists within the category.

The frequently interspersed sexual jokes reminds the viewers of the Fab Five’s sexuality, retaining it as a central theme of the show. The Japanese versions of the show choose different linguistic strategies in expressing gay identity. Rather than nonsense words to show affection, the Japanese audio relies on pitch and intonation to convey a sort of sisterhood interaction the Fab Five has. While it is difficult to express in a document, the pitch, tone, and vocal qualities (male/female sounding, husky, light, etc.) is a part of language that cannot be ignored. This blend of masculine grammatical patterns (sentence-final particle “*da* [is]” with feminine intonation spoken by a male-sounding person creates a decidedly “gay” linguistic pattern, at least in the way that we commonly conceptualize LGBT people, as a combination of male and female traits⁴¹. We cannot assume that

⁴⁰ The idea that there must be a “man” or someone who “wears the pants,” that is that there is one masculine partner and one feminine partner in a homosexual relationship, is one that is addressed as a myth in this very episode. This is yet another example of how language transcends beyond our conscious thought and is related to a much deeper level of cognition.

⁴¹ These traits, however, are in a large part socially constructed, and thus arbitrary to some extent.

the lack of jokes of a sexual nature in either Japanese version is necessarily because of anti-gay sentiment or general closed-mindedness in the culture, but rather a different way and degree of expressing sexual orientation in the public sphere.

Chapter 4

Political Discourse and Gender

Modern American politics, as made even more obvious by the 2016 presidential election, makes full use of a wide range of media platforms. This includes the more traditional television commercials and other broadcast formats, as well as newer and more interactive social media platforms. Lakoff (2002) describes the differing political and moral models in the United States, with republicans having a “Strict Father” model, and democrats, a “Nurturant Parent” model. While both groups view the government as a parent, whether it is a father or whether the gender is unspecified is a clear difference. In other words, gender ideology appears in the very system that guides not only one’s political decisions, but morality on a larger scale. This can be claimed based on linguistic evidence of various scales, including linguistic acts by and about individual politicians, and discourse surrounding political issues.

In this study, political media is taken in a broad sense and includes a range of topics, spanning from official governmental practices to grassroots activism. Rather than determining politics by the status of the speaker, the motivation behind the media (and thus, linguistic act), whether it be entertainment, social and political action, or advertisement, is the factor that defines it as being mass media, political media, or advertising media. This allows for the consideration of movements as a whole, even if the individual voices are of marginalized people.

An obvious example of gender ideology in political discourse is the following commercial for Donald Trump’s presidential campaign, presented by Ivanka Trump. From the very first line, it implies the patriarchal notion that women primarily exist for reproduction.

The most important job any woman can have is being a mother, and it shouldn’t mean taking a pay cut. I’m Ivanka Trump, a mother, a wife, and an entrepreneur.

Donald Trump understands the needs of the modern workforce. My father will change outdated labor laws so that they support women and American families. He will provide tax credits for **childcare, paid maternity leave, and dependent care savings accounts.**

This will allow women to support their families and further their careers.

(The Washington Post, 2016/09/30, emphasis added)

More than the words actually spoken in the advertisement, what is not said reflects the gender ideology held by the target audience. On one hand, it elevates women's work, which has traditionally undervalued, but devalues women who cannot or choose not to have children at the same time. By not mentioning the possibility of life without reproduction, women's lives are conceptualized as being defined by their relationship with men (and any resulting children), and heteronormativity is further reinforced. By presenting childcare as women's interest, men are left out of the process, leaving in place the traditional roles of the home as women's domain and society as men's. Language such as "modern" and "outdated" do little to change this overall message.

As seen in the above example, certain themes are frequently evoked when targeting women: family being a major one. The following is part of a transcript from the final presidential debate:

In the audience tonight, we have four mothers of -- I mean, these are unbelievable people that I've gotten to know over a period of years **whose children have been killed, brutally killed by people that came into the country illegally**. You have thousands of mothers and fathers and relatives all over the country. They're coming in illegally. Drugs are pouring in through the border. We have no country if we have no border.

(The Washington Post, 2016/10/19, emphasis added)

Citing a sensational example that is prototypical in the sense that it stands out, rather than being representative of immigrants as a whole, frames the discussion of building a wall as a family, and therefore women's, issue. It also squarely situates the leader of the country as the protector of the family in the Strict Father model (Lakoff 2002).

We're going to get them out; we're going to secure the border. And once the border is secured, at a later date, we'll make a determination as to the rest. But we have some **bad hombres** here, and we're going to get them out.

(The Washington Post, 2016/10/19, emphasis added)

Without expressly stating the race, and theoretically avoiding racist accusations, the speaker has taken advantage of an existing stereotype held by his audience. The Spanish word “hombre” is instantly marked, as it appears in primarily English speech. It alerts the hearers to a particular frame, evoking the image of Latino men. By activating the prototype of a dangerous Mexican man, a salient, but not necessarily accurate example is raised as a common enemy. Using a presumably foreign word creates a dichotomy of “bad” men of color versus good people, and may also relate to dehumanizing euphemisms as discussed in Hooks (1982:10-11).

4.1 Women in Political News Media

Not only in the rhetoric surrounding the issues, but whose voices are valued and who is fit to participate in politics is also skewed by gender ideology. The following is a transcript of the news and talk show, "The O'Reilly Factor." In this segment, the host and guests react to footage of Representative Maxine Waters, an older black woman, speaking out against Donald Trump and his supporters.

Speaker	Transcript
Bill O'Reilly	I didn't hear a word she said. I was-I was looking at the James Brown wig. If we have a picture of James, it's the same w--
Brian Kilmeade	It's the same one, and he's not using it anymore. They just- They finally buried him.
Bill O'Reilly	You guys are all, you're all wrong about this.
Ainsley Earhardt	Oh, okay. I gotta defend her on that. She's a--You can't go after a woman's looks. I think she's very attractive.
Bill O'Reilly	I didn't say she wasn't attractive. I love James Brown. But it's the same hair James Brown, alright, the godfather of soul had.
Ainsley Earhardt	So he had girl hair?
Bill O'Reilly	Whatever it is, I just couldn't get by it.

(*CNNMoney*, 2017)

The above conversation reads as simple jest, but belies still prevalent racist and sexist ideology in mainstream America. As Hooks (1982) discusses, black women have been conceptualized as "masculinized, sub-human creatures" for much of American history (ibid. 1982: 71). The comparison of her hair to James Brown's wig functions to simultaneously demasculinize James Brown and map that feature of substandard masculinity onto the wearer, negating her femininity⁴². This motivates the female speaker to defend the target's attractiveness. In addition, claiming that the "James Brown wig" distracted him from the content of Waters's speech further implies that a woman's worth and credibility hinges on her physical attractiveness. The individual speaker may have consciously meant no harm, but tools and language of oppression remain on a societal cognitive level.

Gender ideology comes in to contact with the political sphere in many different ways, through the politicians themselves, policies, grassroots movements, public service announcements, everyday people, the news and the people who deliver it, as well as interaction between them. While politics, as understood in this dissertation, is a very broad concept, the current United States presidency is particularly fraught with blatant sexism, due to the commander in chief's reputation as a womanizer and his outspoken opinions about women's bodies.

The language surrounding the high profile scandal involving an affair between porn actress Stormy Daniels and Donald Trump offers a chance to delve into the double standard gender ideology creates for men and women. Former mayor Giuliani, acting as President Trump's attorney, is quoted by CNN as saying the following:

I even have to respect, you know, criminals. But I'm sorry, I don't respect a porn star the way I respect a career woman or a woman of substance or a woman who has great respect for herself as a woman and as a person and isn't going to sell her body for sexual exploitation.

(CNN 06/07/2018)

⁴² As "wigs" are associated with beauty and appearance they are typically considered women's accessories, despite historically being used by upper class men. Whether James Brown actually wore a wig or not, referring to his hair as a "wig", and a conspicuous one at that, undermines masculinity by attributing an object from the feminine domain.

Giuliani uses binary language to express a common opinion about women who work in the sex industry. Giuliani places “career women” and “women of substance” as separate, but similarly valued entities, and “porn stars” as undeserving of respect. Note that “porn stars” is not inherently gendered, as “women” is, but, as the male gaze is standard in patriarchal society, and women are to be objectified, the prototypical “porn star” is female, and needs no further specification.

This “as a person” is particularly interesting in that he says nothing of the men who appear in adult entertainment. Perhaps because women are so visible from the perspective of the male gaze, the standard in patriarchal society, in a form of media that is centered on the heterosexual male. Similarly to how reproductive functions are more associated with women, women's bodies are the focus of, and the very visible, foregrounded objects in mainstream adult media. While it takes more than just a woman with low moral standards to make these films, the men who appear with the women (such as, according to CNN, Giuliani's client) and the men who consume the finished media are backgrounded and thus less scrutinized, likely in part because of the boys-will-be-boys expectation of rampant, uncontrollable sexuality.

His choice of the word “exploitation” is particularly interesting, in that it implies power on the part of the person doing the exploiting, of course, not the one being exploited. Logically, the party with the power also has the responsibility, and thus is at fault, but, as is obvious from the context, that is not how this situation is conceptualized. Acting as consumers of sex work is expected from men, but contraindicated by prototypical, proper femininity. This is not to say that pornography is unproblematic, but that the issue is the entire system, rather than the individual women. Its existence as an industry can be tied to the objectification of women in society as a whole. Women who participate in it, however, while benefiting in other ways, lose so much respect that it is seen as acceptable to openly devalue their testimony in court.

So Stormy, you want to bring a case, let me cross-examine you. Because the business you're in entitles you to no degree of giving your credibility any weight. And secondly, explain to me how she could be damaged. I mean, she has no reputation. If you're going to sell your body for money, you just don't have a reputation. Maybe old-fashioned, I don't know.

(CNN 06/07/2018)

As the disdain for those who sell their bodies does not generally extend to models or sports players, the immorality selling one's body (or rather, images of one's body) stems from the purpose, with the punishment much greater for women. Another CNN article quotes Giuliani as using the word "desecrate" to describe what porn stars do to women (CNN 2018/06/06). While he may have meant to say that the porn *industry* desecrates women, Daniels's job conceptually violates other women. He takes the classical conservative stance of a strict father, whose job it is to protect the family, including the purity and sanctity of the women within it.

Even having achieved the ultimate of femininity in terms of outward appearance, being the ideal that women are socialized to strive for and capitalizing on it, she is still an object, and a flawed one at that. This implies a major infraction of femininity in terms of gender ideology, a major part of which is sexual value, that is, the promise of exclusivity. While youth does, in many cases, guarantee a sexually valuable partner in terms of fertility, an often cited excuse for objectifying women, this conceptual drop in value of women in this specific industry, even one so visually close to societal standards, shows a separate factor. Although the business would not survive without a market, the consumers are conceptualized as much less at fault than the providers, who are simultaneously elevated and disgraced. While monogamy is also recognized as the ideal for men, they are almost expected not to uphold it, especially when the female partner commits some ideological wrong in terms of appearance or action. Women's attractiveness is often conceptualized as a key to happiness, an increase of which would remove barriers, whether they exist because of how people treat them as a result of their appearance or their individual feeling of confidence or lack thereof. This is, as criticism of women in political spaces shows, that women's value is denied whether they are perceived as too attractive or not attractive enough. It isn't that these women said anything that discounts them, but their status as non-prototypical, especially in the political realm, legitimizes ridicule.

4.2 Instantiation and Blending for Challenging Existing Gender Roles

In the United States, though women were refused the right to vote for most of its history as a country, Hillary Clinton rose to the level of presidential candidacy in the 2016 election. She can be

thought of proof of the impact of the women's rights movement, even without breaking through that highest glass ceiling. The fact that both men and women are allowed to go to school, that people of different races or nationalities can marry, and other realities that modern people take for granted would have been unheard of just a few decades ago. These small, gradual changes amounted to a revolution over time.

Language and ideology influence each other, giving language the power to cause a revolution (Nakamura 2003, 2014). The words used by a society and the concepts in that society are reflections of each other, and the media, which has the power to popularize and create fads, also has the capacity to create change. By observing social change that is on the verge of happening, we can also more effectively approach a society that accepts diversity.

Even if it is not directly related to a governmental organization, the writer considers political media to be any which primarily relates to and calls for change in how women and men are or should be. We are taught that industry and government are separate entities, but the power on the part of companies to drive (or act in favor of) social change is greater than we are generally conscious of⁴³. Government may lead change in some cases, but companies, which are not bound by legal process or the constitution in the same way the government is, are in a position to increase awareness of problems such as those having to do with gender. Rather than focusing only on individuals, let us see them as part of a whole and try to consider social change on a wider scale.

The language and related concepts and categories used by a certain group changes depending on the times⁴⁴. Even with some shift from the classic prototype, an instance comes to be understood as an example of the category based on similarity.

We have the capacity to understand examples as instances of a category based on the features of a general schema. This kind of ability is generally a facet of the capacity to categorize, stemming from schematization. In the case that an example is similar to a classic (that is, prototypical) example of the category, we can think of it as the capacity

⁴³ In some cases industry has a great deal of power to affect governmental decisions, such as when dairy lobbyists influence the recommendations made by organizations such as the Food and Drug Administration.

⁴⁴ Both groups that share a physical space, such as in the case of countries, regions, cities, and schools, as well as those that do not, such as over the internet are considered to be both groups and communities.

to incorporate it as an instance of the category by way of the cognitive process of similarity.

(Yamanashi 2000: 180)

There are times when categories broaden to accept an example as belonging in a category because of its similarity to another. This capacity brings about diversity within the category, which expands the schema, even without a change in prototype. In a broad sense, a society can also be thought of as a conceptualizer, with ways of thinking that represent the society or major social group's mainstream. There is a "something-ness" that represents the representative quality of the place or community and appears on a societal level. It is possible that the instances experienced by the people in a culture influence the direction in which the category expands, which is precisely why representation in the media is so important. When minority or marginalized groups are represented as being deserving of or somehow causing their poor status in society, discriminatory acts and thinking are legitimized, further sustaining the system in its entirety. Whether someone appears in the media in the first place is, in large part, decided by the media makers, and reflects their (usually his) value system. This truth is not necessarily made obvious to the media consumers, and may be assumed as truth. Within the mind of a viewer who has only been exposed to frivolous women through the mass media, for example, could (especially if more abundant than other experience with women) the prototypical woman would be built out of those experiences, with the essence of the schema itself reflecting that.

While they may not use the language of cognitive sociolinguistics, the understanding of social concepts as categories is being used as a strategy in creating social change. By combining examples of social categories which are already considered standard with revolutionary aspect, it may be accepted as an extended case. When this shift becomes accepted as an example of the category, there is, then, the possibility to shift once again. In human history we have seen repeated shifts in social categories, which resulted in marginalized groups being recognized as humans and gaining basic rights. In the United States, the result of these shifts was that enslaved black people who had

been considered property gained the right to marry, the right to participate in elections⁴⁵, and now every race or ethnicity studies together at schools (at least in terms of the law). The same trend can be seen in women’s rights, with many modern women believing that we have achieved equality. There have, of course, been vast legal improvements in many facets of life, but social pressure still creates a real problem, which may be less obvious and thus harder to eradicate. Without addressing the cyclic nature of the relationship to societal attitudes based in ideology, we cannot expect to see significant improvements on a personal level, which we now see as various types of power harassment, for example. There is a limit to the amount of extension that can occur with each shift: too far makes it difficult for the example to be understood as being under the same schema. And this categorical flexibility likely depends on the person, their creativity, and ability to accept change. Perhaps we can hope that continued small steps from currently acceptable examples will result in large scale change.

In terms of the process of instantiation as part of image change, Yamanashi (2012) discusses “superimposition of images,” in which two image schemas overlap, with features of each coming through to the surface.

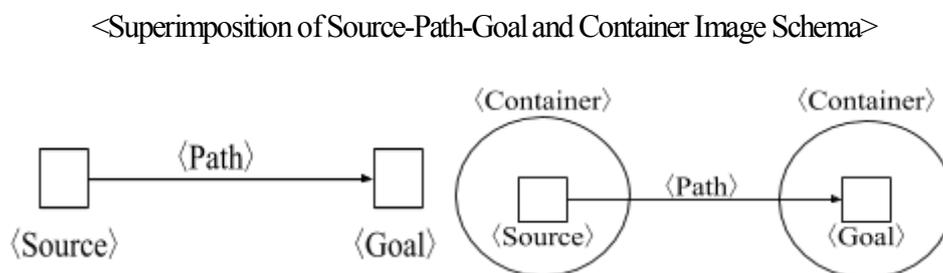


Figure 4-1

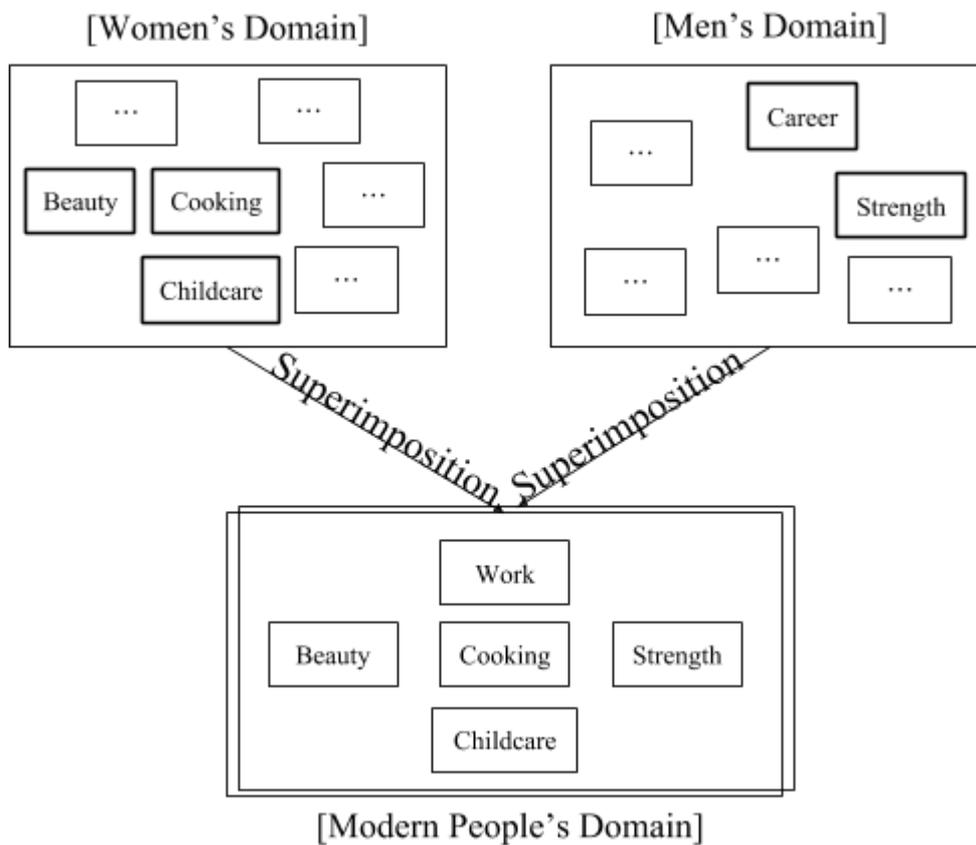
(Yamanashi 2012:30-31)

What Yamanashi (2012) explains is simply the capacity for overlap in image schemas, this process may be present on more complex, abstract levels of human cognition, such as the domains

⁴⁵ Although at first, one black man was not counted as an entire person either. While this blatant discrimination has been greatly reduced, voter suppression still disproportionately affects people of color, and limits their participation in politics.

of womanliness and manliness or other concepts related to ideology. As we see in the following examples, media having to do with gender equality and other social action is useful in observing this phenomenon. This social movement aims to adjust classic gender roles that dictate that the woman stays at home and the man goes out into society, by combining the appropriate features for each family member, thus superimposing the domains.

<Modern Superimposition of Traditional Gender Roles>



(Tynes 2017c : 49)

Figure 4-2

The above is far from complete, but Figure 2 illustrates the overlap of roles traditionally allotted by gender potentially available to modern people in a more equal society. Because language and society reflect each other, the creation of new concepts and the change in existing ones occurs on two planes. In Blend Theory, as introduced by Fauconnier and Turner (2002), two concepts are blended, creating a new one. This may give a more in depth and concrete explanation for the type of superimposition discussed above.

<The Basic Diagram>

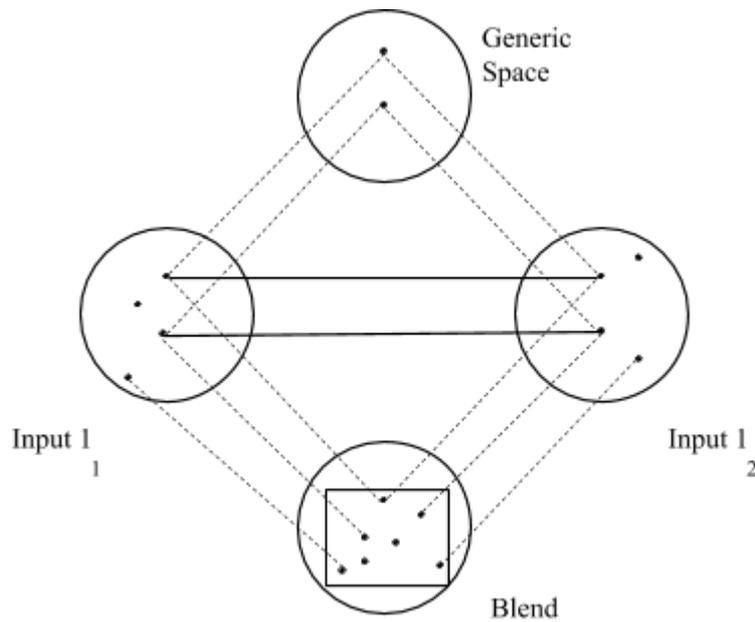


Figure 4-3

(Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 46)

The common features of the multiple input spaces are represented in the generic space, the resulting concept represented in the in the blended space. Next, let us consider strategic extension as an instance of a schema, based on the theoretical framework discussed above.

4.3 Challenging Expectations Based on Gender Ideology

The following advertisements encourage social change through blending existing concepts via the language that represents them, likely in an attempt to reach through to the ideology held by the audience, the conceptualizer.

4.3.1 Japanese Fatherhood Campaigns

First, we will consider examples of campaigns by the Gender Equality Bureau, a major government agency aiming to change the situation in Japan. The following advertisement calls men to a domain that is traditionally for women.

meshi
**Otouhan
hajimaru!**

Kore made ryouri nanka dekinai to omotteita
anata ni,
rippa na ryouri wo tsukuranakereba ikenai to
omotteita anata ni.
iin desu.
“Otou-han” nara iin desu!
Kantan ni, tema o kakezu,
tashou mitame ga warukutemo oishikereba,
Sore ga “otou-han”.
Oishii to ittekureru, kazoku no egao wo mite
mimasenka!!
Jibun jishin ni o atarashii hakken ga aru kamo...

food
**Dadfood
begins!**

To you who, up until now, thought he couldn't cook,
and to you who thought that only magnificent cooking
was good enough.
It's fine.
If it's “Dad-food” it's fine!
Easily, and without much time or effort,
as long as it's delicious even if it doesn't look great,
that's “Dad-food”.
Won't you look at your smiling family as they tell you
it's delicious!!
And maybe you'll discover something new for
yourself..

(Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office | “‘Otouhan’ hajimeyou” campaign)

(Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office | “Let's begin ‘Dadfood’” campaign)

The English page officially calls this campaign “Get Dads Cooking,” which is decidedly less clumsy than a more literal translation. For comparison, the official English introduction to the campaign reads as follows:

What's Get Dads Cooking?

- Simple, easy but tasty meals that help men overcome the psychological hurdles of cooking for the family.

Emotional hurdles men face when cooking for the family

- - I don't have the knowledge or experience to cook well
- - I have to cook nutritionally balanced food
- - I have to make it look appetizing and well presented
- - I have to make wonderful food
- - The food I've cooked in the past didn't go down well with the family

(Get Dads Cooking | Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office)

There is some irony that while the restaurant industry is dominated by male chefs, the average man does little cooking. This may be due to the tendency for men doing something denotes a craft, as in

the creative displays in the foodie world, but women doing the same thing is a matter of necessity and thus mundane.

In the Kansai dialect, “s” sounds may become unvoiced, and the honorific marker “~*san*(Mr./Ms.~)” is famously pronounced “~*han*.” “*Okaasan* [Mother]” becomes “*Okaahan*,” and “*Otousan*,” “*Otouhan*.” The reference to this feature of Kansai dialect is completed in the rules below, when addressing any “*Okaahan* [Mother]” who might be reading the page. In addition to this nod to the Kansai dialect, the “han” in this case is written using the *kanji* character “*meshi*(food),” made possible by the rich Japanese writing system. Most characters have several possible readings, and the copywriter took advantage of *furigana*, the desired phonetic reading written above *kanji* in small characters. The “*Otouhan*” blend occurs on both the linguistic and conceptual level, distinguishing “*Otouhan*” from any other kind of food. As mentioned on the official English page, this is perhaps to protect men’s egos as they take some (likely shaky) steps into the domestic realm. In addition, marking this type of cooking as being for dads, and thus masculine, may make it seem more appealing.

The ad asserts that “If it’s ‘Dad-food’ it’s fine!” but the implication is that other food (mom-food) is not fine “even if it doesn’t look great,” leaving the double standard intact. By using just a bit of the existing gender ideology may serve to increase the audience’s comfort level, therefore improving the chances of real social change.

The “*Otouhan* Instructions” and “Get Dads Cooking Rulebook” states that the cooking is to be “Quick,” “Easy,” “Use reasonable ingredients,” and “Use available seasonings at home,” which is useful information for anyone looking to start cooking at home. These rules are less for the reader, and more for whoever provides the particular recipes, which focus on ease and practicality.

Otouhan no Kokoroe

- Hitotsu, tebayaku
- Hitotsu, kantan ni
- Hitotsu, riizunaburu na shokuzai de
- Hitotsu, ie no choumiryou wo tsukau
- Hitotsu, atokatadzuke wa saigo made

The Get Dads Cooking Rulebook

- Quick
- Easy
- Use reasonable ingredients
- Use available seasonings at home
- Clean up properly after cooking

Otouhan,
Mimamottete ne, Okaahan

Moms, please encourage your budding Get
Cooking Dads!

(Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office | “Otouhan’ no Kokoroe”)

(Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office | “Get Dads Cooking Rulebook”)

The rule to “Clean up properly after cooking” is of a somewhat different nature from the others, as it shifts responsibility from the recipe writer to the reader, the prospective cook. The writer of the site then proceeds to take a friendly jab at men in general for their tendency to not clean up after cooking. The overall lighthearted, humorous style continues the lighthearted, humorous atmosphere that is commonly associated with Kansai dialect.

The rules for the English version is more or less a direct translation of the Japanese, but the note at the end, “Moms, please encourage your budding Get Cooking Dads!” is has a slightly different nuance. The verb “*mimamoru* (keep an eye on)” is made up of the characters “*mi{ru}*⁴⁶ (to see)” and “*mamo{ru}* (to protect),” and may be more hands on than the English “encourage,” which primarily involves the use of words. In combination with the conjugation “*~tete* (keep doing) “*ne* (okay?)” it is in an informal and casual request, affectionately suggesting that the moms should expect the cooking dad to need help. This is not a special case, and is true for anyone starting to learn a new skill. The intention was likely to acknowledge any moms in the readership, who presumably do all of the cooking (and shopping, as hinted at by “**available** seasonings at home”) at the moment, but going much further than this may actually perpetuate the bumbling dad stereotype of men being useless around the home.

Because the “*han* (food)” in “*Otouhan*” is expressed in *kanji* it can be interpreted as representing either the “*Otouhan* (Father)” or the result of his cooking. “*Okaahan* (Mother)” is represented in only *hiragana* phonetic characters, clearly standing for the person who holds that position in the family.

⁴⁶ {} denotes the okurigana, or the phonetic characters that typically accompany a *kanji* character when the traditional Japanese pronunciation, rather than one based on Chinese, is used.

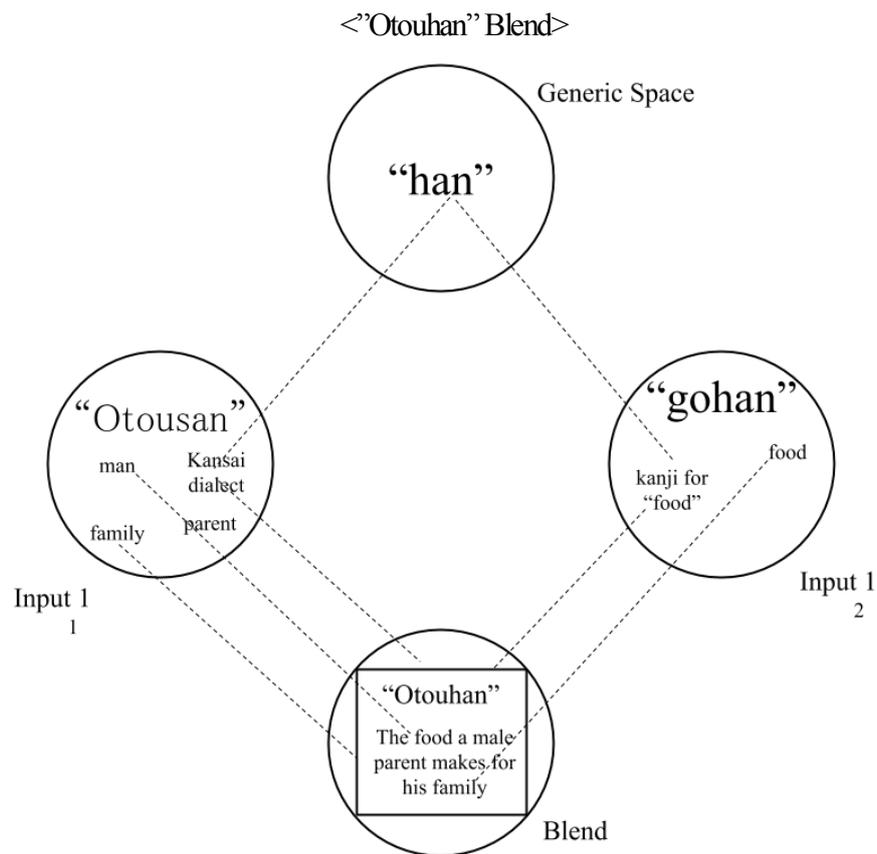


Figure 4-4

(Tynes 2017c :52)

Binary gender ideology is so deeply ingrained in our thinking that cooking done by dads is conceptualized as being fundamentally different than that done by moms, even in this campaign that pushes for gender equality. While awareness of how the reader will accept the ad is important, the possibility of confirming existing gender ideology, thus becoming a hurdle down the line, is worth remembering. Likely more important, however, is the necessity to build upon societal cognition as it is now. Even if every step of progress is not a perfect one, each factor of discrimination can be dismantled bit by bit. As discussed above, suddenly introducing radically different concepts into society may be less likely to be accepted into the mainstream, which may be why blending could be a useful strategy in category extension. Although there are prototypical differences between “*Otouhan* (dadfood)” and what Mom would make, but they are both presented as examples of the category of “food.” If successful, the image of “food” for the individual reader, and thus within any social group they belong to, may expand to include this new concept.

<<“Oudouhan (Dadfood)” as an Extension of the Food Category>>

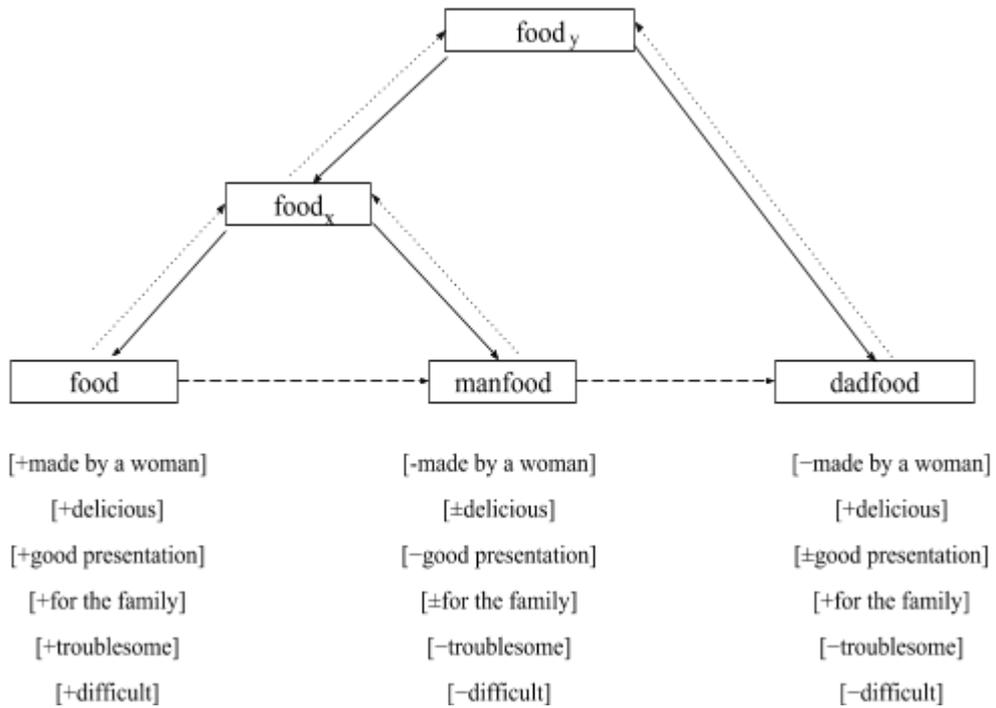


Figure 4-5

(Tynes 2017c :53)

The following example is a campaign by another Japanese governmental organization, its website linked to the previous one. Like “*Oudouhan*,” this movement encourages men to take a more equal part of domestic responsibilities, traditionally relegated to the feminine sphere. The “*Ikumen Project*” encourages men to actively take part in childcare, starting by exercising their right to paternity leave.

<“Ikumen Project” Symbol>

育てる男が、家族を変える。社会が動く。



Figure 4-6

(Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare | Ikumen Project)

The above mark is yet another example of the rich and flexible Japanese writing system. “*Ikumen*” is comprised of the character “*iku* [nurture]” and English “men.” The use of *kanji* gives a masculine impression⁴⁷. “Men” is expressed in both all capital roman letters and *katakana* phonetic characters. As *katakana*, the reader is more likely to make a connection between “*Ikumen*” and the compliment “*Ikemen* [handsome guy],” especially because of the similarity in shape between “*ku*” and “*ke*.” “*Ikemen*” is a common word that exclusively describes men, strongly activating the masculine domain.

The text at the top reads “*Sodateru otoko ga kazou wo kaeru. Shakai ga ugoku* [Men who nurture change their families. Society moves].” The verbs “change” and “move” in connection with childcare play a pulling the concept of childcare from the passive, feminine domain into a more active role, one more befitting of masculinity. In order for men to actually take their paternity leave, thus being at home taking care of an infant rather than going to a job outside of the home, it must be understood as being of their caliber rather than “women’s work.” The conceptualization of child rearing as an act that changes society could bolster men’s confidence enough to challenge a possibly less than friendly work culture.

The “*Ikumen Project*” advertisements feature cartoon samurai, a symbol of a nostalgic type of masculinity that no longer exists in the modern world. The official Twitter posts are written to

⁴⁷ Because *hiragana* is also known as women’s characters, the use of *hiragana* is more likely to leave an impression of femininity.

include the sentence final “~*degozaru* [is],” which commonly marks samurai speech in the media, as opposed to the standard “*desu*,” for example. The following is an official Twitter post from December 4th, 2017 announcing award-winning supervisors who facilitate paternity leave.

“Ikubosu Awaado 2017” Tokubetsu Shoureshou jushousha, Daiwa Lease no Takagane Tomohisa-san. Eigyoushiku no dansei buka no ikuji kyuugyou shutoku o sekkyokuteki ni atooshi shi, sapooto shita **degozaru**. Kuwashii torikumi naiyou wa <http://urx.red/GFP2> no 10 peeji me wo chekku suru **degozaru**.

“Iku-boss Award 2017” Honorable Mention recipient, Mr. Tomohisa Takagane of Daiwa Lease. He actively encourages and supports male employees in sales positions to take childcare leave. For more details about his efforts, check page ten of <http://urx.red/GFP2>.

(Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare | Ikumen Project, emphasis added)

Making use of the super-masculine image of a warrior allows the campaign to evoke a sense of masculinity, tempering the femininity usually associated with childcare. The reader imagines a different type of masculinity, classier and more honorable than that expressed by the word-endings “*ze*” or “*zo*,” which is typically considered to be modern Japanese men’s language⁴⁸.

4.3.2 American Fatherhood Campaigns

Similarly to the *Otouhan* campaign above, there are many organizations that campaign for fathers to play a more active role in their families. Focus is largely placed on the concept of strength, a major factor of masculinity. Even the names of the groups foreground the manliness that is involved in caring for one’s children and home, making participation in what is often regarded as women’s work more palatable for men.

The National Responsible Fatherhood Clearinghouse, a government organization, declares on their front page that “Some superheroes don’t wear capes. They are called Dad!” While seemingly more subdued in their appeal to masculinity than other organizations examined in this section, strength of fathers is a goal of the organization.

The goals of the National Responsible Fatherhood Clearinghouse (NRFC) are to provide, facilitate, and disseminate current research, proven and innovative strategies

⁴⁸ The overtly manly Japanese represented by these word forms cannot be used in every situation because it typically expresses a rough type of masculinity (Nakamura 2014).

that will encourage and strengthen fathers and families, and providers of services via the following priorities:

(National Responsible Fatherhood Clearinghouse)

Strength and heroism, central features of masculinity, are common themes throughout the examples in this section. Through masculine discourse, organizations invite the audience to consider the traditionally feminine tasks of childcare and housework as masculine, hopefully allowing men to participate without shame.

The Fatherhood Project is another organization that encourages paternal involvement, whose “mission is to improve the health and well-being of children and families by empowering fathers to be knowledgeable, active, and emotionally engaged with their children (The Fatherhood Project | Connecting fathers and children).” The concept of empowerment as a marker of masculinity is, again, consistent with the existing gender ideology.

Strong Fathers Strong Families is, as the name implies, ties the strength of the father in particular to the strength of the family as a whole, building off of and perhaps strengthening the conceptualized necessity of a parent who displays the qualities of hegemonic masculinity. The idea that strength is primarily connected with masculinity implies that without a masculine figure a family is weak. This functions to bolster the sense of importance of the job of fatherhood, and why a mother or other non-masculine parental figure is insufficient. Traditionally feminine tasks are, even now, seen as being less important or less challenging, and thus below the man of the house. If parental responsibilities are conceptualized as something that women are assumed to be better at, such as nurturing, men will not likely feel as compelled to participate than if it is something that requires traits associated with men, especially strength.

Drive, whether that in a car, of a ball, with a golf club, or drive as in motivation, is easily placed in the realm of masculinity. The Drive to Five fatherhood campaign does have lexical features of male-oriented media, as exemplified in the technical language used in the subtitle, “A Campaign to **Equip** Dads for **Maximum Performance** through the 0-5 Years,” but it also includes nuanced concepts of “informed conversation, evidence based practices, effective engagement and a positive narrative of fatherhood” in the mission statement.

The importance of fathers is stressed in each campaign, with fathers conceptualized as the leaders, and perhaps most important member of, their families. All Pro Dad is particularly interesting organization, in that it connects fatherhood with professional sports. The symbol is a football passing through a ring, while the symbol of the pair site, iMom, is an abstract drawing of a parent and child, the arms of the parent being in the shape of a heart. Motherhood is conceptualized as love and nurturing, while fatherhood is associated with winning. All Pro Dad is associated with the National Football League, with its symbol appearing across the site, and NFL spokesmen who “realize the true victory in life is not on a scoreboard, but is measured by the love and honor of their children.” The “Dad Quotes” section of the page features quotes about strength, integrity, and self improvement. Each of the quotes are superimposed on a picture, a popular style for social media posts. The following are just a few examples.

- A father’s job is not only to PROTECT & PROVIDE but also to LOVE & LEAD. - MarkMerril.com
- Don’t fear risk life is an adventure, not a dress rehearsal. -Tony Dungy
- “Commit to the things that have deeper value than what the world says - Tony Dungy”
- “You don’t raise heroes, you raise sons. And if you treat them like sons, they’ll turn out to be heroes, even if it’s just in your own eyes. - Walter M. Schirra, Sr.”

(Dad Quotes - All Pro Dad: All Pro Dad)

Parenting, when done by a man, becomes manly, with concepts of victory, adventure, and integrity. These campaigns, whether from a government or nonprofit organization, use a conceptual metaphor as fatherhood as a heroic role, with some campaigns overtly using the word “hero.” Note that “heroes” is exclusive to men, as not all children, but only sons are raised to be heroes.

While the Dad Quotes section consists of quotes from mostly football players, but also astronauts, authors, and other manly men, the equivalent page on iMom, the site for mothers, is much lighter in content, and largely lacking a concrete source. See the following for comparison:

- Every mother is a working mother
- If you want to be a good mom, You must be a kind mom

- Let Him Talk Without Interrupting
- Choose the pretty nightgown over the flannel PJ's even when it's cold
- Say "yes"

(Mom Quotes - iMom)

Women are instructed to be kind, submissive, and sexy, no matter how tired or busy they are, which is consistent with the traditional expectations of gender ideology. The bar is set so low for men, that they must be encouraged to spend time with their offspring, while women are assumed to be taking on all of the household duties whether she works outside of the home or not. The sites complement each other in that men are encouraged to step into what they may consider a feminine space, by spending time with their children, while women are encouraged to be hyper-feminine and make their men feel like men. While sharing parental responsibilities gender roles are maintained in other ways, thus protecting fragile masculinity.

Both All Pro Dad and iMom are produced by the same organization, Family First, and promote more involvement on the father's part, they do it without challenging the existing framework of gender ideology. By reframing parental involvement as manly or womanly, depending on the audience, there is less offense to people and less chance to undermine their value system, reducing the need of a paradigm shift in creating concrete change.

In the article, The opening paragraph is as follows:

Most CEOs have certain management responsibilities. As CEO of your family, part of your responsibility is to manage your children well. A father has to have a manager mindset. Let me illustrate. How do you handle management at the office? You probably meet regularly with those who report directly to you and spend time training them. Your goal is to train them so well that they'll be able to take your job one day and hopefully do an even better job than you did. That's what we should want as fathers too.

(All Pro Dad 4 Essentials in Being the Family Leader: All Pro Dad)

By likening their roles as parents in the household, the domain of women, to the workplace, and particularly to a position of power they may or may not actually have in the workplace, elevates the task of raising children from a less important feminine task to a markedly masculine one. The

language of not only work, but an honorable position, combined with liberal use of sports metaphors, such as the advice to “Enlist your spouse to pinch hit for you,” two masculine frames, sports and business, are activated. An abundance of masculine imagery backgrounds the assumed femininity of spending time with children, and conceptually offers a level of respect that he may not get in his workplace outside of the home.

Each organization may lean more towards conservative (with appeal to the natural order) or liberal (empowerment and vulnerability) in their framing, and the group which responds to it will differ accordingly. With the right metaphors, of both fairness and protection, an organization can appeal to those who have either the nurturant parent or strict father value system. These moral frameworks can be considered as matter of degree, especially on the part of the media makers, with the far right having an extreme strict father mentality, with little room to reassign traditional gender roles, and the far left perhaps rejecting them altogether.

4.3.3 Women in Science and Technology

The Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office supports campaigns that encourage people in making choices that may challenge the ideology-based beliefs of what women and men should and shouldn't do, as well as strengths and weaknesses that are believed to be a result of their inherent characteristics. The following are excerpts from the “*RikoChare*” campaign website. As apparent in the banner linking to the website, “*RikoChare*” is shortened from “*Rikou Charenji*” or “Science and Technology Challenge,” which is a campaign that promotes events to encourage women to get interested in and try out work in fields that girls are expected to find difficult. “*Rikou*” is made up of the characters for logic and work/engineering, concepts generally associated with masculinity. The image character is named “*Riko-chan*,” spelled out in *katakana*, which, without the use of *kanji* characters, sounds like a common girl's name, plus the diminutive and affectionate “*-chan*.” Spelling the intimidating *kanji* word out in *katakana* softens the impression, while the female character is likely an attempt to feminize the masculine concept.

The abbreviation is formed by taking the first two syllables of each word, which is a common way to shorten phrases into words, especially among young people and in media targeted towards a younger audience (ex. “*PureMoru*” in Chapter 5). The shorter, catchier name makes it

incomprehensible without explanation, but is novel and easy to say in conversation, which makes it easy to travel by word of mouth. By backgrounding the meaning, both the difficult-sounding subjects and the concept of putting in a lot of effort, and feminizing the concept it removes some of the initial mental barriers to considering science or technology related activities, making it more approachable overall.

Josei ga samazama na bunya ni charenji shiteiku koto ni yori, tayou na shiten ya hassou ga kuwawari, katsuryoku aru ikiki to shita shakai no jitsugen ga kitai sareteimasu.

When women challenge all of the different fields, they contribute diverse points of view and ways of thinking, and give hope for the realization of a society that is vibrant and full of life.

Shikashi, rikoukei bunya ni kyouni ga aru hitotachi no naka ni wa, "josei ga sukunai to kikukeredo, yatteikeru kana" "kekkonshitari ikuji shitari suru toki ni kenkyuu tsudzukerareru ka fuan" to omotteiru hito mo iru kamoshiremasen. Mata, "donna kenkyuu o shite, donna shigoto ni tsunagete ikeba yoi no darou" to shourai no imeeji o motenai hito mo iru kamoshiremasen.

However, among the people interested in science and technology related fields, there may be people who think "I hear that there are few women, so I wonder if I can do it" or "I'm worried about whether I can continue my research when I get married or raise children." Otherwise, they might have trouble imagining the future, and think "I wonder what kind of research I should do, and what kind of work to connect it to."

Sonna anata wa, daigaku ya kigyoo nado samazama na "RikoChare Ouen Dantai" no mite kiite taikendekiru, tanoshii ibento ni ashi o hakonde mite kudasai. Soshite, rikokei bunya de katsuyaku shiteiru senpaitachi no kokorozuyoi hanashi o kiite mite kudasai.

If that's you, get yourself to one of the fun events for "RikoChare Support Squad" held at your university or company, where you can see, listen, and experience. Also, please try listening to enheartening talks by your seniors⁴⁹ who are active in science and technology fields.

Mirai no yume ni mukatte, zehi, yuuki no aru charenji o!

Don't hesitate to go for your dreams with a courageous challenge!

Naikakufu Danjo Kyodou Sanka Kyoku wa, anata no yume o ouen shiteimasu.

The Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office is supporting your dreams.

(What is "RikoChare" | The Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office)

⁴⁹ This "senior" is someone who came before, and is the more experienced party of a "junior" and "senior" relationship. Schools and workplaces generally operate with an awareness of this seniority-based hierarchy.

The text, as would be expected from the kind of organization it is, presents women as active agents in their lives, but acknowledges the unfriendly social climate. Marriage and childrearing is an expected barrier to research, that women's careers are of less priority than her marriage partner's is assumed, and requires no explanation.

The inner, honest, just-us-girls voice of the potential future researcher uses the informal and familiar masculine sentence endings, "*darou*" and "*kana*," effectively making her linguistic ally bare-faced. The writer may have decided against more feminine turns of phrase, like the feminine "*da-wa*" the beautifying "*o*," which would enhance femininity but reduce the authenticity that male speech affords. It is not deemed necessary in this case, and could possibly create a humorous caricature, as classic features of women's language tend to give an impression of frivolity or lack of authority, which would clash with the frank tone of discussion and make it less likely for women to consider it seriously. Even in media targeting women and encouraging them to enter masculine spaces, marking femininity is not always judged to be the best strategy. This example is in contrast to some others, especially those inviting men to perform behaviors associated with femininity, in which masculinity is foregrounded. This difference is likely because of the unequal power balance of women and men; manliness, associated with superiority, is a positive quality in convincing men to do something. Women, who are socialized to believe that femininity is something that they should but don't have, and must learn, paint on, or otherwise convince the world that they do, in fact, possess. Femininity, according to gender ideology, is not something that describes women but is prescribed to women, and it is unusual that women's language, a learned manner of speaking, would feel less than authentic to the speaker herself.

Other government programs encourage women to join fields that are more typically associated with masculinity than femininity. The following is the description of the project logo for Farm Girl Project⁵⁰.

Nougyou joshi-tachi ga, hibi mukuatteiru We used the map codes for the vegetable and

⁵⁰ While these women are working grown-ups, past the stage in life which "girls" really seems appropriate, "*joshi*" made up of the character for woman and the character for child, is a common marker for women's things.

hatake ya tanbo, kajuen nado no chizu
kigou o mochiite sokode hataraku kanojo-
tachi no kirakira kagayaku taiyou no you
na enerugii, josei dokuji no shiten de
atarashii kachi o umidashiteiku enerugii, o
imeeji shimashita.

rice fields, and groves that farm girls take on.
and the sparkling energy, like the sun, that
shines from the women who work there,
and imagined their uniquely feminine point
of view, and that energy gives life to new
value.

(Nougyou Joshi PJ)

This description is based on the idea that women have a special power or way of thinking by virtue of their femininity, consciousness further enhanced by the word “*umidasu*” which means to create or bring forth, written as a combination of the characters to give birth and push out, something only biological females can do. While women, as an undervalued and underrepresented group of people, likely do have different thought processes from those of men of the dominant group, this can be said for members of other marginalized groups as well. The difference in thought is, as discussed by Hooks (1982) and other intersectional feminist scholars, cumulative, and dependent on that person’s experience both as an individual and part of the groups they belong to (or are believed they belong to). Not all women think in a specific womanly way, but they may, indeed, be forced to develop different skills and learn to use the resources afforded to them in a society that treats them as different and less than.

4.3.4 Gender Politics and Capitalism

There are several instances of, because of the nature of the producer creating a dual motivation behind it, extremely difficult to place media. The following are advertisements that do not offer a particular product, but sell an idea that directly challenges gender roles in the current political climate. The use of social media, especially the distinctive hashtag⁵¹ (#), can mark a linguistic act as political, even when it is part of an advertising campaign. This strategy can be thought to form solidarity with members of the target market by conceptualizing the characters in the advertisement, or the company itself, as a partner in a movement. The following is the displayed text from a Procter and Gamble commercial titled “P&G #WeSeeEqual.”

⁵¹ The hashtag (#) is a topic marker used on the internet, especially on social media platforms. They are added to text to mark a specific opinion, point of view, or subject. In #blacklivesmatter

Hugs don't care who give them.
Equations don't care who solve them.
Tears don't care who cry them.
Science doesn't care who studies it.
Diapers don't care who change them.
Butts don't care who kick them.
Households don't care who head them.
Fears don't care who conquer them.
Love doesn't care who gives it.
Equal pay doesn't care who demands it.

At P&G #WeSeeEqual

Always

Ariel

Pampers

Pantene

SK-II

Secret

P&G

#WeSeeEqual

(Procter & Gamble, 2017/03/01)

The text is displayed, interspersed with videos of people acting in ways outside of gender norms, such as men engaged in childcare and girls participating in math and science. The slogan and hashtag, “#WeSeeEqual,” ties together the previous text and aligns the company with feminist, social justice ideals. “We” creates a dichotomy, setting the company apart from the “they” that is part of creating, or at least not actively fixing, the problem of inequality. Even though the ad in itself is not interactive, the presence of a hashtag encourages viewers to post on social media, which is, in effect, free advertising. In related campaigns for other products, P&G reinforces its stance as a company concerned with social justice by encouraging consumers that “A girl’s beauty confidence

starts with you (Dove),” and that “Care makes a man stronger (Dove Men+Care).” See Chapter 5 for a discussion of advertisements for individual products.

Japan is notorious for being hard for women to work after having children, the expectation being that they quit their jobs and become stay at home mothers, especially when children are young. The expectation is so ingrained that the positions open to women, as well as those available after returning from maternity leave, are limited. Scarcity of childcare services is widely cited in making it difficult for women to return to their careers. While women are being highly educated and are skilled in their fields, there are still very few in managerial positions, despite the government’s supposed efforts.

While companies cannot be the end all and be all of social change, there is potential for them to use their influence as organizations. In the case of women having difficulty returning to work after maternity leave, because success is largely dependent on the work environment, companies may actually have the most power to incite change, especially when the government’s action proves insufficient.

As discussed earlier in this dissertation, the media types discussed can be difficult to separate at times, because of the overlap in either content or provider. While companies most definitely have financial gain as a motivation, even as they go about participating in activism or promoting social justice work, the examples included in this chapter, rather than Chapter 5, are not associated with a particular product or service, though it undoubtedly has an effect on the potential customer base.

The following is a public service announcement for Women Will Japan, a branch of the campaign to support women in work in several different countries, led by Google. It is based on the idea that the wellbeing of women is a marker of the wellbeing of a country or community. The video and project description is as follows.

Anata ni dekiru koto o, hajimeyou.
<http://www.womenwill.com/japan>

Let’s start what you can do.
<http://www.womenwill.com/japan>

Google Women Will Project no katsudou de aru #HappyBackToWork wa, “josei ga hataraki-yasuku naru” tame no minna no koe ya aidea o atsume, sapootaa kigyoudantai to tomo ni katachi ni shite

The Google Women Will Project campaign #HappyBackToWork is an effort that collects everyone’s voices and ideas, then works with supporter businesses and organizations to help them take shape, so that “women can work

iku torikumi desu. Jissen no wa o hirogete, josei ya kodomo no iru hito dake de naku, minna ga hataraki-yasui shakai o mezashite imasu.

more easily.” By expanding the the circle of practice, we aim for a society that is easier for everyone to work, not just women or people with children.

(Google Japan Women Will Japan:

"Everyone’s Voices Take Shape #HappyBackToWork (Long ver.)”)

This particular video is made up of segments of several interviews, introducing the strategies some companies are using to make the transition back to work after maternity leave more successful for both women and children. By examining the language used to promote this campaign, it becomes possible to analyze the expectations of women with children and the social conceptualization of motherhood and a woman’s role as a parent. Even in a liberal campaign such as this one, gender ideology, with its different expectations for male and female parents, is still apparent in the language.

Speaker	Romanized Audio	Romanized Text	Translated Audio	Translated Text
		womenwill Google		womenwill Google
		Kodomo ga umaretara shigoto o yametes himau josei 62%		Women who (unfortunately) quit their jobs when their child is born 62%
		Mama ni nattemo katei no soto de yakuwari o mochtai 71%		I want to have a role outside of the home even if I become a mom. 71%
		Nihon wa, hataraku mama o ouen shitekureru shakai da to omou 38%		I think that Japan is a society that supports working moms. 38%
		Hataraku mama no tame ni, nani ga dekiru darou.		We should be able to do something for working moms.
		#HappyBackToWork		#HappyBackToWork
		Mama datte, furutaimu		Mom wants to work

Woman 1	Mawari no menbaa to onaji ryou de shigoto ga dekinai tte koto wa moushiwakenai natte kimochi ga zutto arunde,	de hatarakitai # HappyBackToWork	I've been feeling bad about not being able to do the same amount of work as the other members all along,	full time, too # HappyBackToWork
	ma, nayami wa arimasu kedo, ima wa tanoshii desu ne.	Kabushiki-gaisha NTT Dokomo Teiki o zurashite hataraku, suraido waaku dounyuu!	well, I do have troubles, but now is an enjoyable time.	NTT Docomo Corporation Introducing Slide Work, to work by shifting your fixed term!
Woman 2	Netsu ga attari suru to shoujou to ka ga shinpai ni naru no de	Kodomo ga netsu dashitara, sugu ni kaketsuketai # HappyBackToWork	When there's a fever or something I get worried about symptoms and such	I want to rush right over when my child has a fever. # HappyBackToWork
	Denwa o moratte 5fun inai ni kaketsukerareru no de, chikaku ni ite sugoi anshinkan ga arimasu shi.	Rakuten Kabushiki-gaisha Shanai takujisho, hajimeteimasu	I can rush over within 5 minutes of getting called, and I feel so secure when I'm close by.	Rakuten Corporation We are starting in-company nurseries
Man 1	Kaeri-dzurai toka, yasumi-dzurai toka	BEAMS Nabatame Noboru	Being hard to go home, or hard to take days off	BEAMS Noboru Nabatame
	nanka soiu ga nai you na kankyou-dzukuri ga daiji [no ka na] omoimasu ne.	Joushi Nabatame Noboru Kaeru toki no "sumimasen" wa, mou yameyou	I think it's [probably] important to make an environment so that doesn't	Boss Noboru Nabatame Let's finally stop that "I'm sorry" when going home

			happen.	
		Kodomo ni okaerinasai o itte agetai #HappyBackToWork		I want to say welcome home to my children #HappyBackToWork
Woman 3	Nao!		Nao!	
	Musume mo iru no de, minagara oshigoto ga dekiru toiu no wa arigatai kankyou desu	Kabushiki-gaisha Popinzu Zaitaku kinmu o atarimae ni	I also have a daughter, so I am grateful to be in an environment that I can watch her as I work.	Poppins Co. Ltd. Normalizing working from home
Woman 4	Hataraku mama ga tokubetsu na sonzai janakunaru to iina to omoimasu.	Douryou Sakagami Risa Kansougeikai, yoru de wa naku ranchi ni!	I think it would be nice if working moms are no longer a special presence.	Coworker Risa Sakagami Welcome and farewell parties for lunch instead of at night!
Woman 5	Yappari iraira shiteiru to		Of course when I'm irritated	
	Yappa Minna ni tsutawarunde.	Oishikkusu Kabushiki-gaisha Isogashii toki wa, ganbaranakutemo ii bangohan	Of course since it's transmitted to everyone	Oisix Co. Ltd. Dinner without much effort for busy times
	Itadakimasu!		Let's eat!	
	Watashi ga nikoniko shitenai to	Umino Mami (musuko 1-sai)	If I'm not smiling then...	Mami Umino (1 year old son)
Man 2	Yasumi no jikan o tsukutte ageru no mo daiji kana to omoimasu ne.	Mama no kyuuujitsu o tsukutte agetai	I think it's probably important to make time	I want to make a day off for Mom

		# HappyBackToWork	off for her.	# HappyBackToWork
		Papa Murata Ken Tsuki ni ichido wa, papako tabi!		Dad Ken Murata Dad and kid trips once a month!
Man 3	“Tesudaoukka” toiu toka	Housou Sakka Suzuki Osamu	Saying things like “should I help?”	Broadcast Novelist Osamu Suzuki
	ikuji to [ikushi] ni taishite okusan ga yaru toiu zentei de, danna-san ga sanku suru toiu ka.	Kaji wa "tetsudau" mon ja nai # HappyBackToWork	and assuming that in terms of childrearing and [parenting] it's the wife who does it and the husband joins in.	Housework isn't something you "help with" # HappyBackToWork
	Hontou wa shea suru toiu ka, issho ni yaru mon da to omoun desu yo ne.	Papa Suzuki Osamu Kaji shea, hajimemashita!	I think it's really something that you share, that you do together.	Dad Osamu Suzuki Started sharing chores!
	Kouiu seikatsu miteinai to, nani o yatte hoshii ka to ka, doushite hoshii ka, to igai to wakaranai	Kabushiki-gaisha Howaito Purasu Papa o sentaku-jouzu ni suru, sentaku gaido bukku	If you're not watching during life, what she wants you to do or how, is harder to understand than you think.	White Plus Co. Ltd. Laundry guidebook to make Dad good at laundry!
Woman 6	Jibun no tokui tte ryouri da toka	ABC Cooking Studio Sakao Yuuki	I'm really good at cooking or something	ABC Cooking Studio Yuuki Sakao

	kidzakeru you na, yappari ba ga nai na to omotteiru no de. De watashitachi wa	Ryouru ga mama dake ga suru mono janai #HappyBackToWork	I think there's really no place to realize that. And we	Cooking isn't something that only Mom does #HappyBackToWork
	oryouri o yaru kikkake teiu tokoro okyoushitsu kara hasshin shiteikitai na to omotteimasu.	Kabushiki-gaisha ABC Cooking Studio Papa no tame no ryouri kyoushitsu, kaisai	want to generate chances to cook starting with the classroom.	ABC Cooking Studio Co. Ltd. Now open, a cooking classroom for Dad
Woman 7	Kosodate no senpai no kata ni kiite, naruhodo tte, ano, kaiketsu suru koto	Kabushiki-gaisha As MAMA Chiiki de kosodate shiyuu.	Sometimes asking more experienced parents, I get it, um, and the answer to things	As MAMA Co. Ltd. Let's raise children as a community.
	mo attari desu toka	Ishii Yuuko	can be found there sometimes	Yuuko Ishii
		Kabushiki-gaisha San- etsu Isetan San-etsu Ginza-ten Papa no kosodate o kakkoyoku		San-etsu Isetan Co. Ltd. San-etsu Ginza store Make Dad's parenting cool
		Tokyo Kyuukou Dentetsu Kabushiki- gaisha Urukamu bebii! Yuzuriai sharyou, unkouchuu		Tokyo Express Railway Co. Ltd. Welcome baby! Priority cars, in service
		Kabushiki-gaisha beazu Osouji gifuto de, mama o deeto ni		Bears Co. Ltd. Take Mom on a date with a cleaning gift!
		Tenpu Sutaffu Kabushiki-gaisha Mama no tame no, fukushoku seminaa		Temp Staff Co. Ltd. Back to work seminar for moms

		Toukai Ryokuyaku Tetsudou Kabushiki- gaisha Mama ga tsukarenai kazoku ryokou o		Central Japan Railway Company A family vacation that doesn't tire Mom out
		Nifuti Kabushiki- gaisha Oyayori seiri apuri, tsukurimashita!		Nifty Co. Ltd. We made an app to organize correspondence!
		NPO Houjin Fathering Japan Papa ga kosodate shiyasui fun-iki o!		NPO Corporation Fathering Japan For a mood that makes parenting easy for Dad!
Man 3	Chichiue no senaka o miseru to wa iimasu kedo, musuko ni hahaoya no senaka o mitete hoshii. Sono Hahaoya ikiyou de, okaachan kakkouii na tte omowasetehoshii to omoimasu.		We say that dad shows his back, but I want my son to look at his mother's back. I want him to see how his mother lives and think, Mom is so cool.	
Woman 8	Nanka sore de ne	Rakuten Koizumi Akari	Well because of that	Rakuten Akari Koizumi
	kodomo ga shourai, jibun mo hatarakitaina to iu fuu ni itte moraetara "uwaa" sugiru janai deshou ka ne.		if my kid says, in the future I want to work too, I guess it wouldn't be too "whoa."	
		Hataraku mama o ouen suru koe ga, tsugitsugi to katachi ni natteimasu.		The voices that cheer for working moms, are taking shape one after another.

		Anata no koe ga, shakai o kaete iku		Your voice, goes on to change society.
		Anata ni dekiru koto o, hajimeyou #HappyBackToWork		Let's start what you can do. #HappyBackToWork
		womenwill Google		womenwill Google
		Kono haru, fukushoku suru mama o ouen suru #HappyBackToWork WEEKS 2016 womenwill.com/japan		This spring, cheer for/support moms returning to work #HappyBackToWork WEEKS 2016 womenwill.com/japan

(Google 2016)

The first segment of text uses the percentage of affirmative answers to survey questions describe the harsh situation for women in Japan who want to work. The verb “*yameru*” is conjugated with “*teshimau*,” expressing an unfortunate feeling⁵².

This first woman seems to speak in a rather informal speech, polite because of the “*desu/masu*” sentence endings, but not marked as particularly feminine. She does make her conclusion with “*ne*,” which is somewhat feminine marker, but the presence of a masculine “*na*” balances it to neutral. Just by seeing the text, one would not likely be able to tell the speaker’s gender. This lack of markedness of the speaker’s gender reflects natural, normal, everyday speech patterns in modern Japanese, giving an impression closer to a genuine conversation than mass media.

Woman 2’s speech is more feminine, using the hedges “*attari suru*” and “*toka*,” which expresses a lack of confidence and authority, softening the speaker’s assertion of the content. She concludes by trailing off with “*arimasushi*,” which implies that there is more to be said. Man 1 uses a similar speech pattern to Woman 2, with “*toka*” and “*ne*,” enhancing the perception of him as a gentle boss.

⁵²The “*teshimau*” conjugation may also express the completion of something, which, in this context would be “women who completely quit their jobs” or “women who quit their jobs altogether.”

Woman 3 beautifies work with “o” for a feminine and classy impression, which does uphold gender ideology, Woman 4 does not, and the individual differences are ultimately a reflection of real Japanese. What is more ideological is the idea that women must always be smiling, as is expressed by the fifth woman. She trails off, but it is clear that her and her lack of a smile would negatively affect the family. Smiling and irritation are presented as the only states of being, with nothing in between. The lack of smiling as a family problem is presented along with a semi-prepared meal service, as if the only reason a woman would be anything other than giddy is being too busy to cook a full course dinner. There is no mention of a partner, and there may not be one in the picture, but the expectation that she would have to cook an elaborate dinner, take care of an infant, and work, plus smile on top of that, is understandably irritating. On one hand, women are commonly believed to have more intense emotions than men, but we are also not forgiven for anything other than smiling.

The second father (Man 2), who has five screens worth of speech, more than anyone else⁵³, has a more informal style, only using “*desu/masu*” form a few times in his lengthy speech. His friendly manner while challenging other men who may not be sharing chores protects their masculinity by speaking as if to someone on the same level, rather than talking down. While his speech is friendly, the on-screen text that declares that “Housework isn’t something you ‘help with’” uses a rather accusatory “*mon ja nai*,” scolding or rebuking the viewer’s wrong thinking.

The on-screen text alternates between a polite speech-like style (“*Otayori seiri apuri, tsukurimashita!*”), abbreviated writing (“*Yuzuriai sharyou, unkouchuu!*”), and informal speech-like style (“*Mama datte, furutaimu de hatarakitai!*”), reflecting the imagined relationship to the viewer. While there are several instances of beautified language, there are no cases of more formal honorifics.

While, on one hand, the video declares that cleaning is not just something mothers do, and shares encouraging stories of paternal involvement, the standard is still set fairly low for

⁵³ The second most is the manager, another man, with four screens. As seen throughout this dissertation, men are consistently in the position, or position themselves, as authority figures, and explain, even in a traditionally feminine space. This particular father is rather famous, who’s visibility may be perceived as authority, thus giving more weight to his words and support of the campaign.

them. There is still a need for parenting to be seen as cool, hence the necessity to make it cool for dads with differently designed childcare goods. The makers seem conscious that they promote a dream that is still at odds with what most viewers would believe, adjusting the speech and text to achieve both positive reaction with potential with real life action.

As a whole, the women and men in the public sphere, bosses, speak in a gentle manner, through the use of hedging, and in some cases, the beautifying “o.” The returning mothers, as well as their bosses and coworkers give the impression of softness, effectively creating a blend of the hard, masculine association with working outside of the home and the gentleness expected of motherhood. Even while working, mothers can still perform their expected roles of welcoming their children home from school with a smile. The femininity of the women is preserved, and the environment seems accepting, making the campaign both inviting for women who might need it and palatable to those who may oppose it. Taking steps to protect gender ideology, and thus avoiding conflict with the existing value systems, while supporting concrete social change is a common strategy throughout this chapter.

The use of liberal, feminist ideas in marketing is, on one hand, beneficial in the sense of being exposure, increasing awareness of a particular social problem. By aligning themselves correctly and being on the right side of history, companies can be seen as benevolent, securing future customers. Johnston and Taylor (2008) are critical of feminist consumerism as a path to social change.

As with consumerism more generally (Sklair 2001, 5), feminist consumerism prioritizes commodity purchases above more ambitious goals such as decentering the role of beauty in women’s lives, processing negative emotions, or challenging men’s relationship with feminine beauty. As such, feminist consumerism tends to obscure and minimize both structural and institutionalized gender inequalities that are difficult to resolve and that might cause negative emotional associations with brands. Thus, from a marketing perspective, feminist consumerism makes business sense, operating as it does within a larger pattern of consumer culture that markets dissent to build brand loyalty and increase sales.”

(Johnston and Taylor 2008: 960-61)

While companies do have a platform on which to encourage or support social change, financial motivation means that entire process cannot be left to them. Even when progress is made, capitalistic gains are an underlying motivation. The company's survival ultimately depends on the ability to get and keep customers, even if only to support the social justice mission. Both the Google led Women Will campaign and the P&G #WeSeeEqual campaign were created by companies who stand to make a profit from taking a political angle. By presenting themselves as being on the right side of history they appeal to forward-thinking individuals, with campaigns improves their chances of being seen as doing good in the mind of people with an awareness of social justice.

Chapter 5

Marketing Discourse and Gender

Many Americans believe that we have already benefited from feminism and that it is no longer necessary to fight for the rights of women. More women choose to focus on their education and careers, which makes them an undeniable force in terms of buying power. Liberated women with an awareness of social justice are in stark contrast to the frailty dictated by traditional gender ideology, creating a clash between capitalism and patriarchal ideals.

This chapter analyzes the advertising and naming of the most concentrated and capitalism-driven form of media, advertisements and product naming, using cognitive linguistic methods of metaphor, prototype, and frame theories.

Tynes (2016a) includes a preliminary analysis of search results for men's and women's razors from the U.S. based Amazon.com and Japanese Amazon.co.jp sites. For what is essentially the same action, although what body parts are considered to have unwanted hair depends on gender, vastly different metaphors are used in product naming and product descriptions⁵⁴. Women's razors foregrounded shape and softness, and the roman goddess Venus in their naming, indicating a passive kind of sexuality for the adult women who would use the product. Men's razors appeared to be named using active language, based on metaphors of warriors or craftsmen. The prototypical ideal women are supposed to attain through hair removal is description of physical properties, while men are supposed to be satisfied by the craftsmanship of their razors. The tendency to describe women based on how they look or feel and men based on what he can do is evidence that the ideal feminine prototype is based on the male gaze and that women are still conceptualized as being for the consumption of others. Femininity and feminine attractiveness is presented as a description of

⁵⁴ **Women's:** *Goddess/Heaven-* Venus, Soleil, Divine. *Looks/Feel-* Swirl, Silk, Satin, curve, smooth, soft, contour, bi-hada (beautiful skin). *Nature of women-*Intuition, savvy. *Sensuality:* Embrace, Indulge (in reference to an obligation), Prepare.

Men's: *Fighting-*Samurai edge, ProShield, Protector. *Craftsmanship/Power tools-*Custom, Manual, Titanium, Silver. *Science:* Turbo, Mach, Fusion, Glide. *Other manliness-*EX, Extreme.

how it is experienced from the onlooker's perspective, how she pleases the people who see and touch her, while masculinity is more focused on agency and the man himself.

By way of this same hair removal process, by using a specific product women can become more feminine and men can become more masculine, or so we are led to believe. The reason we as a society can believe this largely without question is a result of gender ideology. Here we will use the commonly used Source-Path-Goal image schema to consider gender ideology.

<Source-Path-Goal Image Schema and Gender Ideology>

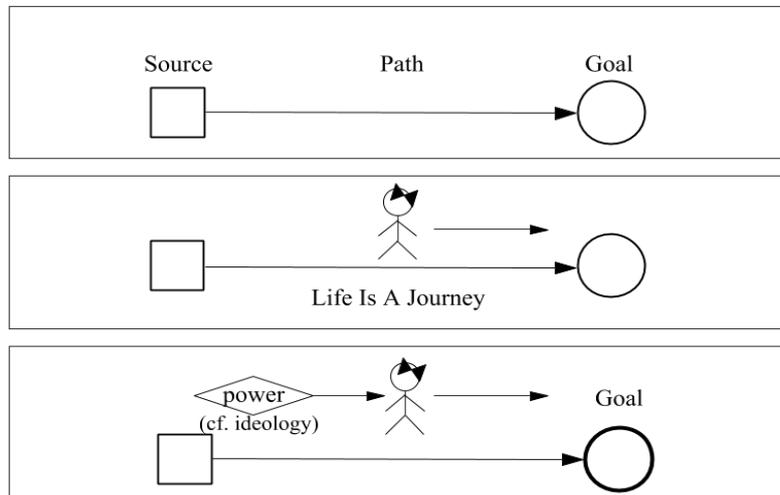


Figure 5-1

<Gender Ideology and Appropriate Gender Goals>

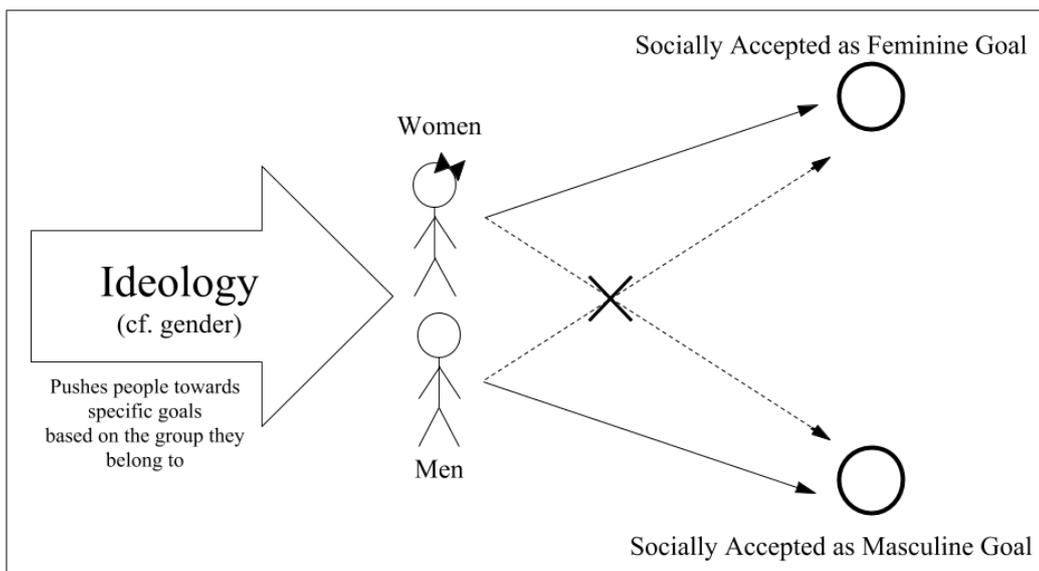


Figure 5-2

Even in the case of someone with relative privilege to do so, going along life's path of one's own accord is also highly influenced by external forces such as gender ideology. Source-Path-Goal can represent a person's lifespan in the conceptual metaphor Life Is A Journey, and is also connected to the Purposes Are Destinations conceptual metaphor when working towards some specific goal.

5.1 Advertisements for Women

Society evaluates women based on the unrealistic expectations based on gender ideology that dictate their appearance, behavior, and abilities. Especially in media driven societies, in which we may have more exposure to and interaction with people through screens than we do with those in the same physical space, we may lose touch with how reasonable societal expectations really are.

If meekness and restraint are believed to be a natural part of being a woman, the ways in which we understand the failure to live up to those expectations may reveal another facet of ideology: the acceptable excuses for breaking the rules of behavior or being as gender ideology demands. This chapter will contrast examples that follow gender ideology with those that overturn it, showing that mainstream society is gradually beginning to recognize the unrealistic expectations we place on women.

5.1.1 Examples Calling Humanity into Question

The following examples are advertisements from the homepages and official Youtube channels of companies that make menstrual products. As stated above, menstruation and other processes that occur only in the female body are considered taboo subjects. Through these examples, we can observe possible conceptualizations of embodied experience brought about by hormonal changes.

Woman	Hadaomoi de, hada ni yasashiku	With Hadaomoi/Skin-Sentiment, be kind to your skin
Narrator	Seiri no hi gurai, jibun o amayakashitai.	At least on period days, I want to spoil myself.

	Seiri no hi gurai,	At least on period days,
Woman	Hada ni yasashi~ku itawaritai.	I want to ge~ntly take care of my skin.
Narrator	Hadaomoi wa dorotto keiketsu made mo kyuushuu sarasara kan ga tsudzuku kara, hada ni yasashii	Hadaomoi/Skin-Sentiment absorbs even gloopy menses Since the dry feeling lasts it's gentle on skin
Woman	zu~tto hada sarasara	Dry skin forever
Narrator	Seiri-chuu no	During menstruation
Jingle	Binkan hada ni yasashii Hadaomoi	Gentle on sensitive skin Hadaomoi/Skin-Sentiment
Woman (voice)	Habatake, watashi!	Flutter/Flap your wings, me!
Jungle	Sofy	Sofy

(Sofy Hadaomoi "Amaeneko" hen 30-byou)

(Sofy Hadaomoi "Spoiled Cat" version 30 seconds)

The audio itself seems to have no relation to the cat reference in the title. At least when played on the internet, "spoiled cat" is displayed as the video plays, becoming context for the viewer to use in interpreting the content. Both the text cues and visual symbols of a cat rolling around juxtaposed with the lounging woman becomes a multidimensional metaphor, which changes suddenly at the end of the commercial with the mention of fluttering or flapping wings in the campaign slogan. It is unclear as to whether it is a bird, butterfly, or angel (as the winged woman silhouette in the logo would suggest), "Flutter/Flap your wings, me!" indicates a creature that is jarringly different from a cat, but similarly non-human.

"At least on period days" suggests that "spoiling [one]self" is more restricted than if without "gurai" or "at least," implying that it is not normally acceptable. The idea that personal care products are an acceptable way to spoil oneself is consistent with the product naming of women's razors. Both cases conceptualize a connection between fulfillment of social obligation (whether in response to a physical or social pressure) to indulgence. There is, once again, a basis in embodied experience in the relief that comes with correcting either physical or social discomfort. Viewers can understand that it is then permitted, in this specific frame of using luxurious menstrual pads, for a woman to

break the expectation that women must be restrained. In a sense, advertising may represent abstract concepts as concrete and positive experiences or things to convince the audience of the worth of the product or service.

<Selective Mapping of Spoiling Oneself onto the Product>

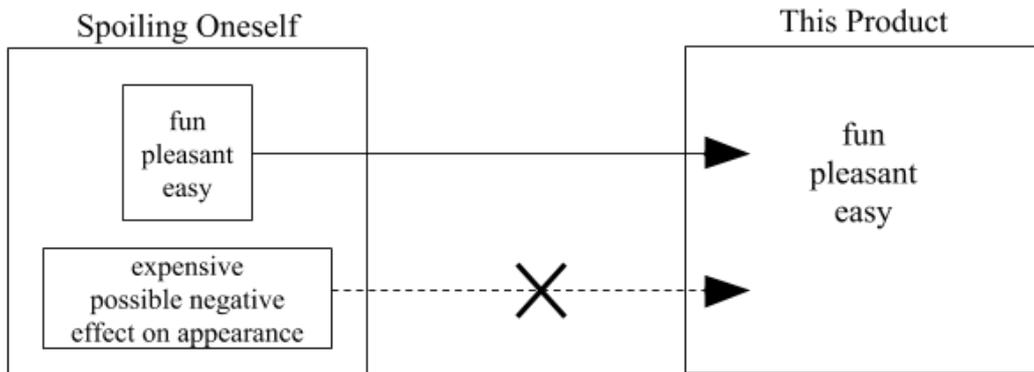
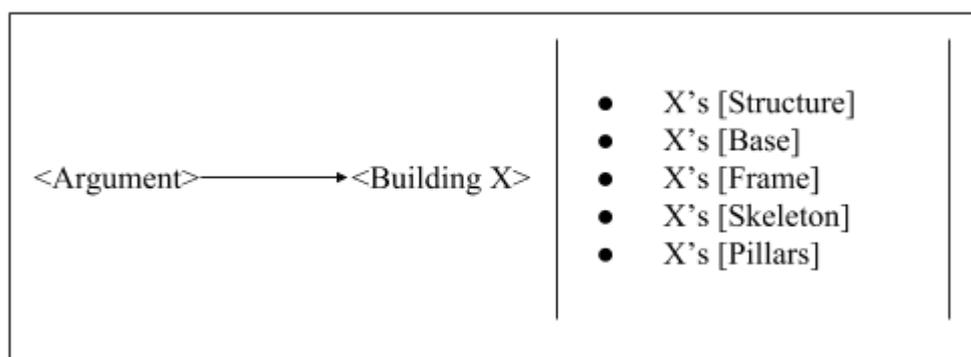


Figure 5-3

The advertisement draws parallels between the use of this product is paralleled with spoiling oneself. When basic care during menstruation as is construed as indulgence, the source domain of spoiling oneself, which violates femininity according to gender ideology, is selectively mapped onto the advertised product, which is the target domain. This is similar to the argument as building metaphor as simplified in Yamanashi (1988).

<Argument As Building>



Yamanashi 1988: 55

Figure 5-4

In this case, a type of embodied experience from which men are excluded is conceptualized as animal, rather than human. These features are based on the creator’s image of a particular animal, whether or not they are accurate in terms of the actual animal’s behavior.

<Menstruating Women as Animals>

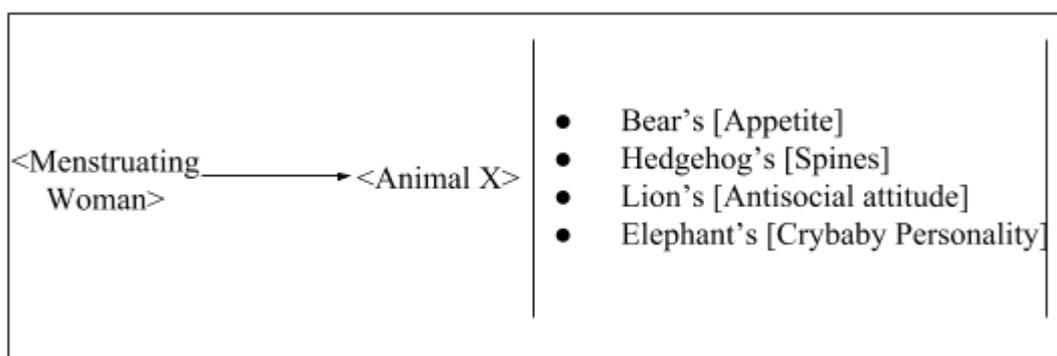


Figure 5-5

The following is a commercial released by the same company as above, as accessed on Youtube. Even more explicit than the above example, this advertisement attributes animal qualities to menstruating women. The animals are both described and visually drawn in a cute style. The alliteration, rhythm, and juvenile tone serve to soften the possibly offensive implications of calling women animals. A news release on the company site promotes the commercial as follows: “We made this gentle pop song and the cute, relatable animals that appear in the animation in the hopes that ‘we want you to spend your delicate menstrual time as your positive self’ (Sofy “A Song Only Girls Understand - Only Girls Get It” Video Release and Viewer Questionnaire).” Because the explanation on the official English site is somewhat abbreviated, a more complete translation is necessary. Before continuing to the lyrics, let us take a moment to examine the displayed text.

Romanized Japanese	Official English	My Translation
Onnanoko Dake ga Wakaru Uta Only Girls Get it Yaku 6nen 9kagetsu, doushite doubutsu ni nacchatta no?	Totaling up to 6 years and 9	A Song Only Girls Understand Only Girls Get It Why did they become animals for about 6 years and 9 months?
Onnanoko-tachi ga doubutsu ni naccatta. Shikamo, yaku 6-nen		The girls became animals.

<p>9kagetsu mo no aida. Doushite doubutsu? Nande sonna ni nagai aida? Kono uta o kiku to sono himitsu ga wakaruru yo. Onnanoko nara, chotto unazukeru, nantonaku kyoukan dekiru. Sonna kawaii uta to animeeshon. Anata wa, ano hi, donna doubutsu ni naru no ka na?</p>	<p>months in a lifetime, every girl goes through it. Sofy would like you to spend those days comfortably so you can Shine Without A Pause .</p>	<p>Moreover, it was for a whole 6 years and 9 months. Why animals? Why for such a long time? When you listen to this song you will know the secret. If you're a girl, you'll nod you (sic) head a bit, and can sympathize somehow. This cute song and animation. What animal do you become on those days?</p>
---	--	---

(A Song Only Girls Understand | Flutter Your Wings Sofy Girl | Unicharm)

While not always the case, menstruation typically signifies a sexually mature adult women, that is to say, one that is reproductively fit and thus, at her most feminine. However, this song, as is so common, refers to the potential consumers as “*onnanoko*” or “*gaaruzi*”, rather than “*onnanohito*” or “*josei*”⁵⁵. The English version also expresses this as “Girls.” While short, the English caption does add a slogan “Shine Without a Pause,” reiterating the idea of women as decoration, for the pleasure of whoever comes across her in her daily life.

Note that, while it is unlikely that men would purposefully seek out and watch the entire song on Youtube, the lyrics carefully specify the target group, which points to a tendency to consider women non-prototypical, even in a presumably feminine space. Menstruation is such a taboo topic that even in an advertisement for menstrual products targeting menstruating women, the process itself is referred to as a “secret.” This is one of many ways in which women’s bodies are nonstandard and, left in their natural state, are unruly and unappealing, not fit for polite society.

Romanized Japanese	Official English
<p>Onnanoko Dake ga Wakaru Uta Only Girls Get It</p>	<p>GIRLS GET IT [Lyrics} ♪ That day, a girl turned into a hedgehog.</p>

⁵⁵ “*Onnanoko*” literally means “woman child” while “*onnanohito*” is “woman person.” “*Gaaruzi*” is “girls” pronounced in the Japanese phonetic system. “*Josei*” refers to a human “female,” but is commonly used instead of “*onnanohito*” and generally refers to a cisgendered woman.

<p>Ano hi harinezumi ni natta Tada no harinezumi jana--i iraira, togetoge, fukigen, harinezumi.</p>	<p>Not just a hedgehog. It's a hostile and edgy, irritated hedgehog.</p>
<p>6nen 9kagetsu no ai-da, 6nen 9kagetsu.</p>	<p>For 6years 9months, for 6years 9months.</p>
<p>Ano hi, kumasan ni natta. Tada no kuma ja na--i Pakupaku, harapeko, kuishinbo, kumasan.</p>	<p>That day, a girl turned into a black bear. Not just a black bear. It's a black bear with a large appetite, eating too much.</p>
<p>6nen 9kagetsu no ai--da, 6nen 9kagetsu.</p>	<p>For 6years 9months, for 6years 9months.</p>
<p>Doushite minna doubutsu ni nacchau no? Seiri no tokitte nantonaku Sonna kibun da yo ne</p>	<p>What makes them turn into animals? It's actually their period. During their period, that's how they feel.</p>
<p>Ano hi, zousan ni natta. Tada no zousan jana--i. Mesomeso, nakimushi, zousan.</p>	<p>That day, a girl turned into an elephant. Not just an elephant. It's a sentimental, crying elephant.</p>
<p>6nen 9kagetsu no ai-da, 6nen 9kagetsu.</p>	<p>For 6years 9months, for 6years 9months.</p>
<p>Ano hi, raion ni natta. Tada no raion jana--i. Hikikomori, sabishigari, raion.</p>	<p>That day, a girl turned into a lion. Not just a lion. It's an isolating lion who doesn't want to go out.</p>
<p>6nen 9kagetsu no ai--da, 6nen 9kagetsu.</p>	<p>For 6years 9months, for 6years 9months.</p>
<p>Doushite 6nen 9kagetsu mo (Sonna ni nagaku no aida) Tsuki ni seiri wa suujitsu dakedo, Isshou bun dato sou naru.</p>	<p>Why do they turn into animals for 6years 9months? Because even once a month period, it adds up to 6years 9months in a life time.</p>
<p>Nagaku-te, taisetsu. Sonna jikan o tanoshiku. Anata rashiku sugosou yo.</p>	<p>Very long time but very precious time. So, let's manage your stress in period. Spend your life shining.</p>
<p>Harinezumi, kumasan, raion, nakimushi zou, bu--fu!</p>	<p>Irritated hedgehog, black bear with a huge appetite, crying elephant, isolating lion.</p>

Hontou wa suteki na gaaruzu. 6nen 9kagetsu no aida, kagayaite, egao de.	All of them are actually nice girls. We wish every girl spends a happy life with a smile even during their 6years 9months.
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(A Song Only Girls Understand | Flutter Your Wings Sofy Girl | Unicharm)

By looking at its needles, it is easy to understand why a hedgehog might be imagined as having a prickly disposition, and bears apparently do eat in preparation for hibernation, but not all of the metaphors are as customary as this. As lions generally live in prides, we can guess that the writers seem to have been more concerned with creating an image of animals to take the place of human women, rather than an accurate picture of animal behavior.

Hostile, hungry, crying, and antisocial are all traits that are the polar opposite of what women are expected to be, thin, bubbly and pleasant to be around. We are to be compliant, and not take up much space, neither physically nor with our emotions or opinions. The characteristics that are presented as being animal are those which violate ideal (restrained, gentle, meek, etc.) femininity. However, as we understand from the assurance that “they are all nice girls⁵⁶,” these behaviors are conceptualized as being separate from women themselves, who we are to assume do conform to the societal expectations. The animal metaphors serve to explain away any lapse in adherence to gender ideology that may occur during menstruation. The more detailed character profiles included on the website are as follows, beginning with the irritated hedgehog. As it is Japanese only, the translation is mine⁵⁷.

Iraira Harinezumi

Irritated Hedgehog

Itsumo wa kininaranai koto demo, nazeda
ka iraira, kimochi **togetoge**. Jibun demo
okashii to rikai shiteiru no ni, imi mo naku

Even things that don't usually bother me
are irritating, and I feel prickly. Even
though I myself understand that it's

⁵⁶ The Japanese version uses the word “*suteki*” meaning lovely, fantastic, or wonderful, encompassing, but perhaps a bit stronger than “nice.”

⁵⁷ As the profiles are completely devoid of pronouns, the choice to translate in the first person is based on the emotional nature of the prose. In Japanese, one can generally only speak about their own emotions without adding a qualifier such as “*mitai* [looks],” “*rashii* [seems],” or “*~gatteiru* [is acting like ~]” to separate their observations from the person's actual feelings.

fukigen ni naccau. Tomodachi ya douryou
mo, dou koe o kakete ii no ka wakarazu ni
komarigao. Kono **togetoge** de, mawari no
hito o chikuri to kizutukete
shimawanakereba ii no dakedo.

strange, I get cranky. My friends and
coworkers don't know how to talk to me,
and make troubled faces. It would be nice
not to scratch and hurt the people around
me with these spines.

(A Song Only Girls Understand | Flutter Your Wings Sofy Girl | Unicharm)

As women are commonly believed to be naturally more emotional than men, rather than socialized differently from men, their emotions are often discounted as less valid and written off as hormonal. The focus is on, of course, not the emotional discomfort of the woman herself, but on the feelings of those around her.

Pakupaku Kuma-san⁵⁸

Motomoto taberu koto ga suki dakedo,
jibun demo shinjirarenai kurai
shokuyoku ousei ni nacchau. Toku ni
yoru ni naru to, nannichi bun da? tte iu
kurai suiitsu ya sunakku o kaikonde,
kiduita toki ni wa zenbu perori. Kore ja,
marude toumin mae no kuma. Taikei
made kumasan mitai ni nattara,
doushiyou.

Chompchomp Ms. Bear

I've always liked to eat, but my appetite
unfortunately becomes more vigorous/healthy
than I can believe. Especially at night, I buy so
many sweets and snacks that I'm like "how
many days worth is this?" but before you
know it I've slurped it all up. This is like I'm a
bear before hibernation. What will I do if my
body starts to look like a bear's?

(A Song Only Girls Understand | Flutter Your Wings Sofy Girl | Unicharm)

Right away, enjoying food is marked, presented as a deviation from the norm, rather than a survival advantage. As discussed in Chapter 3, a woman's appetite is considered an appropriate topic of conversation, as the writer is probably aware of. Women who "like to eat" or have a "healthy appetite" are more than likely to have been made aware of it. According to this profile, the most important problem with eating too much junk food is its effect on one's figure, which is consistent with the overarching discourse of women's main purpose as decoration.

Nakimushi Zousan

Crybaby⁵⁹ Ms. Elephant

⁵⁸ Of the four animals in this ad, only the bear, "kuma-san" and the elephant, "zou-san" have the "san" attached. This likely serves the purposes of both creating familiarity through personification, as they usually end in "san" in children's Japanese, and to simply fill syllables in the rhythm of the song.

⁵⁹ "Nakimushi" is literally "cry bug," but its nuance is equivalent to the English "crybaby."

Konna ni ruisen yowakattakke? to omou
kurai nakijougo ni nacchau. Kyou okita
dekgoto ya, mukashi no shippai nanka
mo omoidashite, kuyokuyo mesomeso.
Kizutsuki yasuku natte, chotto nani ka
iwareta dakede namida ga detekuru. Hitori
kiri ni naru to, tokidoki, zousan mitai na
oogoe de oonaki suru koto mo.

I become such a crying drunk that I wonder,
have my tear ducts always been this weak?
When I remember something that happened
today or old failures, fret fret weep weep. I get
easily hurt, tears coming out just because
someone said something. Sometimes, when
I'm alone, there are even times when I bawl in
a loud voice like an elephant.

(A Song Only Girls Understand | Flutter Your Wings Sofy Girl | Unicharm)

The advertisers may have avoided making the elephant the overeating for the simple reason that it may hit too close to home, as in that it is a common insult (whether by herself or others) for women who are seen as eating too much or being too large. By using the elephant metaphor for sadness instead, they avoid alienating women who have a negative association with it. The elephant's bigness of voice, rather than body, is instead the focus, portraying how much of a nuisance an emotional woman may be to those around her, at parties and the like.

Hikikomori Raion

Withdrawn Lion

Hito ni attari, soto ni deru no ga okkuu de,
zutto ie no naka ni tojikomotteitai. Ka to
itte, nani o suru demo naku beddo ya sofa
de gorogoro. Sono kuse, myou ni
sabishiku nattekitari mo soru. Itsumo wa
shakouteki de, nikushokukei joshi nante
iwareru koto mo aru no ni, tsuki ni ichido
dake doushite kou naru no?

It's annoying to meet people or go outside,
and I want to just stay at home forever.
Having said that, I don't do anything and
just roll around in bed or on the sofa. Still, I
become strangely lonely. Even though I'm
usually sociable, and am sometimes even
called a carnivorous girl, why does this
happen just once a month?

(A Song Only Girls Understand | Flutter Your Wings Sofy Girl | Unicharm)

Here we get a hint as to why a lion is associated with antisocial behavior. In this case, it is not the lion herself, but the gap between the expected behavior of a lion, which may encompass bravery and other go-getter traits, and the feeling of not wanting to socialize. Again, we see the concept of "carnivorous girls" to denote a socially active woman who seeks agency in romance. Using an actual carnivorous animal profiles the departure between her normal, natural personality to one that is not like herself.

Onomatopoeia ("togetoge" "perori") brings a realness, a tangibility to the description and may be some approximation of her experience in the moment, but is more likely how she is perceived by people she interacts with. Any deviation from the image of femininity is marked as not

only non-feminine, but also non-human. By likening the distance from ideal femininity to an animal, besides the element of cuteness, there is a softening of the consciousness of taboo. In this way, women in patriarchal society are continually conceptualized as being at odds with her body, as if observing through the lens of society itself. The self that is not in line with what is considered appropriate or ideal is separate, and in this case, not human. While this is an example of basic self care, this same tendency to other one's own physical self, makes it easier and more encouraged to perform potentially harmful behaviors in order to conform to societal ideals. This may be a type of embodied experience that is difficult to notice from a position of power and privilege, that of which one's physical self is considered the standard in a given community, but is integral to the understanding of the world by people whose bodies are marginalized.

5.1.2 Marketing Discourse and Quality of Life

The following examples display some awareness of the weight of social expectations placed on women. Whether she is a career woman or a homemaker, a woman is likely to be putting up with something, and advertisers claim to make enduring a little easier. Takishima (2000) discusses the changing social positions of Japanese men and women based on 50 years worth of advertisements, starting in the 1950s. Takishima points out a significant change in Japanese women's lives in the 1970s. As the ad is no longer available, the following is quoted through Takishima's work.

Onaji kadenhin no koukoku demo, saki ni ageta 1960 nendai no mono to, tsugi ni miru 1970 nen no Mitsubishi Denki no koukoku, "Namake jouzu na misesu hodo chaamingu desu" (35 peeji) todewa, mattaku apuroochi no houkousei ga chigatte kiteiru koto ga wakaru darou. Sono chigai o meikaku ni suru tame ni bodi kopii made shoukai suru to—

"Moshi anata ga, itsumade mo chaamingu na mises de itai to omottara denki seihi o ooi ni riyuu shite namake jouzu ni naru koto desu. Tatoeba osouji. 2 mootaa de wadai no soujiki Mitsubishi "Kamikaze" ga areba suiito hoomu gurai wa monono suufunn omake ni chiri otoshi wa

Even in the same household electrical appliance advertisements, the following 1970 Mitsubishi Electric advertisement, "The Misses who is good at being lazy is even more charming" (page 35) as you can see, approaches from a completely different direction. To clarify the difference, I introduce the body copy—

"If you think you would like to be a charming misses forever, you must greatly use electric products and get good at being lazy. Cleaning for example. With the talked about Mitsubishi "Kamikaze" with 2 motors, you can have a sweet home in just minutes and dust removal is completely automatic to boot it is no

zenjidou temawa mattaku kakarimasen.
Hon o yomu terebi o miru oshare o suru
shumi o hirogeru.....anata no tame no
taisetsu na jikan ga sore dake ooku naru
wake desu (chuuryaku) Mainichi mainichi
onaji koto no kurikaeshi kaji wa kesshite
tanoshii shigoto dewa arimasen. Ooi ni
namakeru kufuu o shimashou.”

trouble at all. Reading books, watching
television, dressing up, expanding your
hobbies.....The important time for you
will increase that much (omission)
Repeating the same thing day after day,
housework is not a fun job at all. Let's
work out how to be extremely lazy.”

(Takishima 2000:34-35)

Takishima (2000:35) gives this example as one of a better social environment for Japanese women. Since managing and taking care of a household, particularly if there are children involved, can exceed the working hours of a typical job, home appliances likely changed the lives of many women. However, the social freedom offered by these products is limited, in that women still enjoy themselves within the home, the traditional domain of femininity. When she is expected to spend her free time doing things, such as aerobics or fashion, that will make her more attractive for the male gaze, it becomes more difficult to claim that the time she spends is really hers. Women are given agency with restrictions, within a specific physical or conceptual space, that does not impact their performance of expected feminine duties, such as caring for the home or looking beautiful.

Just as the only man that appears in the following ad campaign says, SUNAO ice cream “can be eaten without guilt, and with honest feelings” (World Gelato Ambassador Daisuke Shibano Speaks of SUNAO). “*Sunao*,” while written in romaji for the brand name, is a common word made up of the characters “plain/element” and “straight/direct” and can mean honest, obedient, docile, submissive, and similar traits that tend to be associated with good women. This guilt mentioned is based in a culture that values thinness as an almost essential part of beauty, which is also true in the U.S. but to a lesser extent Japan, that would be potentially undermined by eating desserts. The potential lack of beauty, that is, a woman’s social currency, leads to guilt. Women are expected to maintain as lean a body as possible and take up little space, and even as women enter new social spaces, the same old ideology that encourages men to be strong and women to be weak still dictates how society treats people. Women who have been socialized into diet culture, to believe that they must be thin to be beautiful and beautiful to be worthy, find themselves at the logical conclusion that they must restrain themselves as much as possible to retain their value.

The following examples are commercials for SUNAO ice cream, and each end by boasting the low calorie and sugars, as well as the catch phrase “Delight of ingredients for your body,” as well as the Glico jingle and logo. The commercials in this series are narrated in a woman’s gentle voice and features text that appears handwritten⁶⁰.

Shinya ni aisu ga, tabetaku nattara...	In the middle of the night, you want to eat ice cream...
Taberu?	Will you eat it?
Tabenai?	Will you not eat it?
Gaman shinaide, SUNAO ni nari nayo.	Don’t tough it out, go ahead and become SUNAO[honest].
Karada o aisuru aisu Sunao	Ice cream that loves your body Sunao

(Glico SUNAO (Sunao) CM “Even in the Middle of the Night” Version)

Whether to eat ice cream or not is presented as a real problem, as if cravings are the worst possible thing to happen in the night. This clash of one’s feelings of not wanting to be deprived and not wanting to be despised because of one’s unruly body is a common experience for the intended audience, or at least common enough to build an advertising campaign on. Fear of becoming fat, and thus losing value in a society that values thinness, is real no matter what stage of life a woman is in, a vulnerability advertisers can capitalize on. The eat or don’t eat debate is imagined to be played out by possible consumers, and having this reiterated by the advertisement brings forth this particular life frame that is particularly familiar to women.

As women are not socialized into diet culture by choice, the dispute between one’s physical or emotional wants and societal expectations of beauty is also not by choice. This campaign recognizes the disparity between one’s actual wants and the necessity of certain behaviors in order to be accepted, and encourages women to be honest, although in the specific context of diet-friendly ice cream. The invitation to be honest, “*SUNAO ni nari nayo*,” is rough and informal (almost masculine, had the voice itself not been so feminine) but affectionate, implying an extremely

⁶⁰ There is another set of 30 second commercials for the same brand featuring “*SUNAO-chan* [Little Honest],” which is a humorous take on what life would be like if women were true to their feelings. While cute, these commercials are at least as visual as linguistic, and are not as useful to analyze within the scope of this dissertation.

familiar relationship, such as that of sisters or best friends. This tone of closeness spans each of the commercials in the series, giving the sense of an older sister or friend who knows the secret to beauty without denial.

The brand name “SUNAO” is spelled out in *romaji*, but “Sunao” at the end is *katakana*. Using alphabet profiles the product itself, giving a Western edge, somewhat removing it from the everyday, familiar adjective. *Katakana* is more neutral compared to the other writing systems, in this case, ambiguous as to whether it points to the brand or the common word. Choosing to express the word using *hiragana* or *kanji* would likely pull the viewer’s conceptualization too strongly into the everyday meaning, and away from this particular brand.

While some, like the above, target all women who would worry about their weight, a few of the commercials are clearly marked by whether the intended audience is a woman who works in a paid job or is a homemaker. Another commercial in the series encourages “A sweeet reward for Ms. Hardworking” in an office setting, but the following targets married women with children.

Kono aisu, otto to kodomo ni wa naisho desu. Horahora, anata mo hitoiki iremasho. Mama datte, tanoshimanakucha Karada o aisuru aisu Sunao	This ice cream, is a secret from my husband and child. Look look, you too let’s take a quick breather. Mom also, has to have fun too Ice cream that loves your body Sunao
---	---

(Glico SUNAO (Sunao) CM “Between Chores” Version)

The same gentle female voice encourages the listener, to buy the product that she herself uses, targeting housewives who may feel they have less right to indulge. The speaker is set up as a more in-the-know friend or sister who is sharing a well-kept secret with the viewer.

“*Karada o aisuru aisu*” is a brand slogan which, in addition to the clever alliteration, seems very positive on the surface, but is fairly ambiguous. Vagueness allows this slogan to foreground the obtainment or maintenance of body love, depending on the viewer’s conception of their situation. Possible understandings include “Ice cream that loves your body” (feeling and/or looking physically good after eating it), “Ice cream you eat when you love your body” (in the sense of protecting future health and appearance), and “Ice cream you eat in order to love your body” (ice cream that changes

your body to be worthy of love). While the focus is slightly different, depending on how the viewer places herself along the scale of beauty, it is implied that she will approach or maintain her closeness to the beautiful prototype of femininity. On the other hand, each possibility plays into the insecurity of lacking beauty, whether it be losing current beauty or not achieving it.

Kono aisu, oishii dake janai.	This ice cream, is not only delicious.
Noukou na no ni... [audio only: ufufu]	Even though it's rich... [audio only: teehee]
Koku ga attemo... [audio only: mmm!]	And has a robust flavor... [audio only: mmm]
Shiritai? Sore wa ne...	You want to know? Well that's...
Karada o aisuru aisu Sunao	Ice cream that loves your body Sunao

(Glico SUNAO (Sunao) CM “Not Only Delicious” Version)

The text description of this video classily invites women to “enjoy ice cream honestly” using honorific language. Compared to the previous examples, the voiceover intonation is particularly exaggerated, conforming with features of women’s language traditionally brought to attention by feminist linguists.

The rising and falling (but mostly rising) intonation and leaving sentences unfinished, combined with the informal tone (without “*desu*” or “*masu*”) gives an impression of an extremely feminine woman, who is in a close relationship with the hearer. This friendly, beautiful lady asks if “You want to know?” as if this product is the solution to women’s problems, which are apparently mostly the lack of flavor in diet ice cream and fattening nature of regular ice cream. With this product, she implies, we too can become or stay beautiful without denying ourselves pleasure. In a way, this is a linguistic rendition of social pressure, of the fear of being the last to know.

Consumer femininity, which compels women to endlessly search for ways to gain and maintain beauty, simultaneously encourages us to wonder what secrets beautiful people know that they refuse to share. Conceptualizing beautiful and non-beautiful women as binary opposites reinforces a sense of competition and distrust among women. The makers of this product, like many

diet products, claim to have the power to free women from their struggle with their bodies, while leaving in place the structures that cause that anxiety in the first place. By continuing to conceptualize the major problems in women's lives as having to do with their physical appearance, society undermines the value of women beyond how pleasant they are to look at. By discouraging women from showing up anywhere until they are appropriately preened and dieted down, we place that in the forefront of her mind, blocking her from considering larger problems or taking on bigger goals than being the thinnest one in the room.

Though Wenger (1998) discusses communication between people who share a physical space, rather than interactions through media, the concept of Communities of Practice is still useful on a macro level. Even without meeting face to face, it is possible to feel as if one belongs to a group through the internet or television. Through media, one can learn the group practices, and become a more central member of a group without ever being in the same place. Advertisements convince people to undertake the act of buying a product or using a service, in some cases, by foregrounding group standing and assuring them that the advertised product or service will improve it. In this light, we can understand consumer femininity and the endless pursuit of beauty as a shared enterprise among women, and knowledge of this goal is the base upon which the beauty industry is built. Knowledge of the practices in the target group allows companies to name products and choose the right conceptual frame (and language surrounding it) to advertise effectively.

Even products that are not inherently related to beauty can be construed as such, taking advantage of the existing social pressure on women, and the fear of falling behind in the quest for beauty. The following is commercial for almond milk, which is not inherently gendered, but is advertised with an awareness of both the health-as-beauty consciousness and don't-be-the-last-to-know competition of their target audience. Women were likely considered an easier target than men for an unfamiliar⁶¹ product, as attention to beauty and health are part of the feminine domain⁶².

⁶¹ While soy milk is a typical drink in Japan, dating back much further than in the U.S., almond milk has only been widely available in the past couple of years. Soy milk may have developed some association with femininity because of its wholesomeness factor, but its status as a traditional food seems to have saved it from overtly gendered marketing, at least beyond that of other food products.

Speaker	Audio (JR)	Display (JR)	Audio (ET)	Display (ET)
Woman 1	Guriko Aamondo Kouka	Nomu aamondo no kenkou Aamondo Kouka	Glico Almond Effect	Drinkable Health from Almonds Almond Effect
Woman 2	Naka kara kirei ni naritai hito wa, tsudzuke teiru mitai. Oishii, Aamondo Kouka.		It looks like people who want to become beautiful from the inside are keeping this up. Delicious, Almond Effect.	
Man	Sore wa gyuunyuu demo tounyuu demo nai. Kenkou ni ii aamondo miruku. Kore ippon de,		That is not cow's milk or soy milk. It is healthy almond milk. With this one pack, you get	
	ichinichi no bitamin E to	Bitamin E 1Nichi-bun	a day's worth of vitamin E	Vitamin E 1 Day's Worth
	tappuri no shokumotsu sen-i ga toreachimasu.	Shokumotsu Sen-i Tappuri	and can take in plenty of fiber.	Plentiful Fiber
	Eiou kinou shokuhin ni narimashita	Eiou Kinou Shokuhin (Bitami e)	It has become a Nutritionally Functional Food	Nutritionally Functional Food (Vitamin E)
	Guriko Aamondo Kouka	Aamondo Kouka	Glico Almond Effect	Almond Effect

(Almond Effect "Salon de Almond" Version (30 Seconds) Glico CM)

Of course, when beauty is an obligation, the desire to "become beautiful from the inside" is almost a given from the social context. Understanding this, even though it is not specifically stated as being

⁶² This is not to say that all men completely disregard their health, but women, assigned to the domestic sphere, are responsible for both their own health and that of their family's, through domestic duties such as cooking and cleaning.

“for women,” “people who want to become beautiful” is just as effective. With “*tsudzuketeru mitai*” to express the apparent actions of others, the commercial borrows word of mouth speech patterns to strongly evoke the chit-chat frame, consistent with what would be expected at a salon as implied by the title.

As attention to health and its effect on physical appearance is already expected for women, there is no need to explain its necessity. As there is no ideological dispute, as there would be for a product with a traditionally masculine image, only the impact and value of this particular products must be explained. And the one to convince the listener of the worth of the product is not another woman at the salon, but a male voice. The male speaker is not part of the conversation in the salon, rather explaining what would become the listener’s background information. He is a voice of an authority, and explains the more scientific aspects of the product, the specific nutrients, rather than that of someone who has experienced the benefits. He represents the objective and the gossiping women the subjective, which is consistent with the expectations of gender ideology. The somewhat feminine “*torechaimasu*” softens the masculinity of the male speaker, likely making him more accessible to the female audience.

Even products that are not generally regarded as health or beauty promoting are, in part, marketed with the expectation that women are health conscious to some degree. The following is an advertisement for *matcha* (green tea) flavored Kit Kat chocolates that takes advantage of the healthfulness associated with green tea and the classy feminine image of Kyoto women. The description invites “those who want to spend each day healthily, why not begin a ‘*matcha* tea leaves eating’ lifestyle” with the product.

Speaker	Japanese (audio/subtitles)	English (my translation)
Woman	Shitteru? Porifenooru ga taritehen hito ooinen tte	Did you know? They say there are lots of people who don't get enough polyphenols
Man	Dakara maccha	That's why matcha
Woman	Otabe yasu	Please enjoy
Man	Nesure kara mainichi no shinshuukan	From Nestle a new daily habit

	Matcha de chaba o tabeyou	Let's eat tea leaves with matcha
--	---------------------------	----------------------------------

(Nestle Koushiki Youtube - Kit Kat "Matcha de Chaba o Tabeyou" hen)

(Nestle Official Youtube - Kit Kat "Let's Eat Tea Leaves with Matcha" version)

The woman speaks Kyoto dialect, marked and especially salient against the male speaker's standard Japanese. Although Kyoto dialect has more favorable implications than other dialects, even within the Kansai region, its association with *geisha* and other remnants of old Japan gives a elegant, novel impression that, while positive, is not the voice of authority⁶³. The woman simply conveys a message, using "*tte*" to express that she heard the information somewhere else, without specifying the source, while the man explains from a place of knowledge. This advertisement uses the in-group recommendation plus authority explanation pattern to convey both the social/subjective and scientific/objective value of the product.

Diet culture, whether the conceptualizer is an active participant or not, is a shared experience among women. The following is a transcript and translation of a commercial for chocolate almonds, another snack food claiming the health benefits of an ingredient. It is part of a series, each portraying a time of day at which to eat a chocolate almond.

Woman	A~ chokoreeto de hitoiki tsukitai	a~ I want to take a break with chocolate
	Demo ita-choco wa dame. Ita wa dame nano. Ita dake wa.	but no chocolate bars. / chocolate bars are not allowed No chocolate bars. Just bars.
Man	Ameyaki aamondo de karitto rifuresshu	With candy roasted almonds, crrunch and refresh.
	Aamondo piiku, chocoreeto	Almond Peak, chocolate.

(Glico 2017/09/18 "③ 'PEAK around the clock' 2:00pm")

It is not explained why chocolate bars are forbidden, likely because of the general consensus that they are unhealthy and fattening. The fact that simply stating "no chocolate bars" is the basis for a

⁶³ According to Nakamura (2014), when Japan was unified, Kyoto dialect was not selected to form the base of standard Japanese, in part because of the association with femininity.

commercial points to societal and expectation of forbidden foods for women, normalizing the guilt associated with certain foods. At least as implied by the matter-of-fact forbidden-ness of chocolate, and the suggestion to eat almond chocolate instead, diet culture is an ordinary part of life for women, as well as the potential (real or imagined) for what she puts in her mouth to make or break her future.

The following is from the official Morinaga website, part of which was included on advertisements in trains and the like, promoting a new line of Hi-Chew candies. It uses humor to explore a slightly different kind of “*dame*” or taboo from the Almond Peak commercial above.

Sou, sore wa, anata o dame ni suru Haichuu.	Yes, that is, the Hi-Chew that will ruin you
...Hai, toutotsu ni otozuretandesu. Sore wa mou, totsuzen no mukenshinchi deshita. Nan no ki nashi no hitotsubu de, anna koto ni naru nante....	...Yes, it visited me out of nowhere. And already, a sudden dreamy place With that one innocent piece, that this would happen. . .
Watashi no heya desu ne. Sofa ni suwatte, kou hitokuchi. Shoujiki, itsumo no Haichuu da to omotte ita node.	It is my room, isn't it. I was sitting on the sofa, and took a bite like this. Honestly, I thought it was the usual Hi-Chew, so.
Saishou wa shokkan deshita. Fui no odoroki. . . Toro...toro de, yasashiku kannouteki. Ikenai to omoitsutsu, watashi, gyutto kamishimezu ni wa irare masen deshita.	At first it was the texture. An unexpected surprise.... Thick...thick, and gently sensual. I thought I mustn't, but I couldn't keep myself from chewing thoroughly, firmly.
Wakarimasu ka. Mabuta no ura ni tawawana budou ga kou mierundesu. Tobikkiri no noukou kajuu ga okuchi no naka ni ikinari afurete.	Do you get it? On the inside of my eyelids I can see the heavy grapes on the branches. The extraordinarily rich juice overflows in my mouth.
Ee, mohaya watashi wa muryoku deshita. Toriko toiuka betsusekai toiuka. . . Demo matte, kitto dare datte!ie, gomen nasai torimidashite watashi.	Yes, I was already powerless. I'm captive or rather it's another world. . . But wait, anyone would definitely!no, I'm sorry for falling apart.
...Ware ni kaetta no wa 1ppungo deshita.	When I came to my senses it was a minute later.

Sofa ni kuzure ochiteiru jibun ga imashita. Sou, tsurenaku satte ikimashita. Sayonara mo naku. . . Atoaji dake okuchi ni nokoshite.	There I was collapsed on the sofa. Yes, it cruelly departed. Not even a farewell. . . Only the aftertaste left in my mouth.
Sonna owakare ga aru deshouka Watashi wa sugu ni nitsubume ni te o nobashimashita. Deau mae no jibun ni wa mou modorenai. . ., Sonna kanbi na yokan ga shimashita.	Are there really partings like that? I immediately reached out for the second piece. I can never go back to the me I was before we met. . . ., I had a kind of sweet hunch.
Sou, sore wa, anata o dame ni suru Haichuu	Yes, that is, the Hi-Chew that will ruin you
Haichuu shijou saikou kurasu no kajuu ryou shiyuu	The fruit juice used is the highest class in Hi-Chew history
Budou Kajuu 100% Nama kajuu kansan hi Marude 100% budou juuse o Ajiwatteiru ka no youna "Noukou na kajuu-kan" to, "Yawaraka de torokeru shokkan" no yoishireru, Zeitaku na Haichuu	Grape Juice 100% Raw fruit juice conversion ratio is like enjoying 100% grape juice, with "rich juiciness" and intoxicatingly "soft melty texture," luxury Hi-Chew.

(MORINAGA & CO., LTD.: 2017)

This ad reads like a romance novel, with "*kamishimeru*," chewing all the way through, is used where we would expect "*dakishimeru*," meaning to embrace. The word choice activates the domain of romance and sensuality, resulting in a blend between chewing and embracing, which is what their product is placed as, going beyond the pleasure that would be expected of a convenience store candy. "*Okuchi*" and "*owakare*" include the beautifying "o," which makes an appeal to the speaker's elegant, refined manner, and is generally associated with femininity. Other syntactical choices, such as "*torimidashite* [fall apart]" and "*kuzureochite* [collapsed]" give off the impression of a weak defenseless female lead in a scandalous romance. While it is in a different sense than the above ad, it also features the concept of the prohibitory "*dame*." Being ruined is likely drawing a

parallel between the supposedly forbidden sensations of the chewing candy to a forbidden sensual experience and loss of sexual purity or chastity. It is doubtful that the creators of this campaign were conscious of gender ideology, however this idea that one can be ruined in the first place implies a that she cannot be used, that she is no longer valuable as a consumable.

While this candy is by no means a health food, there is not quite as strong an association with fattening-ness as ice cream or chocolate, which suggests simply attention to the sensual stimulation, that is, that other candy will cease to be enough. The connection with diet culture, and proscription that stems from a fear of becoming fat or otherwise not beautiful, is secondary to sensuality in this particular ad. In addition, this marketing seems to be capitalizing on the trend of adult versions of products, meaning that they appeal to the grown up, rather than child's palate⁶⁴. Using the language of adult novels allows them to create a clever blend,

The above advertisements are examples of some marketing strategies that capitalize on the forbidden-ness of food for women. The assumption that women do and will continue to restrict food is so ingrained in both Japanese and American society that it becomes a marketing tool on its own, with no need for explanation. Diet culture can be thought of as part of social cognition, and its effects a shared experience among women.

The text on the following poster gains meaning through both the visual cues and social context, background information provided by gender ideology that guides the reader to the logical conclusion: their bodies are unacceptable unless they take advantage of the service.

Risuku to Tatakau	To Women
Josei-tachi ni.	Who Battle Risk

rirakkusu	relaxing
tsuukin	commuting
okeiko	lessons

(Alethia Clinic - Train Poster - JR Tozai Line - seen June 25, 2018)

⁶⁴ These products are frequently labeled as “*otona no*” or “grownup”/”adult,” and include everything from yogurt drinks to rice sprinkles, to candy. These include bitter/dark chocolate as opposed to milk chocolate or stronger tea and coffee flavors, or otherwise supposedly more refined versions of common foods, especially snacks.

Because of the general connotations of the word "risk," used here as katakana loan word, the text itself could easily be in an insurance ad. Coincidentally, a 2018 ad campaign by JA Kyosai, or the National Mutual Insurance Federation of Agriculture Cooperatives features a woman in a relationship with the personification of risk. The above ad is not for a service that helps with managing the risk of injury, illness, or anything else commonly associated with "risk," but for a hair removal clinic. The risk to women while relaxing or commuting is demonstrated by a plastic doll raising her arms in celebration, to hold a train handrail, doing stretches with a medical cross indicating that the risk is her underarms.

This is an especially condensed ad, each word having a lot of weight in conveying the company's message. It effectively defines risk as a situation in which body hair becomes visible, which, due to cultural context, the reader knows will undermine her beauty, femininity, and value. The risk is distinct from the common associations with disaster or injury, but shares the attribute of possibly having consequences, although social or psychological ones, if not mitigated. The possible trauma of being outed as a hairy, and thus unfeminine, woman is motivation to seek the service.

The main risk, for a woman, is conceptualized as the loss of femininity, which must be avoided by visiting the clinic. Even more direct than the "skin-showing season" example above, this ad is a humorous reminder to women of the threat of shame potentially caused by their bodies, and a service that mitigates the risk of body hair to a woman's esteem. Somewhere, even if women claim to remove hair for their own pleasure, the fear of shame and embarrassment remains the main motivation, at least for those targeted by this poster.

In both media and culture in general, women are often met with the idea that her bodies and its natural processes pose a threat to her value, especially in terms of femininity. The examples in this chapter have included ones that conceptualize the product or service as something that protects women from her own body. A woman's appetite or hair growth will make her body undesirable, as will her skin as she ages. Her reproductive system itself, the very thing that makes female humans women besides social construction, is a constant threat to her value. Menstruation is, besides being generally regarded as unsanitary in the first place, turns her into an animal, unable to keep up the performance of femininity (see section 5.1.1). While both American and Japanese culture value women for their reproductive capacity, the physical changes during pregnancy and childbirth are

generally spoken of with a sense of lamentation. Women, like other consumables, are most valuable when they are shiny, new, and unused.

Metaphors are particularly useful in analyzing gender ideology because of how ingrained it is in our cognitive processes. Lakoff and Johnson (1999) present conceptual metaphors and the understanding of them as having a potentially positive effect on society.

Because complex concepts and worldviews consist of basic concepts and metaphors bound together in complexes, it may be possible to learn new complexes. And because we are conscious beings capable of reflection, we may be able to learn to monitor the use of our cognitive unconscious, provided that we learn how it operates.

(Lakoff & Johnson 1999:537)

Recognizing existing metaphors and combinations of metaphors may also offer ways to change our formerly unconscious cognitive processes. Because gender ideology and the discrimination it can lead to are part of cognition, understanding metaphors can be a step in dismantling the bigotry that still exists in society.

Because it involves defining the basic human experience, and the basic human life, deciding what is included in what Lakoff and Johnson call the basic domain of experience (1980:117-8) may be related to social power. Patriarchal society, in which women and women's bodies are considered to be nonstandard, men's bodies tend to be the norm even though there are roughly equal numbers⁶⁵.

Menstruation and other processes that occur in only women's bodies are the exception, and unlikely to be part of this basic experience. Even if it is evidence of a working reproductive system, menstruation is a somewhat negative and not associated with femininity, which, in turn, is evidence of the social construction of gender and gender ideology. These natural processes, though experienced for most of the lives of much of the population, are nonprototypical of mankind, demonstrated by just how uncomfortable it is for many of us to talk about. Whether experiences are judged to be basic or not may quite possibly be influenced by social status.

⁶⁵ This is, of course, only looking from the perspective of gender. Age, class, race, and other factors are involved in defining the standard, prototypical person within a society. Gender ideology, however, has historically automatically excluded women from centrality within the category.

Most of our metaphors have evolved in our culture over a long period, but many are imposed upon us by people in power—political leaders, religious leaders, business leaders, advertisers, the media, etc. In a culture where the myth of objectivism is very much alive and truth is always absolute truth, the people who get to impose their metaphors on the culture get to define what we consider to be true—absolutely and objectively true.

(Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 160)

Politicians, business leaders, and other people in power have the ability to create and define truth in the spaces they control. It comes to no surprise that they would work to protect a "natural order" in which they remain in power.

5.1.3 Taking Aim at Older Women

Not all products are marketed with the promise that members will become central members of the group. While the examples so far have advertised the potential to approach prototypicality, the amount to which this is possible is a matter of degree. Some members of a group have no real hope of becoming a central member, because of race, age, body size, other qualities that are frowned upon in mainstream culture, or even self identification with a counterculture. These people still have buying power, and are still worthy targets of capitalism and consumer feminism. When there is too much of a gap between reality and the promise, consumers may dismiss an ad as being not for them, just as men might typically do when presented with a women's product.

The following is a commercial for Cook Do prepackaged sauce mix. A reference to "back then" marks the speaker, and the target audience, as an older woman, peripheral in the category and lacking the youth that would bring her closer to ideal. In this particular instance, however, age is spoken of as a positive attribute, with benefits over youthfulness. The transcript is adapted from the video description on the official Youtube channel.

Koike Eiko-san

“Butabara Daikon,” furaipan de nikomi
10ppun?
10ppun wa muri desho.
Atashi mo, **kooyuuno unomi ni suru**

Ms. Eiko Koike

“Porkbelly daikon,” stewed in a frying pan for
10 minutes?
There’s no way it’s 10 minutes.
I’m **not young enough to just lap things like**

hodo wakakunai desu kedo.

Daikon ga 10ppun de nietara, imamade
no kurou wa nandattano? tte hanashi.
“Gomen nasai!! Mada niettenaino”
Sate...
Shimichatteremasu! Oishisugichatteremasu!
Juwatto, shimishimi desu!

this up.

If daikon can be stewed in 10 minutes, it's like,
what was my hard work up until now?
“I'm sorry!!! It's not done stewing yet”
Well then...
It's completely soaked up the flavor! It's too
delicious!
Spreading, soaked up flavor!

Nareeshon

Uma shimi juwa, “Butabara Daikon”
“Cook Do® Kyou no Oosara”

Narration

Delicious soaked up flavor, “Porkbelly Daikon”
“Cook Do® Today's Main Dish®”

Koike Eiko-san
Mairimashita

Ms. Eiko Koike
You've got me

(AJINOMOTO OFFICIAL)

This commercial humorously references the idea that a woman's main duty is to maintain the home, even if she works outside the home. While the ideal is to make family meals completely from scratch, and, as the speaker expresses disbelief at the time it takes to stew daikon, that it is too good to be true.

The following is a promotion for a new series of KitKat chocolates, as accessed from the official website. It also targets older women from the angle of superior knowledge from experience.

Nestle KitKat
Mainichi no Zeitaku
Inspired by KitKat Chocolatory
Zeitaku gishiri. Mainichi no shiawase.

Nestle KitKat
Everyday Extravagance
Inspired by KitKat Chocolatory
Packed with extravagance. Everyday happiness.

“KittoKatto Mainichi no Zeitaku” wa
kuranberii to aamondo ga haitta “KittoKatto”
desu.
Kokoro o mitasu, chotto zeitaku na bureiku
de, josei no mainichi o, sara ni juujitsu shita
hibi ni.

“KitKat Everyday Extravagance” is
a KitKat with cranberries and almonds.
Women's everyday can become even more
fulfilling, with an extravagant break that satisfies
your heart

(Kit Kat Mainichi no Zeitaku [Kit Kat Everyday Extravagance])

Unlike the examples we have seen up until now, this website plainly labels the product as being for women, and recommends it as a way to better their lives. The commercial for the same extravagant chocolates is as follows.

Japanese audio	Displayed text	Translation of audio	Translation of text
Ano koro wa, zeitaku no imi nante	Nestle KitKat	Those days , the meaning of extravagance	Nestle KitKat
Shiru yoshi mo nakatta	Lu Patishe Takagi Oonaa shefu Takagi Yasumasa Kanshuu	was something I had no way of understanding	Supervised by Le Patisier Takagi Owner-chef Yasumasa Takagi
Ima wa, wakaru.		Now I get it.	
KittoKatto		KitKat	
Mainichi no	Inspired by KitKat Chocolatory	Everyday	Inspired by KitKat Chocolatory
Zeitaku		Extravagance	

(Nestle Japan Official Channel)

In some cases, vocabulary used in the group the target belongs to (or wants to belong to), is used in advertisements. Whether the product is within the traditionally feminine domain, within the the originally masculine domain, or unassigned, language can be used to promise a central position, relative to the consumer's current one.

5.1.4 The Instantiation Process in Advertising

Instantiation beginning with similarities is not limited to only things outside of the domain, but also to specify a particular case within the accepted domain. The example below shows a product replacing a naughty act that women usually, or are expected to, refrain from on a regular basis.

Keshousui na no ni,
Marude suiitsu o tabeteru kibun

Even though it's skin lotion
It's just like eating sweets

New D
DEW

New D
DEW

Torokeru
bi-teki keshousui, tanjou

Melty
beauty drops are born

(Kanebo, n.d. Emphasis added. Original translation)

Comparing this act of applying skin lotion to that of eating sweets highlights the similarities between them. This appeal to and the focus on the pleurability of these products is further continued in the brand message page. This verb to “*utsukushimu* [beautify]” is not standard Japanese, and can be thought of as a hybrid of “*utsukushiku* [beautifully]” and “*tanoshimu* [enjoy],” for example.

An act that can be classified as good for one's beauty, and thus, value, is being likened to a forbidden act, or one having a negative effect on one's femininity. It can be implied, therefore, that one can forego the act of eating sweets, and its negative consequences on one's beauty, if they use the product in question. It also situates this product, a part of a woman's social obligation to constantly seek the most beautiful version of themselves, as an enjoyable, rewarding act.

Sukinkea wo, utsukushimu taiken e.

Turn skincare into a beautifying experience.

Purosesu shika nakatta sukinkea o motto
tanoshiku,
utsukushimu taiken ni kaeyou.
Beautiful time experience

Enjoy what used to be just a process,
and let's make it into a beautifying experience.
Beautiful time experience

Utsukushisa o hagukumu <biteki>.
Te ni totta shunkan kara, me de, kaori de,
tezawari de ajiwattekudasai

The <beauty drops> that nurture beauty.
Savor them with your eyes, their fragrance, their
feel from the moment you take them in your
hands.

Ichinichi, ichigetsu, ichinen, isshou.
Tekisetsu na taimingu de koukateki na kea o
kasaneru naka de kidzuku chiisana henka.
Jibun no hada o itooshimi, utsukushisa o
hagukumu to iu
“utsukushimu” taiken.
Mirai no kitaikan o tsumikasanatte ikimasu.

A day, a month, a year, a lifetime.
The small changes you notice with the right timing
and layers of effective care.
The love for your own skin, and nurturing of
beauty, that is
a “beautifying” experience.
The sense of anticipation for the future keeps
building up.

(Brand Message | DEW | Kanebo Keshouhin)

The comparison to sweets is a conceptual metaphor, THIS PRODUCT IS A DESSERT, and the verb “*ajiwau* [savor]” part of the metaphorical extension. The ad invites users to savor the product

visually, through touch, and through scent, but of course, not satisfying physical hunger which women in diet culture are expected to ignore.

The sense of anticipation for the future is implied as being directly related to how beautiful one expects to be in the future. On one hand, the advertisement espouses self love and hope for the future, which would be rather feminist in and of itself because of the rejection of a woman's devaluation with age. On the other hand, it leaves intact the necessity of beauty and youthfulness (whether attached to chronological youth or not) in happiness or projected happiness.

This new experience promised by the advertisers is strengthened by the use of the new lexical item, "*utsukushimu* [beautify]." This face lotion is different from other face lotions in that it is placed in another category from the cumbersome obligation that is ordinary skincare. The similarity to the pleasure that comes from eating sweets simultaneously creates contrast with other skincare brands.

5.1.5 Empowering Marketing Discourse

Although it is not politically correct, and not something many of us would admit in modern times, women are still valued largely on their outward appearance. At least in the first world, we have gained the right to education, careers, politics, and some amount of reproductive autonomy, but remnants of obsolete ways of thinking are found in our words. As language can reflect a deeper level of cognition than is necessarily conscious, it shows us a female image that goes against political correctness. The following examples may seem frivolous at first, but these ideas have not been adequately dealt with after the most salient part of the women's rights movement, continuing on into modern times.

Some may argue that women have the right to become beautiful, that it is her personal choice to look a certain way. Of course, limiting women's agency is not the goal of this dissertation, but this brings into focus the question of whether it is a personal choice or not. Because of social pressure, women are coerced into making what perhaps looks like a choice to prioritize her appearance over other aspects of her life. What is considered forbidden or appropriate and desirable in one's life, what she is supposed to enjoy and what her goals should be are, in part, defined according to the gender ideology in a given society.

If much of women's worth lies in beauty, even outside of reproduction or searching for a mate, we are consciously or unconsciously judging her performance in other areas based on her appearance. In addition, because of how society considers men and women to be binary opposite, since outward appearance is in the feminine domain, it is unmasculine by default. This is the same binary that is at work when a woman goes into the traditionally masculine domain and she is looked upon as either being less capable or less feminine.

Acts of consumerism as acts of feminism is a phenomenon that has been researched by social scientists in recent years. While this commodity feminism greatly differs from what feminist scholars would describe as feminism, it is highly visible and undoubtedly contributes to society's understanding of women's empowerment and social standing. As Lazar (2006) points out, extreme power femininity portrayed in advertising and other media may have the opposite effect on women's actual rights.

Perpetuation of such images of female sexual dominance can have a backlash effect (as did the earlier Lee Jeans ad) upon women and the women's movement because of the symbolic threat they represent to men. Images of women beckoning and stepping on men, along with the dehumanization (as non-human animal and as thing) and disembodiment (formlessness of water) of men can likely goad antifeminist suspicion against feminists as all out to take over and subjugate men. In this scenario, (heterosexual) men then are made over as the new oppressed group. Yet this cannot be further from the social reality.

(Lazar 2006: 513)

This fictional threat to men has a similar ring to recent cries of "racism towards whites" in the U.S.. Any perceived threat to the current balance of power, even if it would simply serve to create some semblance of equality, is protested by or on behalf of the fairness in terms of existing standards, protecting and coddling those with enhanced access to power.

Lazar (2006) presents four types of power femininity, which she defines as "an empowered and/or powerful feminine identity, in contemporary advertisements addressed to young 'modern women', (Lazar 2006: 505)" that appeared in the analysis of Singaporean beauty advertisements: Empowered Beauty, Knowledge as Power, Agentive Power, and Sexual Power.

Empowered Beauty refers to specific references to “power” or “empowerment,” as well as “radical,” “change,” “liberate,” and other feminist-like turn of phrase. These advertisements include conditional self acceptance attained through means of the beauty product, which are dependent on continued use and limited in the scope of that liberation or change.

‘Feminism is appropriated also through recuperating its critique of beauty advertising for creating unrealistic and restrictive images of body ideals, much to the physical and psychological detriment of women, who in reality come in all shapes and sizes’

(Lazar 2006: 507)

Empowered beauty also draws upon elements of a postfeminism that reclaim signifiers of femininity such as make-up, by overriding their patriarchal associations and resignifying them as resources consciously embraced by women in the “project of the self.”

(Lazar 2006: 508)

This empowered beauty is precisely what was observed in the fighting metaphors analyzed by Tynes (2017a, 2017b). The references to outward battles, the more general notions of empowerment, and the idea of cosmetics as a tool for rebellion were documented in the study. Pleasure, rather than appearance, as a primary or at least a secondary motivation to cosmetics use is also one that is seen in the current study. This concept of empowered beauty is of particular importance in that it has preliminarily been found to surface as metaphor.

5.1.5.1 The Subjectivity and Objectivity of Beauty

In the general construct, a conceptualizer is a living thing and an object is a non-living thing. The situation that arises from women’s collective subjectivity can be thought of as related to the endless quest for beauty that is frequently seen in media language for a female audience. As they are often judged based on their appearance, women are more likely to see themselves through the lens of society, possibly abstractifying the embodied experienced lived through their bodies.

Beauty conceptualized as one’s duty confirms “consumer femininity”(Nakamura 2003), and is used as an advertising strategy on the part of those selling products or services. As far as we are

taught, becoming more beautiful increases one’s confidence, happiness, and potential for receiving love. The following examples focus on the personal benefits of beauty, the positive effects on the woman herself, and though the social responsibility to be visually pleasing is defocused, it does not disappear completely.

5.1.5.2 Disempowerment within Empowerment: From Subject to Object

The following media examples, at least on the surface, use language that encourages women. They combine the idea that modern women are strong, independent, and no longer oppressed with the kind of appeal to selfishness that we saw in men’s magazines⁶⁶. The social obligation to be as beautiful as possible is not likely to disappear, even if it is reconceptualized as being otherwise beneficial, and the desire of the consumer herself.

Cosmetics, particularly foundation or other products designed to hide blemishes, are consistently sold by appealing to the natural appearance of the finished look. The following ad, for Maquillage foundation, particularly plays into the viewer’s self consciousness and suspicion that beautiful people are really lying. This type of marketing takes advantage of the competitive nature of consumer femininity, which creates an us versus them binary between regular and beautiful women. The following is a romaji transcription and my translation of the commercial.

Japanese Audio	Japanese Display	Audio Translation	Display Translation
Onnano ko no	Makiaaju no aki.	When girls say	Autumn Maquillage.
“nanni mo shitenai yo” nante uso		“I haven’t done anything” is a lie.	
Memoto mo, kuchimoto mo, hontou wa ne		Around the eyes, and around the mouth, the truth is	
Kakehiki meeku de	Kakehiki meeku	with tactical makeup	Tactical makeup

⁶⁶ Such as “*kibun ja nai* (don’t feel like)” or “*sayuu sarenai* (not influenced by)” in BITTER Vol. 63. See Chapter 3 for the full discussion.

Itsumo no furi shite		I pretend that it's the same as always	
iroppoi	Redii ni shiagare.	but sexy	Be completed ⁶⁷ as a lady
Aki no Makiaaju kara	NEW MAQUILLAGE	From autumn Maquillage.	NEW MAQUILLAGE

(MAQuillage “Tactical Makeup” Version 15 seconds | Shiseido)

The obligation to lie in the first place, and claim to be wearing less makeup than one really is, likely comes from the desire to be seen as not trying too hard. Though it is a social obligation, cosmetics can be considered deceptive, a way for women to receive benefits of convincing others that they are more valuable than they would be with their natural skin. This makeup is labeled as being cunning or strategic, conceptualizing it as something less than fair, but a means to an end. Though framing makeup as a strategy implies agency, the social context of necessity undermines it.

5.1.5.3 Following Societal Expectations as a Means of Empowerment

The “100%” mentioned in the following examples of the “100% GIRL” campaign by hair removal company Kireimo, likely refers to the full body, as in the removal of all of what is considered to be excess hair, but simultaneously calls to attention the other implications of “100%” such as conviction and authenticity. Undergoing hair removal and removing excess hair, a barrier to youthful (hairless) femininity, increases the consumer’s physical attractiveness. The commercial features a large group of women dancing in T-shirts that say “100% □ GIRL!!” with a handwritten word in the rectangular blank. These include “POP,” “RAINBOW,” “BEAT,” “BEAUTY,” “FIGHT,”

⁶⁷ “*Shiagare*” is the imperative form of “*shiagaru*,” a verb usually used to express the completion of something being worked on. Note that it is not “*shiageru*,” from the perspective of the actor, but “*shiagaru*,” from the perspective of the object. While it appears as text in this case, in some commercials in the series, this slogan is spoken by the female model, even though the imperative form is usually reserved for men. Use of masculine language can be considered a sort of empowerment, although the content implies not that the user has agency, but that she will be fit for consumption.

“HAPPY,” “POSITIVE,” “CHALLENGE,” “FUNKY,” and other positive yet somewhat nonsensical words. Naomi Watanabe, presumably the leader of the group as she is both placed visually in the center and is the most famous and recognizable, wears a large necklace forming the word “POWER,” that fills the blank instead of writing on the T-shirt⁶⁸.

Ironically, since of the purpose of hair removal is to change one’s natural body, the lyrics of the song playing in the commercial include "I don’t wanna lose myself" and "Just the way you are." The conflicting messages converge as the message that women can be themselves, as long as that self obeys societal rules. This example can be considered an instance of blending. Women are frequently offered compromised versions of freedom or agency, and the performance of femininity is a nonnegotiable.

The hundred women featured in the campaign represent a fairly wide range of ages and body shapes, appealing to an inclusive understanding of those bodies who deserve to be considered beautiful, at least in the sense that they can and should be rendered hairless. The company’s catchphrase, as displayed at the top of their website reads:

Anata o Kanaeru Zenshin Datsumou	The Hair Removal that Grants You
Kireimo Making women more beautiful	Kireimo Making women more beautiful

(Kireimo)

“*Kanaeru*” means to grant or fulfill, and implies that the subject, in this case the consumer, wishes or prays for. As it is not "the wish for smooth skin," or "your socially acceptable physical appearance" but "you" that is being granted, the woman is not a complete person if she does not become more hairless and thus more beautiful. This is a problem with which this service can help.

This is yet another example of the Japanese language's preference for verbs that indicate passivity (becoming rather than making oneself beautiful) and outside force rather than agency in the beautifying process. The following is from the official Kireimo Instagram and is smattered with emojis, often instead of punctuation, which have been removed for ease of printing.

Oosaka-fu shusshin no koukou 2nensei de 17sai no Yokono Sumire desu. Koukou ni kayoinagara butai ni detari shiteimasu.	I am Sumire Yokono, a 17 year old 2nd year high school student from Osaka. I both go to school and get on stage.
--	--

⁶⁸This particular celebrity is famous partly due to her large size, using her platform as a both comedian and size activist.

.
Shumi wa meiku no kenkyuu desu
Okiniiri no kosume wa, Jiru Schuaato no
Baasu Jemu Gurosu
Buruu no rame ga haitteite toumeikan ga
demasu!!

.
Ato, saikin Sebun Irebun no appuru mango ni
hamari chuu (warai)
Oishisugite, eien ni tabeteimasu

.
Osoraku watashi ga menbaa no naka de motto
mo sainenshou nano desuga, **kirei ni naritai
toiu omoi wa dare yori mo arimasu!!**
Kireimo de **kirei ni natte saikyou no JK ni
naritai** to omoimasu

.
Studying makeup is my hobby
My favorite cosmetics is, Jill Stuart's
Bath Gem Gloss There's blue lame in it
which gives a sense of clarity!!

.
Also, lately I'm addicted to apple
mango from Seven Eleven (laughs)
It's too delicious, and I keep eating it
forever

.
I'm probably the youngest of all of the
members, but **my desire to become
beautiful is more than anyone else's!!**
I want to **get pretty** with Kireimo and
become the strongest high school girl

(Kireimo Official Instagram, emphasis added)

The desire to become beautiful is so universal that even in a girl who one could argue is not even old enough to consider hair removal in the first place conceptualizes it as an essential step in becoming the best high school girl. The necessity of beauty is not exclusive to grown-up women, and even the youth, another highly valued aspect of attractive femininity, is not enough to override the necessity to change one's body. There is no explanation of this in the text, unsurprisingly as is to culturally acceptable enough to be assumed. The shared conceptualization of beauty as something unattainable for even high school girls, so highly valued through objectification, that even they are too old (in that they are marked by body hair as being post-pubescent) to be desirable as is.

Note that the abbreviation “JK” is not standard Japanese, but a fairly common internet abbreviation of “*joshi kousei*” or “girl high school student.” In order to effectively fill her societal role of “high school girl” she must first be beautiful. Even though “*joshi kousei*” includes student in the word, she is conceptualized as being first a girl, and then a student. Just as the word order implies, the status as a student is secondary. In this case, her obligation to fulfill her role as a “girl” takes precedence over the obligation to be a “high school student” and actually study. The lower importance of women's education when compared to their physical appearance is also seen in a Benefit Cosmetics ad that was highly criticized for encouraging women to skip class not their concealer (Lubitz 2017/07/05). Although overtly saying this is quite uncommon, we do expect women to be beautiful before they show up anywhere. This example is simply a linguistic

representation of this attitude that we have towards women that only permits them to be involved in something if they are beautiful while doing it. This is exemplified by politicians, lawyers, justices, etcetera that have appeared in the public sphere and not conformed to beauty standards sufficiently. The current U.S. president, Donald Trump, gives prime examples of women's the expectation of women in public sphere (See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion). Thus, it is not actually so surprising that a Cosmetics company would overtly encourage this behavior.

The conceptualization of beauty being of more importance than education is not only part of Japanese, but also the English speaking world. While it is has become less common in either of these cultures that one would come out and say so, but it is occasionally made clear by these such cases.

Of course, in the case of selling hair removal services, being hair-free is the target of focusing in the realm of actions that one can take to bring her closer to social acceptability.

Hair removal services as a path to beauty likely seems especially empowering for those groups, such as women deemed too large to be conventionally attractive, as it offers a way for them too to be considered “pretty.” By becoming prettier, this person can become stronger as a girl high school student, in which case strength can be assumed to be not in terms of physical, but of social strength. The kind of strength offered to women, the very limited power of sexual desirability, is acceptable in the domain of femininity, even for a minor⁶⁹.

Beauty is framed as not only being for its consumers, men/a man specifically or society in general, but for the benefits of confidence and enjoyment for the an herself. Even if it acknowledged as being for others on some level, improving one’s appearance can also be thought of as connected to the individual’s embodied experience. Of course, the relatively abstract experience of society through one’s body is different from more basic experiences, such as GOOD IS UP, it connects to motivation to participate in beauty culture and “consumer femininity.” The way we are treated by others either positively or negatively reinforces our behaviors, understanding of the world, and gives an idea of societal standing and influences the conceptualization of the self. Within an individual, the

⁶⁹ Of course, there are possibilities besides overt sexual acts in the objectification of young girls, but the necessity of full body hair removal encourages this conclusion. Wearing a bikini, even if one believes that grown women should be hairless, really only necessitates the removal of visible hair.

social obligation attribute of beauty practices may be backgrounded, bypassing consciousness in of the external motivation that is societal pressure, leaving only the idea that one genuinely enjoys cosmetics and the like. Social impact cannot be ignored or completely disconnected from physical processes, as it is generally considered to be a strong motivator for such communal creatures as us humans.

<p>kireimo_official “KIREIMO 100% GIRLS!!” Kanakubo Mayu-san no komento ga touchaku</p> <p>.</p> <p>Hajimemashite! Kanako Mayu desu. @mayu_uk0326 Minna kara “Bonbon” to yobareteimasu Manga ya geemu ga daisuki de, saikin wa jinrou geemu no koto bakari kangaeteimasu (warai)</p> <p>.</p> <p>Saikin wa OPERA no rippu tinto ni hamatteimasu Sono hi no kibun de iroaji ga kaerarete, uruoi mo batsugun de okiniiri! Meiku wa harurashii pinku kei ga daisuki desu</p> <p>.</p> <p>“KIREIMO 100% GIRLS!!” toshite, kirei de suteki na josei ni nareru you ni jibunmigaki o ganbarimasu Soshite, KIREIMO FES no you na takusan no onna no ko ni aeru ibento ga shitai desu!</p>	<p>kireimo_official “KIREIMO 100% GIRLS!!” Ms. Mayu Kanakubo’s comment has arrived</p> <p>.</p> <p>Nice to meet you! I am Mayu Kanakubo. @mayu_uk0326 Everyone calls me “Bonbon” I love manga and games, and have only been thinking about werewolf games lately (laugh)</p> <p>.</p> <p>Lately I’ve been obsessed with OPERA’s lip tint It’s my favorite because you can change the tint depending on your mood, and it’s super moisturizing! I love spring-like pink-type colors</p> <p>.</p> <p>As one of the “KIREIMO 100% GIRLS!!” I will work hard at self improvement to become a pretty and wonderful woman Also, I want to have events like KIREIMO FES, and meet lots of girls!</p>
--	--

(Kireimo Official Instagram, emphasis added)

It is not expressly slated who would benefit from the writer becoming a “wonderful woman,” nor is a non-pretty non-wonderful woman defined. By introducing herself as “*Bonbon*,” this writer also continues the trend, that we have seen repeatedly in the examples referenced in this dissertation, for women to be conceptualized as consumables, especially food, even in this context of supposedly self-directed self-improvement.

<p>Kono haru, watashi no suhada ga migoro desu ♡</p>	<p>This spring, my bare skin is just right for viewing ♡</p>
--	--

(musee)

Both the word “*migoro*,” commonly used to describe when cherry blossoms and other flowers are at their most beautiful, implies that not just this particular woman’s skin, but women in general, are for the public’s viewing pleasure. This imagery is further strengthened by the visual cues of the cherry blossom shaped cutout style heading and the photos of a model surrounded by flowering trees. The other train poster has the following text:

Haru ichiban no ohada ga The first skin of spring
yatte kita ♪ has come♪

(musee)

Backgrounding the concept of beauty as a social obligation, these empowering advertisements focus on the positive, personal benefits. A beautiful appearance, obtained through the service or product advertised, is conceptualized as a way to obtain one’s destiny, future, and power. Borrowing concepts such as agency and control from feminist discourse gives an overall feel of action and authority over one’s life, while simply cementing patriarchal ideals.

ALWAYS FRESH. ALWAYS FRESH
Kinou yori, shinsen na watashi ni ai ni iku. I will go meet a fresher me than yesterday.

Natsu ni, For Summer,
Zenshin! Fullbody!

(musee June 2018 Train Poster)

The same “*shinsen*,” used here to describe the woman after going through hair removal, generally expresses freshness of food products, cut flowers, or other things that get stale, rot, or otherwise go bad. Whether intentional or not, this speaks to how women’s attractiveness, and thus value, is largely dependent on youthfulness. While youth is valued in men as well, there are other qualities that are maintained, and even enhanced with age. Removing hair, a marker of an adult person, is framed as a way to slow the decline of youthful femininity.

Beauty is conceptualized as more than simple attractiveness to a potential or current mate, and is linked to many areas of a woman’s life. Advertisers promise that through increased beauty, a woman can gain power and influence, the fate she deserves, and an accelerated path to her goals (via confidence etc.).

<Power/Influence>

Joshi ni chikara o. GIRLS POWER	Strength to girls. GIRLS POWER
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(musee)

Botoru ni anata no chikai o.	Your statement your bottle
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(SK-II)

Ase ga onna no buki ni naru	Sweat becomes a womanly weapon
-----------------------------	--------------------------------

(ANESSA)

Together We Triumph Jishin o Mune ni. Mirai e tomo ni. TVCM 15-byou	Together We Triumph Confidence to your Chest. Together to the Future. 15-second TV Commercial
--	--

(Triumph International Japan- Youtube)

<Fate>

Ichinen mae no deai wa unmei datta	The meeting last year was fate
------------------------------------	--------------------------------

(SK-II)

Kigen nante nai SK-II #changedestiny ("Unmei o Kaeyou" Kyanpeen)	There's no such thing as an expiration date SK-II #changedestiny ("Change Destiny" Campaign)
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(SK-II)

<Accelerant Towards One's Goals>

Ii kami ga senaka o osu	Good hair pushes your back
-------------------------	----------------------------

(TSUBAKI)

The social value of women is placed on them based on the experience of looking at them, meaning that the positive effects of obtaining more beauty in patriarchal society likely has some basis in embodied experience. When beauty is such a commodity, women with more of it are treated better, although generally not with the same freedom as men.

GET KIREI!!
 &SLIM UP!!
 Yattekuru yo, hadamise no kisetsu!!
 Zenshin marugoto kirei & surimu ni
 narou!!

GET PRETTY⁷⁰!!
 &SLIM UP!!
 It's coming, skin-showing season!!
 Let's become pretty & slim all over our
 bodies!!

(KIREIMO (Kireimo) 100% GIRLS!! - Zenkoku de 100-nin CM Housou-chuu)

(KIREIMO (Kireimo) 100% GIRLS!! - Broadcasting the 100-person CM All Over Japan)

Despite having heart marks on either side of the heading, this ad is more or less threatening women with the prospect of a skin-showing season spent in a body that is not slim and not pretty. Note that the advertisement uses the katakana loan word “*surimu*” rather than “*hosoi*” to express slimness. In some cases, although generally positive in a society that values thinness, “*hosoi*” is a more neutral than the unquestionably positive “*surimu*.” Being “skin-showing” “season,” rather than a specific occasion or situation, is presented as an unavoidable force of nature. Although it uses seemingly empowering concepts, and gives hope to women for whom slimness and beauty are out of reach, beauty ads often take away women’s agency, such as in this case as to whether show skin or not, at the level of conceptualization. This is less of an issue with the ads themselves, however, but the gender ideology that determines women’s value by how closely their appearance matches an impossible ideal that expects slimness, beauty, and perfection from women. It is safe to assume, as this company likely has, that many women are worried about their lack of one or both of these factors that influence their worth as a woman.

The following example is an advertising slogan by another company that offers hair removal.

Miseru hada wa,
 joshi ni totte saikyou no buki (rubi:
 mikata)

colorée⁷¹

Charming skin is,
 the strongest weapon (rubi:
 supporter) girls⁷² have

colorée

⁷⁰ “PRETTY” here is the same word, “KIREI,” that forms part of the name of the hair removal company.

⁷¹ The accent over the first “e” is a heart in the official logo.

⁷² The ad continues the pattern of referring to presumably adult women as girls, using the same word “*joshi*” as seen in the above example of “JK” as in girl high school student.

Hada o dasu junbi wa OK?

Is (your) skin-showing prep OK?

(colorée)

“*Miseru*,” is a homophone of the common verb meaning to show, but the kanji used is the same as the first one in “*miriyoku*” or “attractiveness,” and is much less commonly used. Using the less common character evokes the meaning of both the character itself and the everyday homophone, allowing both meanings to activate simultaneously within the reader’s conceptual frame without the necessity of the rubi that occurs in the next line. “Weapon” is quite a strong concept for advertising targeted at women, and is more commonly seen in those geared towards men. Forcing the audience to read the characters as “supporter” creates a blend, softening the masculinity with a more neutral concept. This allows the general concept of “*onna no buki*” or “womanly weapons” to exist in the sense of a fairly independent sexuality without bringing it into the realm of actual fighting, which is in the masculine domain, and thus unfeminine. We are left with the implication that showing skin helps women win, as long as they are attractive.

Spanx, a popular brand of shapewear, also uses empowerment marketing for their products, which is ironic, considering what the product does. Although self confidence supposedly a motivation to use shapewear, that self confidence stems from the reduced distance from the prototype provided by the product, which is meant to mold the wearer’s body into a shape and size that is closer to the ideal. Even when the function of the product clearly clashes with the empowering marketing, linguistic factors are used to shift the consumers’ conceptualization of the product to one more in line with their value system. The following are examples of marketing, from the official Spanx Instagram feeds.

YOU CAN CHANGE
THE WORLD-
GIRL.

spanx The world is ready for your big move. Tag your girlfriend that needs some encouragement to take the leap! #ChangeTheWorld #YouGotThis #MondayMotivation #GRLPWR #Regram @jennakutcher

(Spanx)

The website is clearly stylized as feminist, with the header for the “HISTORY” section stylized as being crossed out by hand, appearing as “HERHISTORY,” or “her story,” apparently rebelling against the man-centeredness of the word. Another section of the site is “LEG UP,” as in “get a leg up,” which again, rings of feminist values through the use of language that empowers women. The following are posts on the official Spanx instagram:

- “I have the right to life, liberty and chicken wings.”
- “I want to start juicing but I’m hesitant because I don’t know how to juice tacos.”
- Every time I take my bra off, I don’t know what’s about to fall out: crumbs, keys, my phone, pepper spray, pizza. . . .

(Spanx)

Instagram is primarily for posting images, but the above are all stylized text on a colorful background, commonly used to post famous quotes and the like. Though the posts encourage women to eat what they want, contrary to what diet culture teaches, they imply that the product is a way to circumvent the inevitable punishment, that is being seen as a fat person in the world, and thus less valuable than a thin woman.

Empowerment and acceptance as women as humans can soon morph into the encouragement of laziness and self indulgence. As seen in the following examples, both pursuit of the hyperfeminine prototypical ideal and the rejection of it are remedied by the purchase of some product.

Our next examples are also skin lotion campaigns aimed at women, but ones in that buying and using that particular lotion is likened to power and freedom. As observed in Tynes (2017a, 2017b) and Lazar (2006), this pattern emerges in our modern times, in which some aspects of feminism and women’s rights have become cultural norms.

The declaration of “*Botoru ni anata no chikai o* [Your statement. Your bottle.]” is further explained in the details that follow. The official translation is above, but the word “*chikai* [oath]” is commonly used in the pledge of marriage, allegiance, and in the court. It implies that the person who makes the statement has the right to do so. See the detailed description below.

Kuria na suhada wa, kono botoru kara.	Clear bare skin is from this bottle.
Unmei o kaeru ippo o fumidasu subete no jousei e	This fall, SK-II has prepared a limited

mukete, SK-II wa konshuu, kikangentei dezain no feisharu toriitomento essence o youi shimashita. Dezain botoru ni komerareta messeji wa sanshurui. Anata ni pittari no messeji wa dore desu ka?

I: CHANGE is in all of us = Henka o okosu chikara wa jibun no naka ni aru

II: DESTINY is a matter of choice = Unmei ha, jibun no sentaku ni yotte kimaru mono

III: Be the person you DECIDE to be = Jibun ga naritai jibun ni narou

time design for all women who take steps to change destiny. There are three types of bottle designs. Which of these is the message that suits you just right?

I: CHANGE is in all of us = The power to create change is in me

II: DESTINY is a matter of choice = Destiny is decided by the choices I make

III: Be the person you DECIDE to be = Become the self I want to become

35nen ijou keika shita ima demo, kawaru koto naku aisaretudukeru feisharu toriitomento essence ha, tasuu no byuuti-awaado o jushousuru SK-II no meihin. 90% ijou ga tennen yurai seibun Pitera™* de dekiteori, bitamin rui, aminosan rui, mineraru rui nado ga tappuri to fukumareteimasu.

Even now after 35 years, SK-II's famous facial treatment essence remains unchanging and is continued to be loved, winning multiple awards. It is made with over 90% of the natural ingredient Pitera™*, and full of vitamins, amino acids, and minerals.

(SK-II Japan, emphasis added)

The slogans written on the bottles, “CHANGE is in all of us,” “DESTINY is a matter of choice,” and “Be the person you DECIDE to be,” are overall expressed as active on the part of the consumer, but fails to challenge the necessity of an endless quest for beauty. The fight against the signs of aging, the loss of youth and beauty, and in turn one’s value as a woman is something that is so important that it is labeled “destiny.” Although it uses empowering and powerful language, the underlying concept of women’s worth as directly tied to physical attractiveness is emphasized. This campaign exemplifies both Empowered Beauty and Transformative Beauty (Lazar 2006).

A YouTube video of the same campaign is prefaced by the following description:

“Kigen nante nai | SK-II #changedestiny” SK-II wa “Unmei wo, kaeyou (#changedestiny)” to iu burando teema no moto, “subete no josei wa jibun no ishi de, unmei o kiri hiraki ikiru koto ga dekiru” o shinji, sore o ouenshitai to kangaeteimasu. Douga “Kigen nante nai” de ha, Nihon, soshite Ajia ya sekai kakkoku no josei ga “nenrei” ni shibarareru koto naku, pureshaa kara toki hanatare, jibun rashikukagayaki jinsei o ayunde hoshii to iu negai o kometeimasu. SK-II wa 2017 nen ni “Josei no ikikata ni kansuru ishiki

“I don’t expire | SK-II #changedestiny” Based on the brand theme, “Let’s change destiny (#chagedestiny) SK-II believes that “all women, under their own power, can defy their destiny” and wants to support women in doing so. The video “I don’t expire” includes the wish for women in Japan, Asia, and all over the world can break free of pressure and sparkle in their own way and walk life’s path without being bound by “age.” In 2017, SK-II performed the “Survey concerning

chousa” o jissshi. Sore ni yoru to, Nihon no 20dai no 7wari ijou no jousei ga 30sai o mukaeru koto ni bakuzen to shita fuan o kanjiteiru toiu koto ga akiraka ni. Kazoku ya yuujin kara no kotoba, media, soshite, SNS nado, nenrei e no puresshaa o kanjiru riyuu wa samazamadeshita. Kono you ni puresshaa o kanjiteiru ooku no jousei ni, douga o tooshite, “Unmei o kaeru chikara ha, anata jishin no naka ni aru. Dare ka ni kimerareta kigen nante nai” toiu messeiji wo, o-tsutae-shitai to kangaeteimasu.

women’s ways of living.” According to it, it becomes clear that more than 70 percent of women in their 20s feel a vague uneasiness about approaching 30. Words of family or friends, the media, or SNS, and others, the reasons women felt the pressure of age were varied. Through this video, we wish to give the message that “The power to change destiny is within you. You don’t have an expiration date chosen by someone else,” to the many women who feel this kind of pressure.

(SK-II Japan, emphasis added)

Although they call for individuality in the way they do so, the idea that women must “sparkle” and be physically beautiful in order to have worth remains. As with the other examples we have seen so far in this research, and those examined by other scholars (Nakamura 2002, 2003), women are under a unique kind of pressure to buy cosmetics and other beauty products. Women are promised that by buying this particular brand of face lotion, that they can avoid the tragic fate of spoiling beauty that awaits them otherwise, and the ridicule, unloveable-ness, and reduction of worth that it entails. While declaring freedom from constraints of the pressure of age, this conditional acceptance does little to break down the actual source of the problem, the structure of patriarchy in society, and instead points the blame at the women themselves. It is the individual’s burden to escape the “fate” that is natural aging.

As we continue to see, the ideas of power femininity and marketplace feminism presented by Lazar (2006) commandeer feminist values when convenient, but only to the point that they are useful in catching modern women’s attention without threatening the existing social structure. The following example is of the same #changedestiny campaign and features the popular Japanese actress, Haruka Ayase. The video shows her removing items such as jewelry and high heels is displayed, along with the following narration, which is also the same text as in the YouTube description, following this initial text:

SK-II: The Change Destiny Muubii: Ayase Haruka | Unmei wo, Kaeyou

Unmei o kaerareru kadouka? Sore wa, anata jishin ga, erabu koto.

SK-II: The Change Destiny Movie: Haruka Ayase | Let’s Change, Destiny

Can you change destiny? That is something that you choose, yourself.

SK-II Change Destiny kyanpeen ni sank
shiyuu.

Let's join the SK-II Change Destiny
campaign.

(SK-II)

Ima ga, mirai ni tsunagatteiru no nara,
sono mirai de, donna watashi ni narukaha,
watashi no jiyuu.
Nazenara unmei wa, ataerareru monode wa
nakute, jibun de erabumono dakara.
Kanpeki janakute ii.
Mawari ga dou omou nante ki ni shinai.
Shinjite susumou. Jibun de kimeta kono
michi wo.
Unmei o kaeru chikara wa, minna no naka
nimo, kitto aru kara.

If now is connected to the future, who I
become in that future, is up to me.
That's because destiny is not something
that you receive, but something that you
choose for yourself.
You don't have to be perfect.
Don't worry about what others think.
Believe in this path that you chose, and
move on.
The power to change destiny must be
within all of us.

(SK-II)

Declaring that women do not have expiration dates does seem to challenge the traditional notion that a woman's worth is at its most when she is young and decreases with age. It replaces chronological age with the apparent age of her skin, allowing her to be valued at an older age, as long as she continues to look young.

As highlighted earlier in this chapter, the Japanese brand Sofy widely used the "Flutter your wings, me!" catchphrase in their campaign, bringing to mind birds, butterflies, and other flying creatures, as well as UP, the direction of heaven, and angels. The contrast between "gloopy menses" and the clean, "dry skin" from use of the "fluffy and comforting" product foregrounds the user's physical experience and how they will feel after using the product (Unicharm n.d.).

American brand Always (P&G) takes a different approach in more recent advertisements, some of which went viral and received widespread attention. The following is the description from the Always official Youtube channel. Bold text denotes metaphors of fighting or physical impact, mentions of confidence and power are underlined, and italics marks encouragement in opposition of a force.

*Join Always in our **epic battle** to keep girls' confidence high during puberty and beyond.*
Using #LikeAGirl as an insult is a **hard knock** against any adolescent girl. And since the rest of puberty's really no picnic either, it's easy to see what a **huge impact** it can have on a

girl's self-confidence. Making a start by showing them that doing things #LikeAGirl is an awesome thing!

"In my work as a documentarian, I have witnessed the confidence crisis among girls and the negative **impact** of stereotypes first-hand," said Lauren Greenfield, filmmaker and director of the #LikeAGirl video. "When the words 'like a girl' are used to mean something bad, it is profoundly **disempowering**. I am proud to partner with Always to shed light on how this simple phrase can have a significant and long-lasting **impact** on girls and women. I am excited to be a *part of the movement* to redefine 'like a girl' into a positive affirmation."

So tell us... *what do YOU do #LikeAGirl?*

(#LikeAGirl)

Expressions like "epic battle," "impact," and "disempowering" are related to physical strength, usually reserved for the masculine domain. "Impact" and "hard knock" are particularly clear instances of Difficulties Are Impediments To Movement as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1999). Similarly, "disempowering" can be thought of as an example of "Lack Of An Energy Source" (Lakoff and Johnson 1999:188-90). In this, lack of confidence is conceptualized an obstruction to attaining one's goals.

<Collision with Obstacles in A Woman's Life Is A Journey>

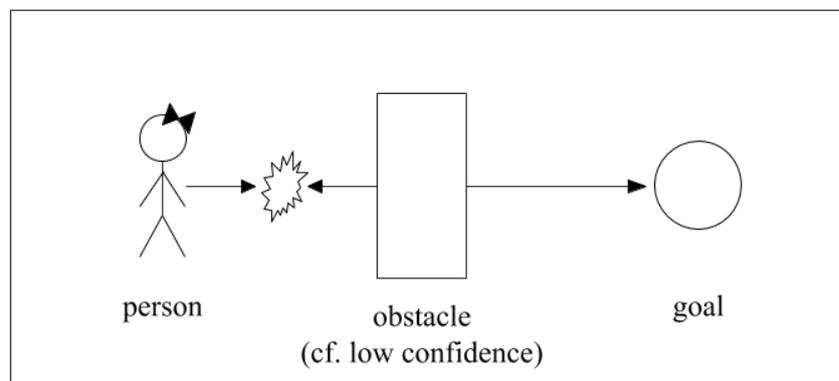


Figure 5-6

The choice of “movement” rather than “change” or another similar word in “part of the movement,” while actual physical movement is backgrounded to some degree in comparison with the primary meaning of “campaign,” it is still present in the sense of moving towards a better future. Including the concept of forward movement conceptualizes girls as active participants in their lives, not as passive objects (to be acted upon by hormones or other people. Coming from a place of activity rather than passivity makes the fighting frame more easily activated. Stating lack of confidence as an obstacle to this forward movement brings forth the idea that girls are active, which, in turn, broadens the possible range of actions.

The following is the description on the Japanese version of the same video, accessed from the official Whisper brand Youtube. “Confidence” is a major social problem here, as well.

<p>“Onna no ko rashii” koudou wa, ittai nan darou? Onaji shitsumon o, shoujotachi ni nage kakeru to...</p>	<p>What is a “like a girl” action, anyway? We tossed the same question to girls and...</p>
--	--

<p>Shishunki, sore wa, shoujotachi ga joshin o nakushite shimau jiki. Uisupaa wa, sore o, kaete ikitai.</p>	<p>Puberty, it’s the season when girls lose their confidence. Whisper wants to change that.</p>
--	--

<p>Onna no ko rashii toiu koto wa, subarashii koto da to ishiki o <i>kaeyou</i>. Uisupaa no katsudou ni kuwawari, onna no ko no jishin o sasaeyou. Anata no onna no ko rashii subarashii koudou #LIKEGIRL o tsiito shiyoun</p>	<p><i>Let’s change</i> the awareness that something done like a girl to mean something wonderful. Join Whisper’s campaign to support girls’ confidence. Use #LIKEGIRL and let’s tweet your girly and wonderful acts</p>
---	--

(www.happywhisper.com)

Overall, it is written in plain form, and uses the somewhat masculine “darou” rather than “deshou” to express the state of wondering in the opening sentence. “Shimau” expresses the unfortunate feeling of doing something, in this case, losing one’s confidence. Girls are encouraged to tweet their “wonderful, girly actions,” positioning the readers as active parties.

The much shorter length of the Japanese version is much shorter, and omits much of the overt fighting and power metaphors in the English version above.

Losing one’s confidence is given as a problem, just as in the English description. Words of encouragement are similarly used, but metaphors of physical force are not. A direct translation of the

English would have been an option, but the person or team who uploaded the Japanese video would have made a conscious decision to alter the text. Whether the intention was to save time or to consciously adjust the forcefulness of the text, the reader, who is the conceptualizer, will likely picture a less combative opposition to gender ideology. The lack of fighting metaphors that appear in the original English is a possible hint at a deeper level of cognition, at which the likely and possible actions for women differ depending on culture. Fighting metaphors, while not commonly used in women's media as a whole, may be less acceptable for Japanese than American women. Although Japan is said to be increasingly westernized, different historical and cultural background remain a factor in social and, in turn, individual cognition. As explored in Tynes (2016b), originally English media tends to be softened and politeness emphasized in order to maintain equivalent impact.

Hashtags (#) occur in the description above, but they simply suggest a specific tag for use in social media posts. Hashtags can serve to mark group awareness or in group status, in a variety of ways⁷³. The following commercial for Maybelline Loaded Bolds Matte Lipstick proactively uses hashtags, as if they were already established, as a central part of the commercial itself, calling women to #BreakTheMold and use boldly colored lipstick to express individuality. As hashtags are traditionally used between people of similar standing, among individuals, companies taking advantage of social media may be able to target people on a more personal level. This strategy is now fairly common, and can be seen as a response to the widespread use of social media, and its potential multidirectional influence on trends. The below example consists of the video description followed by the commercial itself. Bold text indicates expressions with an association with physical force or violence. The text is separated according to its timing, with many instances of just a single word on screen.

Be daring by experimenting with Maybelline's 20 new bold lipstick shades newly released in July, from Midnight Blue to Gone Greige. True to color one stroke intensity. **Break the mold** with the **Loaded Bolds**. Available exclusively online until July! Visit your favorite retailer now to purchase.

⁷³ Hashtags can be placed in front of a seemingly endless variety of expressions, whether individual words such as verbs (#adulter), nouns (#feminist), and adjectives (#basic), or phrases (#whitegirlproblems), political affiliation (#imwithher), experience (#metoo), goals (#cleaneating).

See how you can **#BreakTheMold** + check out our 20 new shades:
<https://www.maybelline.com/lip-makeup...>

ARE
YOU
STARING?

GOOD

BE A BOSS

IN BLUE

BITE BACK

IN BLACK

BREAK

THE

MOLD

FUSCIA

GREIGE

ORANGE

BLACK

**#LOADED
BOLDS**

**STRIKE
DOWN**
CONVENTION

WITH **ONE
STROKE**
INTENSITY

20
SHADES

THE **LOADED BOLDS**

MAYBELLINE
NEW YORK

([maybellinenewyork](https://www.maybelline.com) 2016/06/28)

This commercial reflects the rebellious spirit that someone seeking to #BreakTheMold and go against societal standards might aspire to. The bold, high contrast, flashing text in all capital letters is interspersed with images of women wearing non-traditional lipstick colors and looking fiercely at the camera. Additionally, typing in all capital letters is generally thought of as the internet equivalent of shouting, which is consistent with the rebellious attitude expressed in the content and visuals. Words displayed alone, especially those with particularly forceful connotations (such as “BITE,” “BREAK,” “LOADED,” and “STRIKE”), have even more impact displayed one at a time than they would had they appeared as an entire sentence. Text size is also adjusted for impact, with the individual color names in a smaller font than the calls to action.

Despite the wild and violent imagery, closer examination reveals that any metaphorical attacks are in response to something, not offensive, but defensive. The commercial encourages women not to “BITE,” but “BITE BACK,” suggesting an existing battle and an assumption of already being attacked, activating a frame of self defense. The lack of explanation implies a commonness of being the victim of attack, whether the viewer chooses to fight back or not, and is something that Maybelline deemed unnecessary to clarify. Based on the assumption of occurrence in women’s lives, the opponent in this fight is likely the generally unfair treatment of women. This is not to say that there is necessarily any truly feminist ideation behind this ad, but that some concepts are borrowed for marketing purposes, even by the beauty and diet industry, those that can be criticized for perpetuating and capitalizing on unattainable beauty ideals.

The colors themselves are “LOADED,” making lipstick a metaphorical weapon. The rebellious theme is not just in the commercial, but is consistent in the product naming.

COFFEE ADDICTION	CHOCOHOLIC	BERRY <u>BOSSY</u>
<u>WICKEDLY</u> WHITE	MIDNIGHT MERLOT	BLACKEST BERRY
NUDE <u>THRILL</u>	SMOKING RED	VIOLET VIXEN
GONE GRIEGE	DYNAMITE RED	SAPPHIRE SIREN
<u>GREY OVER IT</u>	ORANGE DANGER	MIDNIGHT BLUE
<u>MAUVE IT</u>	FIERY FUCHSIA	PITCH BLACK
RAGING RAISIN	<u>REBEL</u> PINK	

(Maybelline New York (2017))

“RAGING,” “SMOKING,” “DYNAMITE,” “DANGER,” and “FIERY” relate to hazards, contributing to the impression of being rebellious to the point of dangerous. The Japanese site offers five shades for sale, all of which are in katakana: “Mode Burgundy,” “Daring Red,” “Berry Seduction,” “Villain’s Black,” and “Daring Blue.” While the color names are unconventional, with “Daring” and “Seduction” placing the user in a position of action, rather than a state of being, they lose much of the dynamic quality of the English version. “Villain’s Black” goes against the trend for girls and women to identify with and aspire to be like the princess in fairy tales and the like, inviting a rebellion against sweetness as a default. Questioning assumptions can be a form of resistance, but it is of a different nature than metaphors of destructive power by way of the straightforward reference to explosives.

5.1.5.4 Beautiful Strength

Pantene’s famous advertising slogan, “Don’t hate me because I’m beautiful,” is so iconic as to become part of the English language. In more recent campaigns, they have built on the fame of the original slogan, by swapping “strong” for “beautiful,” accessing a more feminist-leaning brand of modern women. By changing the message in this way, strength and beauty are linked, and presents strength as at least a form of beauty, the highly regarded feminine quality.

Don’t hate me because I’m strong.

Strong is beautiful.

I’m not one without the other.

People call me “**Ms. Man.**”

They call me “**savage.**”

But if you think **fierce can’t be feminine**, I’m about to ***show you what only a strong woman can do.***

Strong is beautiful.

(Ronda Rousey - “Don’t Hate Me Because I’m Strong” | Pantene (0:31))

There are few words that appear between the defiant language, creating a tone which is made possible in part because of the speaker’s status as a world champion of mixed martial arts. The simple slogan is displayed as dynamic, flashing text, and all in capital letters.

Strength is connected to femininity, as a part of (or type of) beauty. However, as strength is considered a major part of masculinity, it is likely more directly connected to men and manliness. The figure below is, while subjective and incomplete, a possible way of thinking about the

connections between beauty, strength, femininity, and masculinity in a conceptual network. It displays only a small part of a much larger network.

<Masculinity and Femininity Linked to Strength>

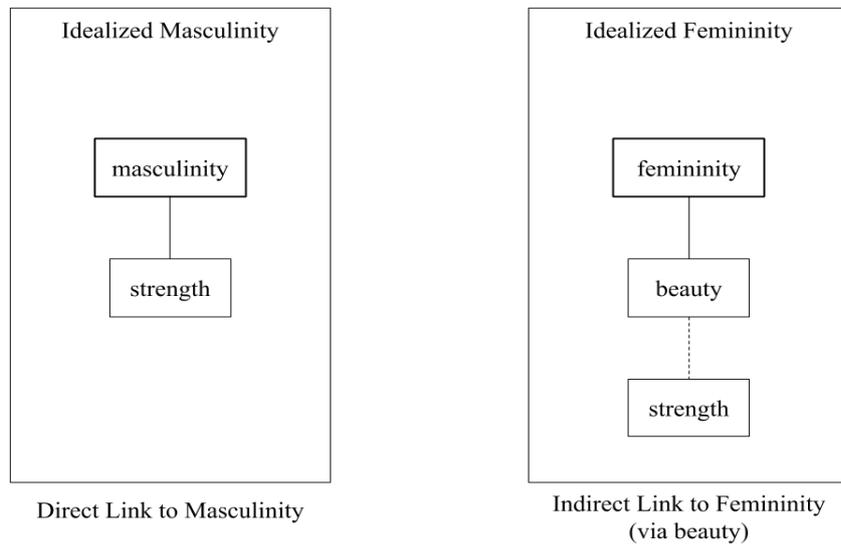


Figure 5-7

Strength and masculinity would have been more tightly and exclusively connected in a more outwardly patriarchal society, in the not so distant past in the United States mainstream culture. Women would be thought of as weak beings, and a strong woman would be pushed to the periphery if not removed from the category entirely⁷⁴.

The above video with Ronda Rousey is also an example of femininity as mandatory for women's value, not just in contexts in which sex is directly related, such as reproduction, but as the right to exist as a human at all. Rousey tells of critics who reject her in terms of her performance of femininity ("People call me "Ms. Man.") which in turn connects to a judgement of humanity

⁷⁴ Of course, as discussed by Bell Hooks (1988), black women were placed in a completely different narrative, not as fragile and worth protecting, but of dangerous goods. During slavery, black women's physical strength was assumed, and was part of their value as a commodity. They were not, however, considered beautiful, which may be where her story converges with those of white women in the United States. Whether black women's assumed strength, enough that "strong black woman" is a well known concept, is included in this declaration of strength as beauty for white women is not entirely clear.

(“They call me ‘savage.’). While the Japanese website does include a page for the same product, the marketing is markedly different. The equivalent campaign consisting of a series of commercials, accessed on the official Youtube, is as transcribed and translated below.

Asa.	Morning.
Watashi wa asa ga suki.	I like mornings.
Watashi no naka ni, nanika ga mezameru kara.	Because something awakens within me.
Watashi no naka ni, nanika ga hajimaru kara.	Because something begins within me.
Kokoro, karada, soshite kono kami.	Soul, body, and this hair.
Shijou saikou no watashi ga yattekuru.	The best me ever is coming.
Watashi rashiku, GO FOR BEAUTIFUL!	My Way/Be Myself, GO FOR BEAUTIFUL!

(Pantene “From Morning, My Way/Be Myself, GO FOR BEAUTIFUL!”)

This series of ads features Nanao, a model and actress popular at the time of the campaign, who narrates the above ad. It is markedly less combative than the American commercial, with no mentions of strength or fighting. This is likely as much of a difference in spokespersons than in cultures, in that Ronda Rousey is a professional fighter, making a living off her physical abilities, while Nanao does a very different kind of physical job. The Nanao commercial uses inoffensive, but vaguely inspiring, language that can potentially apply to anyone, much like newspaper horoscopes. The beginning and awakening of this non-specific positive future, becoming the “best me ever,” is in part thanks to “this hair.” Yet again, a woman’s future happiness and value is conceptualized as being directly connected to her amount of beauty.

Speaker	Romanized Japanese	My English Translation
Nanao	Watashi ga asa kara konna ni genki na wake. Sore wa ne, asa okita toki kara kami ga kimatteru kara.	Because I’m this energetic from the morning. That’s because my hair is set from the time I wake up.
Narrator	Tanjou Panteen shijou saikou noudo [<i>no subtitle: no puro bitamin shohou de</i>] Yoru, ofuro agari no gooruden taimu ni kea. Yokuasa.	Birth of the most concentrated [<i>no subtitle: with medicated provitamins</i>] Care during the golden time, after bathing at night. The next morning.
Nanao	O, kimatteru♡ [<i>heart mark in subtitles only</i>]	Oh, looks good♡ [<i>heart mark in subtitles only</i>]

Narrator	Tsuya hazumu kami. Asa ga kawaru. Neguse furii na kami e. GO FOR BEAUTIFUL Panteen	Shiny, radiant hair. Morning will change. Be free of bed head. GO FOR BEAUTIFUL Pantene
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(Pantene “Morning Will Change. Ms. Nanao Version”)

While “GO FOR BEAUTIFUL” encourages women to take some action, which defies the dichotomy of men as active and women as objects to be acted upon, it is not as much of a shift in expectations as declaring beauty in strength. Beauty is, instead, connected with being energetic, being oneself, or doing something one’s own way. This freedom of individuality is, however, limited to individual consistent with expectations of women, namely cheerfulness and smooth hair. Claiming that a product will make one more like oneself is a contradiction that is largely ignored, which is likely because of the widespread acceptance and perpetuation of consumer femininity. The next example is from the same series, also featuring Nanao, who narrates herself removing her clothing and accessories.

Nanao rashisa tte nani? Fasshon? Meiku?	What is Nanao-ness? Fashion? Makeup?
Nanaorashisa wa, sonnan janai.	Nanao-ness is not something like that.
Nugisuterareru mono nante “watashi rashisa” to wa ienai.	I can’t say something is “like myself” if I can take it off and throw it away ⁷⁵ .
Subete o nuide nokoru no ga watashi.	I am what remains when I take it all off.
Sore wa, kono kami. Soshite, watashi no naka no tsuyosa.	That is, this hair. And, the strength within me.
Hoka ni nani mo iranai.	I don’t need anything else.
Kono kami ga watashi ni chikara o kureru kara.	Because this hair gives me power.

Watashi rashiku, GO FOR BEAUTIFUL! My Way/Be Myself, GO FOR BEAUTIFUL!

(Pantene “My Way/Be Myself, GO FOR BEAUTIFUL! Ms. Nanao Version”)

The mention of strength and power is similar to the Ronda Rousey advertisement, but the type of strength viewers imagine is different. While the American ad speaks of the type of power gained

⁷⁵ Viewers must choose to ignore the fact that hair can be cut, and thus, effectively removed like clothing or accessories, as well as that her makeup remains on for the duration of the commercial. Nanao’s individuality supposedly comes from her hair, which, as we know from the rest of the series, is as important as her soul and body.

through physical training, strength in the Japanese one is limited to “the strength within,” that is, the type of strength typically expected of women, one that has no effect on her attractiveness to men⁷⁶. Furthermore, the woman herself is not labeled “strong,” even though she is presented as containing some strength. Her hair is the source of that power, at least in part.

Note that both the concepts of strength, or “*tsuyosa*,” and power, “*chikara*” are used. Strength is a quality, while power can be a temporary possession, such as in the sense of a battery having power or not, or a political party having power or not. The more permanent nature of strength may be part of why the writers chose to limit “*tsuyosa*” to the internal, while not qualifying “*chikara*.”

Speaker	Japanese Romanization	My English Translation
Nanao	Modorenai Mou modorenai Ima made no kondishonaa ni modoreru wake nai	I can't go back I can't go back now There's no way I can go back to conventional conditioners
Announcer	Panteen ga kondishonaa o kaeru. Torikon toujou Uruoi Sarasara Shiriizu Tori-kon Sore wa toriitomento in kondishonaa Kondishonaa dake de jitsugen Odoriki no sarasara hea e.	Pantene will change conditioners Trea-Con has arrived Moisture Smooth Series Trea-con That is treatment in conditioner Made real with just conditioner Surprisingly smooth hair.
Nanao	Mou modorenai	I can't go back
Models	Watashitachi wa Tori-kon no toriko	We're prisoners ⁷⁷ of Trea-con
Announcer	GO FOR BEAUTIFUL, Panteen	GO FOR BEAUTIFUL, Pantene.

(P&G Pantene “Mou Modorenai” hen×Nanao)

(P&G Pantene “I Can't Go Back” version×Nanao)

⁷⁶ While being overly forceful, even in the sense of opinions and the like, is unattractive, that is more likely to be labeled as meanness, bossiness, or bitchiness in a woman. Additionally, as the speaker is a model, whose fame depends on attractiveness, we can assume that strength of character has not detracted from her value.

⁷⁷ The word used here to express the addiction to the product is “*toriko*,” literally meaning captive, but commonly used to express being addicted to or crazy about something. There is some play with sounds, as “*toriko*” is just one consonant away from “*Tori-kon*,” the newly coined name for this type of product.

There is no fighting in this final Pantene example, but there is strong directional metaphor in “I can’t go back” and “GO FOR BEAUTIFUL.” Note that she expresses the outcome as an inability to go back, rather than a choice not to go back. While there is a sense of independence, her agency is tempered with a sense of limited choice.

As discussed in Tynes (2017a) the Life Is A Journey conceptual metaphor can, at times, combine with fighting metaphors in modern American marketing for women's products, but was not observed in the equivalent Japanese language examples. The Japanese examples did imply category extension of femininity, in that the women portrayed display agency and activity rather than passivity. This is not to say that English is better for women or that America is more advanced, simply that the expression of liberation is different, as it is shaped by the history of the language and the culture it comes from. Different societies, while becoming more homogenous in the technological age, still retain their unique backgrounds and style of gender ideology. "Strong is beautiful" is certainly more combative than "Go for beautiful," but fighting is not superior to movement, and more violent does not necessarily mean more success for women. In most examples from both regions, despite difference in expression, the agency afforded was within the conceptual constraints of a woman's place in society: such as freedom within the frame of makeup or individuality in hair products.

The ANESSA sunscreen commercial that claims sweat as a womanly weapon is a near counterexample, but metaphor of going along a path toward a goal was clearly more common. Beauty is a goal, just as it has been throughout the examples considered so far in this chapter. While it is a major one, and the beauty industry focuses on it, there are other aspects of femininity connected with gender ideology.

5.1.6 Marketing of the Traditionally Masculine to Women

This section examines cases in which marketing serves to convince that the product or service sold is consistent with improving or maintaining position within the target group. Even when this is not entirely realistic, advertising may be made more effective by making the consumer aware of and highlighting their distance from the ideal, prototypical man or woman. The following are examples of advertising that is directly related to gender ideology.

In our capitalist, consumerist society, companies compete with each other for the consumers' limited income. While individuals may worry about femininity, masculinity, and other social factors, money performs its function no matter whose wallet it comes from. Because of this, as long as the consumers are satisfied, there is no real need to conform to the concept of the ideal woman or man, and may not even reflect the worldview of those on the selling party in all cases. In this section, we examine marketing language that uses gender ideology to advise non traditional practices. Practices can be attached to femininity or masculinity even in cases in which it differs from traditional gender roles. We observe language used in advertisements geared toward men for products or services that are generally considered to be in the feminine domain, or typically men-centered products or services aimed at a female audience. The blending and other forms of instantiation that occurs on a linguistic level has the potential to incite change in social habits. These examples differ from the political ones in that even if there is intention to create an impact on the society or country, the most important factor is ultimately the company profits. Even with different motives, the fact that societal change has occurred, or at least the conformation and normalization of an existing trend, remains.

Because patriarchal society tends to conceptualize men and women as being on opposite ends of a binary, when things have a strong association with one gender they become disassociated with the other. This can be a problem for capitalism, in the sense that it is in companies' best interests to get as many customers as possible, regardless of ideology. In order to make strongly feminine or masculine products or services appealing to the binary opposite, extra force may be necessary, that is, a stronger association must be formed to counter the existing one.

Marking something puts it within the domain referred to by the label. The label generally describes a noun, making it a convenient strategy in product naming, evidenced by its frequency. The following example features a clearly marked feminine version of a product, in this case, side-dish chili oil.

Otometachi no okazu raayu

Maidens' side-dish chili oil

(Yappa umai! Esubii Shokuhin "Okazu raayu shiriizu")

(Of course it's delicious! S&B Foods "Side-dish chili oil series")

Of course, there is some amount of tongue in cheek humor to the naming of the product, but as the smell of garlic and greasiness is addressed in the “*Jissai ni tabete itadakimashita!* [We had [people graciously] actually try it!]” column, there are some serious concerns women have that block them from becoming consumers of the other products. The order in which the site enters the reader’s consciousness can be guessed by the size and direction of the text. Clearly marking this as “maidens” product activates the feminine domain, of which a “maiden” is a central figure.

Ninniku
haittenaiwayo

Garlic
there’s none in here!

(Yappa umai! Esubii Shokuhin “Okazu raayu shiriizu”)

(Of course it’s delicious! S&B Foods “Side-dish chili oil series”)

The above, which is printed around the lid of the jar, is presumably said from the point of view of one of the “maidens” who has eaten the product before. This “*wa yo*” is a marker of stereotypically feminine speech, often found in manga and anime, that expresses both that the speaker’s femininity and strong conviction, and is an example of what Kinsui (2003) calls “*yakuwari-go*” or “role language.” This statement is not particularly polite, as it drops the particle “*ga*” It is further described as “*honmori choi karai* [just a slight bit spicy],” the femininity of the expressions not being upstaged by that of the package, which is covered in pink heart marks (♥).

The idea that women and men inherently have different taste preferences has been widely discussed (Counihan 1999, Adams 2000), with women preferring (or being naturally inclined towards) lighter foods such as salad, fruit, and yogurt, while men are stereotyped as eating meatier, greasier foods. The exception would be sweets, as exemplified by chocolate and other desserts explicitly marked as being for men. This will be further discussed later in the course of study.

In a society that assigns more value to women when they take up less physical space, it is less than surprising that the relationship to food and one’s body can be complicated. This complicated relationship is reflected in the products appealing to those individuals who are in it.

Tabegotae juubun
itsudemo tanoshimeru

Satisfying enough
[you] can enjoy anytime

(Yappa umai! Esubii Shokuhin “Okazu raayu shiriizu”)

(Of course it’s delicious! S&B Foods “Side-dish chili oil series”)

In terms of persuading the reader to buy something, describing the product as being “satisfying enough” is quite a weak expression. This, however, reflects the reserved attitude women are expected to take toward food, especially in Japanese culture, where thinness is not only idolized, but the norm. If “satisfying enough” were replaced with a stronger statement, such as “extremely satisfying,” it may no longer fit into the domain, the brand of hyper-femininity represented by “maidens.” When women are expected to regularly diet to maintain social acceptability, one can imagine a phrase such as that used in the men’s advertisement, “*Umami ga gisshiri tsumatte—omowazu hashi ga tomaranai!* [Packed with savoriness—[my] chopsticks won’t stop moving!.]” actually having the opposite effect, inciting wariness in the prospective consumer. Losing the ability to control one’s intake, and thus physical appearance, is not a desirable quality in a food product targeted towards women.

The following are sample reviews from the aforementioned column on the website. They are not overtly marked as being by women, but instead by the language used and subject matter, as well as the silhouettes of thin women in model-esque poses that serve as symbols. All of these factors contribute to the desirable femininity that is presumably attached to this product and its users,

Motto aburappoi to omotte
ita no no kuchi ni **nokorazu**
kininaranai!

[I] thought [it would be] more oily
but [it] doesn’t **stay in my mouth and**
bother me!

(Yappa umai! Esubii Shokuhin “Okazu raayu shiriizu”)

(Of course it’s delicious! S&B Foods “Side-dish chili oil series”)

Assuming oiliness from a product with “chili oil” in its name is not so farfetched. Preemptively contradicting this presumption hints to oiliness as a feature and as a negative in this domain of women’s food. The example that follows appears on the same page as the above, and is framed as a review from women who have tried the product.

Sarada ni **doresshingu**
gawari nimo tsukaesou!

[I think I] can **even** use [this] **instead of dressing**
for salad!

(Yappa umai! Esubii Shokuhin “Okazu raayu shiriizu” (underline in original))

(Of course it’s delicious! S&B Foods “Side-dish chili oil series” (underline in original))

Besides of the mention of salad, what is arguably the most representative “lady food,” note the less than confident suggestion for dressing. This may venture into the writer’s opinion, but salad dressing

is a fairly clear concept. Either way, the intent is clear, to relate the product to the epitome of healthy foods, and slide the unhealthy, fattening image to a more diet friendly place. This shift would place the product in reach of the type of woman accepted as feminine, who eat salad and keep their fat intake under control. This campaign is thought to work by making obvious, and foregrounding femininity, or the possibility of it, through the personal noun “otome [maiden]” and the characterized feminine speech, therefore diluting the masculine image. The homepage is split up as the following.

Anata ni pittari no okazu raayu wa docchi?
Okazu Raayu Aishou Shindan

Anata ga ki ni naru okazu raayu wa docchi?

	Gattsuri ikitai ore-tachi ha!		Niowazu oishii otome ha!
Furaido gaarikku iri!		Abura herashimashita!	Ninniku haittenai wa yo!
Oretachi no okazu raayu		Oretachino parapara okazu raayu	Otome-tachi no okazu raayu

(Yappa Umai! Esubii Shokuhin “Okazu Raayu Shiriiizu”)

Which side-dish chili oil is the one for you?
Side-dish Chili Oil Compatibility Diagnosis

Which side-dish chili oil are you interested in?

	I wanna go all out! Our [masculine] style!		Delicious and not stinky! Maiden style!
With fried garlic!		Reduced oil!	There’s no garlic in it!
Our [masculine] side-dish chili oil		Our [masculine] flaky side-dish chili oil	Maidens’ side-dish chili oil

(Of Course It’s Delicious! S&B Foods “Side-dish Chili Oil Series”)

Note that there are two options for the masculine consumer, that with fried garlic, and that with reduced oil. While men have a choice in reducing oil or not, women are assumed to have certain concerns. The oiliness (not diet-friendly) qualities are mediated by their pairing with salad, reducing the need for it in this specific section.

It is clear that the women's version is non-prototypical by considering the one targeted towards men. The products labeled "our [masculine] style" and "for maiden style" are positioned as a binary, with at least the presumed speaker/writer (representing the prototype) and perhaps the consumer being included in the group represented by "us." "Maidens" are not included of members of that group, and are not likely to be understood as central chili oil consumers.

The strategies that initiate these processes aim to place the product (/service/candidate/behavior) into the domain of the reader(/listener/viewer)⁷⁸, who is a conceptualizer in a passive or secondary sense, changing behavior on an individual level. While media makers initially create the content, they take into account the way the consumers of the content will understand it (Ehara 1988) leading the audience in a secondary form of conceptualization. Similarities are created through processes such as extension, metaphor, and focusing, both individually and simultaneously, leading to the activation of the cognitive abilities of instantiation as well as the related categorization.

The following commercial was retrieved from the official Suntory Youtube channel. There are other campaigns as well, but this series is likely to have been aimed squarely at women, with the language use and only a female-presenting model appearing in them. Although more women drink beer in modern times, it can be said that the male image of the beverage is still strong today. Language that gives off a masculine impression is said in an extra feminine way, which has the effect of neutralizing it both linguistically and the act in and of itself. The text explaining the video is as follows:

Oishisou na o niku o houbari, ureshi-
souna hyoujou no Mizuhara-san.
"Niku to Puremoru go houbida naa"
O niku o tabe, <kaoru> eeru o

Ms. Mizuhara chews delicious looking
meat with a happy expression on her face.
"Meat and Pre-Mal is such a treat"
As she eats the meat, and gets a sip of the

⁷⁸ In marketing media, it will be placed in the domain of the consumer. In the case of political or social movements, it encourages a specific behavior (voting or changing a habit) to be chosen.

hitokuchi nomi hitokoto, “Horeta.”	〈fragrant〉 ale, “I’m in love”
Maishuu ataru kinyoubi no go houbi kyanpeen 9/ 11 ~ 10/ 10 jissshi-chuu	There will be winners every week during the Friday Reward Campaign from 9/11 ~ 10/10
Puremoru to gyuuniku no setto atarimasu.	We have sets of Pre-Mal and beef.

(Za Puremiamu Morutsu “Kinyoubi no Gohoubi Kyanpeen (Mizuhara Kiko)” Hen)

(The Premium Malt’s “Friday Reward Campaign (Mizuhara Kiko)” Version)

The text reads like a novel, consisting of a narrator and the model’s comment as she eats and drink, consistent with the first part of the video’s audio. “*Hoobari*” (verb “*hoobaru*”) means to fill one’s mouth with food, literally meaning that one’s cheeks become taut. In this case, it is written as *hiragana* characters, as opposed to the *kanji* for cheek and stretch, resulting in the meaning of the individual characters being somewhat backgrounded. Nonetheless, “*hoobaru*” retains some awareness of being watched, a subject-object relationship (whether the verb is used to describe oneself or someone else), as the meaning contains the appearance of fullness. Meat is beautified with the honorific “*o*” (see chapter 3) as “*o-niku*,” making the whole affair much classier than we can imagine a similar commercial with a man selling manliness (along with beer) would be. So we have this model stuffing her face with meat, and somehow, it’s appealing. As touched on in chapter 3, and this is true in both Japanese and English speaking countries, we as a culture seem to be obsessed with models eating. We worship their thinness, which is more than likely obtained by not eating, but are then fascinated with what and how she eats. Eating, as a sensual experience, invites a similar kind of voyeurism that exposed flesh can, provided that the objectified person is in line with the preferences of the viewer. In the case of models who fit the social requirements for women to take up as little space as possible, we are more than happy to watch as she enjoys herself.

The reader is invited to partake of both the woman and the food. As this is written from the point of view of an unseen third party, not the woman herself, who sits at the table alone, the reader is put in the position of an observer. Despite both the meat-eating and beer-drinking being traditionally conceptualized as predominantly masculine acts, the woman appearing in the commercial performs these masculine-colored acts with pronounced femininity. The following are the vocalizations as they occur in the video.

Oishi-so	It looks delicious!
Iii nioi!	Smells good!
Itadaki ma~su	I'm going to eat.
Mmm! Oishii...	Mmm! Delicious...
Gghuo~ [guttural sounds]	Gghuo~
Ahh horeta.	Ahh I'm in love.
O niku to puremoru, go houbida naa	Meat and Pre-Mal is such a treat
maishuu ataru, kinyoubi no go houbi	There will be winners every week during the
kyanpeen jisshi-chuu	Friday Reward Campaign in progress
kore! Min'na ni mo atatcha imasu	This! You all have a chance to win this, too.
juugatsu hatsuka no tousen happyou	The winners will be announced on October
wa, watashi kara	20th, by me!

(Za Puremiamu Morutsu "Kinyoubi no Gohoubi Kyanpeen (Mizuhara Kiko)" Hen)

(The Premium Malt's "Friday Reward Campaign (Mizuhara Kiko)" Version)

As you can see, I have had limited success in expressing the guttural utterances that accompany the eating of the meat and drinking of the beer. These are more sound than language, and become a sensual performance for the benefit of the viewer. For viewers who are women she is aspirational, and represents the attractive ideal. As the directionality of "*Horeta* (I'm in love)" is ambiguous, the possibility of it being directed to the viewer cannot be completely erased. The fantasy of a woman you want to possess saying, I'm in love (with the man who brought the beer)." Whether media is intended for men or women, women are consistently objectified. It simultaneously makes use of the aspirational femininity for women viewers and the classic strategy of using sexy women to sell products for men. As the conceptualizer, the viewer can observe the scene from many angles.

"*Horeta*" is definitely not dainty, feminine language, and expresses a strong, one-way emotion. Although not aggressive, it indicates a difference in power between the speaker and the object of the emotion, evoking the masculine domain. The lexical masculinity, however, is tempered by the speaker's cute, feminine vocal quality and pitch (somewhat high with rising intonation). Combined with extralinguistic factors, this performance of femininity prevents the model from giving off an overtly masculine impression. Female viewers drawn to the attractive, independent, woman shown in the advertisement may also feel more open to her choice of beverage. "*Kaoru* (fragrant)" is also a woman's name, and easily activates the domain of femininity.

Differing from "*Otouhan*" discussed in Chapter 4, there is no need for a generic space in this purely conceptual blend, making the 3 domain model sufficient (Fauconnier and Turner 2002).

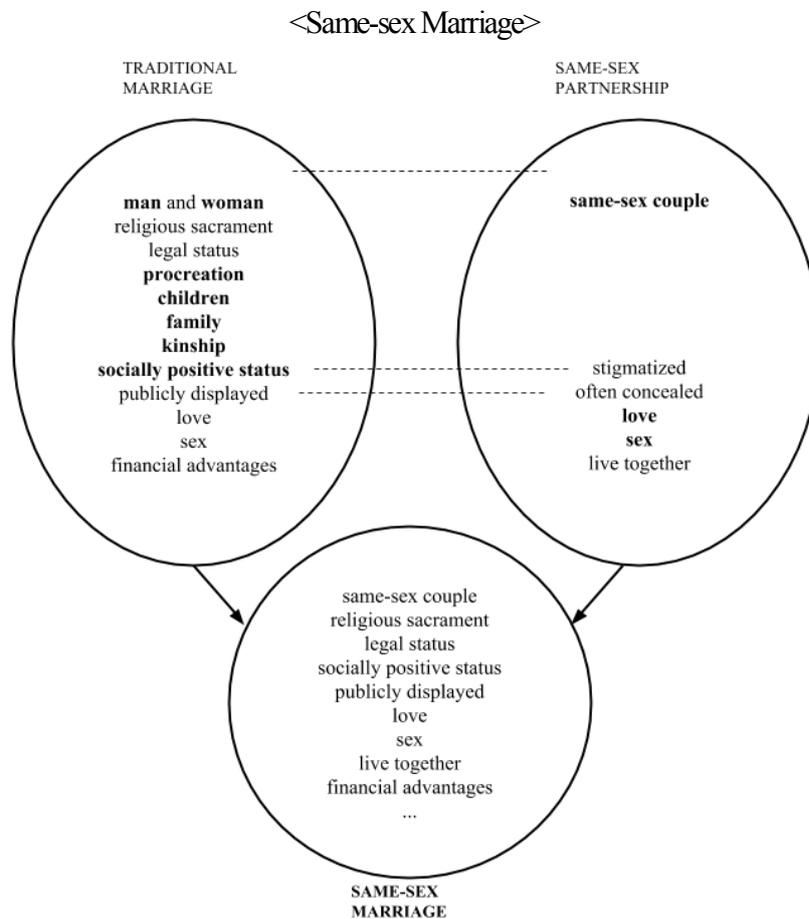


Figure 5-8

(Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 271)

The above figure, adapted from Fauconnier and Turner (2002), shows the ideas of traditional heterosexual marriage and homosexual partnership resulting in a blend, homosexual marriage. The factors on the spaces on the left and right are incorporated into the blend shown at the bottom, showing a same-sex relationship with the same social acceptance as a traditional marriage.

In this particular commercial for Premium Malt's, both feminine and masculine elements are present, creating a blend of a somewhat different quality, but an example of blending nonetheless.

<Beer-drinking Lady Blend>

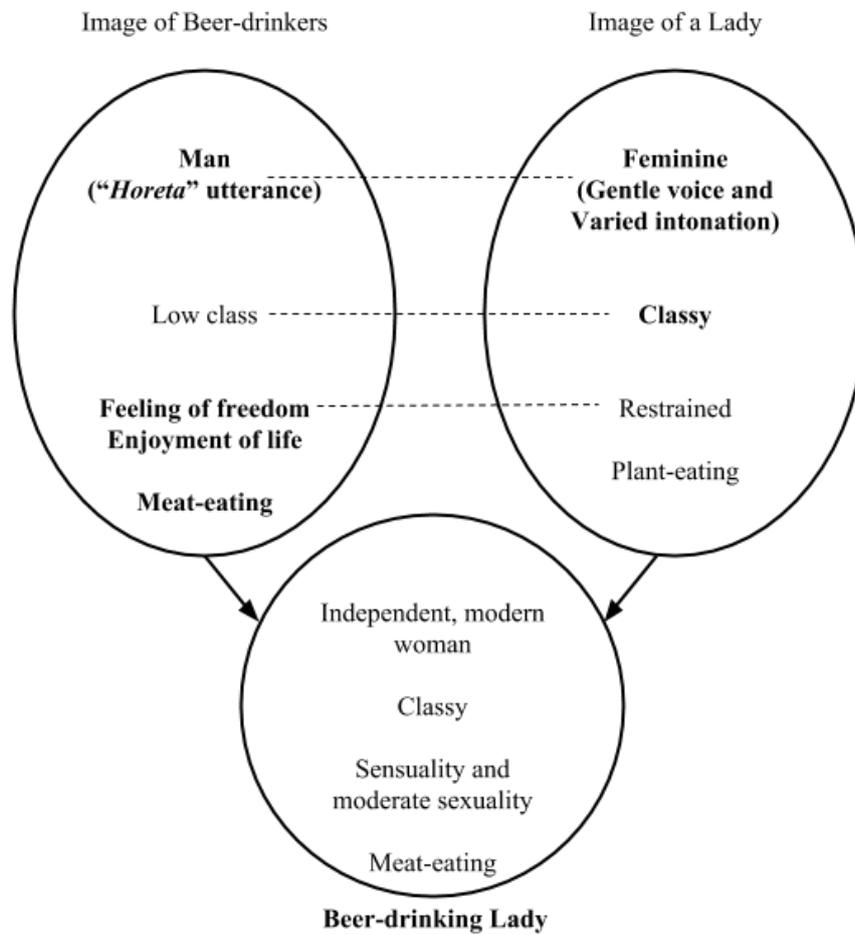


Figure5-9

Any masculinity is neutralized through its blending with hyper-femininity, breaking through the image of beer as being squarely in the masculine domain. Through the cognitive processes of focusing and blending, a product or act can be aimed at any social group, increasing the acceptability.

Hasshu tagu “# kaoru eeru” to,
 “# kyou wa _ to puremoru to” no kuuhaku
 bubun ni o sukina ryouri-mei o tsuika shite,
 ryouri to < kaoru > eeru no gazou to tomoni
 toukou!

Hashtag “#fragrant ale” and,
 “# __ and PreMal today” the blank
 is for your to add your favorite food,
 and post it along with a photo of the food
 and <fragrant> ale!

(Suntory |# Kyou wa _ to Puremoru to Gazou Toukou Kyanpeen)

(Suntory |Today is # __ and PreMal and Image Post Campaign)

This campaign is likely aimed at young women who use Instagram. The new practice of drinking (or at least buying) beer is attached to the existing practice of posting something to social media. Note the beautifying “o” in front of “sukina (favorite).” Sharing recipes, a common pattern in magazines and other media aimed at women, takes advantage of and connects the concept of beer to the kitchen and domestic duties, what is typically considered to be the realm of women. “PreMal” is shorter and easier to say than “The Premium Malt’s,” which we can assume also makes it more likely to trend, especially in the domain of social media.

The following campaign, for the HP Spectre x360 laptop computer, exemplifies the feminization of technology which would otherwise be thought of as within the masculine domain. Linguistic features, from the lexicon to the syntactical patterns, conceptually place the computer as not just being appropriate for women, but as a tool to increase femininity. Below, we consider a short musical in which a woman prepares for her wedding using the laptop. There is another video in the series, in which the woman uses the computer to prepare for her son’s birthday, thus winning at motherhood. This one, however, is more blatantly connected to gender ideology (putting aside the fact that we assume that the mother would take care of offspring in this way) in its language. It is clearly marked as being for women in the slogan, which claims that “With HP Spectre x360, busy women’s days are as you please.” Before moving on to the ad itself, the description as posted on the official Youtube is as follows.

Isshou ni ichido no kekkonshiki.	The once in a lifetime wedding.
Jibuntachi mo, minna ni totemo suteki na hitotoki ni shitai!	We want it to be a wonderful time for us, and everyone!
Pure-hanayome ga shikaketa sapuraizu to wa!?	And the surprise the pre-bride set up?!
#PureHanayomePC #SutoresuFuriiPC	#PreBridePC #StressFreePC

(HPPCJP Youtube “Wedding - Pre-bride’s Surprise Strategy)

As the woman is described as being “pre-brides⁷⁹” rather than the standard “engaged” or just “a woman who will get married,” viewers are invited to consider her, and themselves, in terms of her wedding day. Although marriage is a major event, there are countless other possible central points

⁷⁹The word used here to mean bride, “*hanayome*,” is made up of the characters for “flower” and “bride” or “wife.” While “*yome*” by itself can also mean “bride,” it can also extend long past the wedding day, while “*hanayome*” more strongly refers to the decorated bride on the day she gets married.

of life, such as graduation or first job. Her life, and likely that of the target group, is framed as being either before, on the day of, or after being married⁸⁰. The young bride, who is most beautiful on her special day, is the epitome of femininity⁸¹. Women are frequently defined by their relationship to men, and this defining moment of womanhood makes weddings an appropriate theme to assert the femininity boosting powers of the machine. “#StressFreePC” assures women that the technology, that they have likely been convinced they are not suited for, will be easy to use. The commercial itself, termed a “special movie,” combines speech and song, as romanized and translated below.

Speaker	Romanized Speech	Translated Speech	Romanized Lyrics	Translated Lyrics
Pre- bride	Watashi, mousugu kekkonsuru, purehanayome desu. <u>Shigoto ga isogashiku</u> <u>datte</u> , kekkonshiki wa shikkari kodawaritai. Datte, isshou ni ichido no taisetsu na hi damono .	I am a pre-bride about to get married. Even though work is busy, I want to be particular about the details of the wedding. After all, it’s a special day, and once in a lifetime.		
			Shikijou erabi wa daiji Koko dake wa honto misurenaino Ookii gamen de kumanaku chekku A! Kore chotto suteki janai?	Choosing the hall is important I definitely can’t make a mistake here Use the big screen to check every nook and cranny Oh! Isn’t this a bit lovely?

⁸⁰ This is targeted specifically to young, unmarried women, whose optimistic dreams of weddings outweigh the reality of marriage as requiring maintenance, or divorce statistics.

⁸¹ The idea that it is commonly referred to as her special day, rather than the couple’s or the family’s, is also worth unpacking in terms of gender ideology. It is likely that she as at her greatest societal worth: young, made up, dressed up, not yet possessed by someone, and before childbearing, making the concept of a bride a reasonable candidate for the idealized cognitive model of a woman.

	Yoku miru to bimyo	Looking closely it's dubious ⁸²		
			Purofiru mo te wa nukana Koko de wa gesuto ni waratte hoshii Kawaii shashin mo omoide mo Baransu yoku choisu shite	I can't ease up with the progile We want the guests to laugh here Cute photos and memories too Make choices with good balance
Fiance	Kore yokunai?	Isn't this nice?		
Pre- bride	[Fiance] Dou?	[Fiance]How's this?	Tokubetsu na hi ga yatte kuru Doresu wa dore ga ii kashira? Tokubetsu na hi ga yatte kuruyo Ukare suginai de toki ni wa reisei ni Paafekuto na shiki ni suru wa!	The special day is coming I wonder which dress is good? The special day is coming, you know Don't get too lighthearted, keep your calm at times I'm going to make this ceremony perfect!
	Roozu pinku de matometaindesu	I want to pull it all together with rose pink.		
Staff	Kochira wa dou deshou	How do you like this?		
Pre- bride	Sore wa fearii pinku desu	That is fairy pink		

⁸²“*Bimyou*,” is shortened to the katakana “*bimyo*.” While the original range of meanings indicating delicate subtlety, it is commonly used to mean dicey or dubious, especially among younger people and when written in katakana.

Staff	Kochira wa?	And this one?		
Pre- bride	Sore wa supuringutaimu pinku desu ne	That looks like springtime pink.		
			Imeeji wa seikaku ni tsutaenakya Hitomakase ja	Gotta convey the image accurately Leaving it up to others
	Manzoku dekinai!	I can't be satisfied!		
			Tokubetsu na hi ga yattekuru Shoutaijou wa tedzukuri de Tokubetsu na hi ga yattekuru yo Ryouri no aji wa dou kashira <u>Ima dake</u> <u>wagamama</u> <u>yurushite ne</u> Yeah	The special day is coming Invitations will be hand-made The special day is coming What about the flavors of the food <u>Forgive the selfishness just for now</u> Yeah
			Minna no kansha wasurenai Kyou made honto arigatou Minna e kasha tsutaetai Sono kimochi o kyou tsutaetai	Don't forget gratitude Thank you for up until today Convey gratitude to everyone Tell them your feelings today
	Sapuraizu daiseikou	Hugely successful surprise		
			Taisetsu na omoide ni	So that it will become an

			narimasu youni.	important memory.
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(HPPCJP Youtube “Wedding - Pre-bride’s Surprise Strategy)

In this first scene we see the distinctively feminine “*damono*,” which emphasizes the reason and emotional attachment to it. Ending in “*no*” is another typical feature of women’s language, at least in the media. Similarly “*kashira*” and “*dawa*” are easily recognizable highlights of women’s language.

While these specific grammatical features of Japanese women’s language do not translate into English, filler words (“Oh! Isn’t this a bit lovely?”) and the particularity within specific and frame of knowledge (the distinction between “rose pink,” “springtime pink,” and “fairy pink”) that is generally regarded as unimportant, is consistent with the features of women’s language outlined in Lakoff(1975).

Note that the actual specifications of the the computer are not mentioned, just vague references to a large screen and demonstration of how easy it is to carry. The emphasis is, instead, on femininity, which defocuses the product itself, and instead brings focus to the type of person who would use it, in this case, a lovely, feminine bride.

5.2 Advertisements for Men

For comparison, the English HP marketing makes no mention of brides, mothers, or femininity on the user’s part at all, instead feminizing the computer itself, as is often seen in descriptions of computers and other machines. The following is the description uploaded with a commercial for the same line of computers, as accessed from the HP official Youtube.

The world's thinnest laptop. This is design and technology taken to a whole new level.
<http://www.hp.com/go/hpspectrelaptop>
Artisan materials and **striking** craftsmanship create an experience unlike anything else.
 With a uniquely **stunning** design 10.4mm thin combined with impressive
performance with full Intel® Core™ i5 or i7 power, the world's most *luxurious* laptop
 is **completely irresistible**.

(HP “The World's Thinnest Laptop | HP Spectre | HP”)

“Artisan,” “craftsmanship,” and “performance” are, as exemplified by the men’s razors in Tynes(2016a) are familiar concepts in advertising that targets men. In addition to power and other masculine concepts, there is a sensual quality, as in “luxurious,” and adjectives that describe attraction, such as “striking,” “stunning,” and “irresistible.” While these are not metaphors for a sexual relationship on their own, the computer continues to be likened the pursued party in a relationship (generally the woman in patriarchal heteronormativity), as seen in the transcript below. The commercial is narrated by a masculine voice.

The Spectre Notebook is the best notebook HP's ever made. It is also the *thinnest* notebook that we've ever made. It is a *marriage* of engineering and design working together. As we look at the Spectre notebook, you'll notice the bold use of a copper color. We wanted the warmth to come out, we wanted it to feel a little bit more like a piece of *jewelry*.

It is more artisan than manufacture. It looks as if a craftsman made just one of those. What you're gonna find is this unique piece of metal to the back. It has an artisan feel, almost if it was **hammered** out, **filed**, **polished**. The hinge is a **re-engineered** lift mechanism, tucked away to the inside.

It uses pistons to lift and lower the display. This notebook incorporates Intel Core Performance. That's one of the top end, highest performance Intel Core processors. It delivers long battery life, but also a very *sleek* and nice form factor. This uses USB-C, the next generation of USB, each of these is not only data in and data out, it's also power.

When in the past, you had to have so many different connectors, now you only need one. Bang and Olufsen audio is part of the design. The speaker perf is machined in, it's almost *lace-like* in metal. When you look at the Spectre, it doesn't look like any other

notebook out there.

This is the balance of great **engineering** and *beautiful lifestyle design*, all captured in that Spectre Notebook.

(HP “The World's Thinnest Laptop | HP Spectre | HP”)

The underlined terms mark masculinity through the conceptual metaphor of mechanics or craftsmanship, that is to say, manly profession. A quick search on COCA confirms that this commercial is not an isolated case in referring to and judging electronics with the same language as when objectifying women. “Form factor” is a particularly relevant, though uncommon term, in that it frequently appeared with words that are commonly used to judge the body size of people, especially women. Relatively neutral adjectives, “compact,” and “small,” generally negative “chubby,” and “chunky,” and the covetable “ultrathin” were all used to modify “form factor” in the results, 35 of the total 45 being from science and technology magazines. “Lace-like” and “beautiful” express the physical presentation of femininity “irresistible,” the pull of attraction, while “marriage” and “jewelry” are strongly associated with women and heterosexual relationships with them. The two themes, masculine craftsmanship and feminine sexualization continues throughout the text.

Thinness, as a highly valued aspect of beauty, appears several times on the homepage in personifying slogans such as “Power never looked so thin” and “See just how powerful thin can be.”

Women and men are socialized in ways that would likely affect how they placed themselves in th relation to the personified product. While thinness represents something that men value in a partner, they would simply desire the product. For women, however, who have been socialized into diet culture, thinness is a quality which they are groomed to desire in terms of something they want to possess themselves. This is yet another instance of women being led to conceptualize themselves through the male gaze, the standard point of view in patriarchal society. Three of the headings which are particularly clear in the comparison to human women are as follows.

Inspiration for innovation
See just how powerful thin can be.
There's thin and there's thinnest
Desire starts with a design that has no comparison. Crafted with durable aluminum and carbon fiber,
this impossibly thin laptop redefines perfection.
Power never looked so thin
This featherweight 13-inch diagonal laptop weighs just 2.45 pounds.³

(HP Development Company, L.P. 2017)

Not only are women invited to see the object as feminine, but the superlatives/adjectives of comparison, as in “There’s thin and there’s thinner” invite the sort of petty competition women are so often accused of taking part in. In other parts of the website, adjectives such as “intelligent,” along with technical lingo further extends both of the metaphors (manly work and sexy women) seen in the advertisement video.

The more subtle presence of gender ideology in the English language marketing is likely an indication of the general acceptance of computer use as normal in the United States. Likely because of the, until recently, different paths of personal electronics in America (popularity of home computers compared to the more mobile-focused Japanese culture) there is not need to specifically instruct women on how their lives would benefit from a laptop.

Electronics are commonly referred to as sleek, slim, and sexy, or thick and clunky, just as one would objectify and describe women. Both women and machines are for the pleasure of the user, who, regardless of gender, will objectify her. The sexualization of electronics parallels the simultaneous objectification and sexualization of women, as well as the obsession with the new and youthful of either. Masculinity is expressed in the objectification of the the feminine, which is the standard lens in patriarchal society, whether the individual identifies as man, woman, or neither.

Beauty, being a major part of femininity, is traditionally not commonly associated with masculinity. Capitalism, on the other hand, is tends to be more concerned with profits than upholding tradition, which creates a conflict of interests with the consumers whose ideology is ingrained in their thinking. The linguistic acrobatics that accompany the masculine conceptualization of feminine concepts is worth considering in order to further understand the

flexibility of social cognition in relation to gender ideology. This section will examine the linguistic strategies used in order to sell men’s beauty and personal care products, attempting to break through the binary that exists in society because of gender ideology.

The following is an excerpt from Hot Pepper, a coupon-centered publication that has information on businesses and services available in the region. Although it is not advertising that is directly from the company, it acts as a sort of filter of marketing. It is clearly a part of marketing, as a publication paid for by advertisements, but its magazine form makes it difficult to place within the genres considered in this dissertation. Hot Pepper is widely available for free in train stations and other public places, acting as the potential first contact with these products and services, especially for those who do not buy men’s magazines.

<p>News 01 Skin Care Tegarusa ga Hitto “Menzu-you” Ooruinwan Keshouhin ga Atsui</p>		<p>News 01 Skin Care The Ease is a Hit "For Men" All-In-One Cosmetic Liquids are Hot</p>	
<p>Bihada wa hoshitsu kara. Sono ishiki wa shintou shiteiru mono no, keshousui ya nyuueki to iroiro tsukau no wa madamada nigate na menzu shokun. Soko de daihitto-chuu nano ga, ooruinwan keshousui da.</p>	<p>Yamakawa’s comment "Ooruinwan wa kongo menzu biyoi no shuryuu ni natte iku deshō <u>Kinousei to ribensei o yuusen suru no ga dansei no shikou no tokuchou.</u> 2 akushon wa mendou dakedo, 1 akushon nara iijan toiu hito ga fue, shouhin mo zouka keikou desu.”</p>	<p>Beautiful skin is from moisture. That awareness is permeating, but you guys, men, are still not good at using various toners and moisturizers. In that, all-in-one cosmetic liquids are in the middle of a big hit.</p>	<p>Yamakawa’s comment "All-in-ones will probably become the mainstream of men’s beauty from now on. <u>Prioritizing functionality and convenience are characteristics of male thought.</u> People increasingly think that two actions are a pain, but if it’s one that’s fine, and the products are tending to increase as well."</p>

(HOT PEPPER: 12)

The label "For Men" seems to greatly offset the feminine concept of beauty, at least from the publisher’s point of view. The text itself contains terms like “functionality,” as well as numerous

Chinese characters and loan words⁸³, which are more expected in a business context, pulling it further into the masculine domain. It continues to appeal to masculinity by claiming that the products are in line with the “characteristics of male thought.”

The article continues on to introduce products for “Hair Care” and “Deodorant Care,” positioning them as important items to improve masculinity through attractiveness to women.

Japanese Romanization			My Translation		
Wow! ARE you OK?	Nioi mondai andaahea jijou, hada taisaku	Ima shitte oku beki, Ima ya otoko datte biyou ni kodawatte koso nanbo no jidai. Mashite ya joshi-mote <u>o nerau nara</u> , kougando appu ni oteire wa kakasenai mono. Chekku suru beki 10dai nyuusu o otodoke!	Wow! ARE you OK?	The smell problem, under-hair conditions, and skin protection	What you should know now, Now is an era that it’s especially meaningful for men to be particular about beauty. Maintenance is even more vital if you aim to be popular with the girls. We present the 10 big news you should check.

(HOT PEPPER: 13)

Since part of masculinity is popularity with women, framing personal care as a way to get positive attention from women is a recurring theme in men’s advertising.

The following is a commercial for the men’s version of Febreze fabric spray. While commercials for the standard version portray it as being for the whole stinky family, especially the stench of teenaged boys, the person actually doing the spraying is a woman. Febreze MEN, on the other hand, is marketed to men, especially single men, to freshen their suits and be more attractive (which could mean they can get a wife to take care of his smell for him).

Speaker	Japanese Subtitles	Japanese Display	Translated Subtitles	Translated Display
		Otoko no Faburiizu		Men’s Febreze
Song	♪Omae	Ase no nioi	♪Yer a	The smell of sweat

⁸³ Native Japanese words that would be written in hiragana, on the other hand, are generally considered softer and more feminine than loan words that use Chinese characters. Loan words from English or other languages often express business terms, especially in industries related to technology.

	ganbaru MEN		hardworking MEN	
Man	Kussa...		Stinks...	
Song	♪Nioi ki ni naru MEN	Kimyo Reitaro	♪MEN concerned with smell	Kimyo Reitaro
	♪Itsu ka sawayaka MEN		♪Sometime fresh MEN	
	♪Ima wa Faburiizu MEN		♪Now is Febreze MEN	
Narrator	Otoko no 5-dai shuu ni kiku Faburiizu MEN	P&G Otoko no 5-dai shuu ni kiku. ※ase, taishuu, kareishuu, tabako, yakiniku Faburiizu MEN	Works on the 5 big man smells Febreze MEN	P&G Works on the 5 big man smells Febreze MEN ※sweat, body odor, old person smell ⁸⁴ , tobacco, grilled meat Febreze MEN
Man	Yosh!		Right on!	

(P&G Official Febreze Channel “【Febreze Men】 Commute”)

“Omae” is a rough, masculine way of addressing a usually singular someone, which does technically contradict the plural “MEN.” When it comes to “men” as a lone English word in Japanese, especially when used as a marker for the men’s version of something, it is much more common to repeat the same form of the word rather than force the reader or viewer to remember what they learned in English class and recognize the different conjugation. Advertisers are likely much more interested in reducing the effort it takes for the consumer to understand, and be convinced by, the marketing, and prioritize catchiness over correct English grammar.

⁸⁴ While in English we string together three words to express the idea of “old person smell,” it is an established concept in Japanese, with its own word. It is a common worry, further goaded by tales of horror, such as of daughters refusing to wear clothes washed in the same machine as her father.

The “fresh” mentioned here is not the same kind of freshness expressed as “*shinsen*” in the hair removal ad in section 5.1.5.3, which is usually used for food and other consumables. “*Sawayaka*” is fresh in the sense of invigorating, like a brisk wind, and can describe a person who is full of vitality or energy. While “*sawayaka*” is neutral, not exclusively used to describe men, the tendency to describe men as active and women as passive reveals different expectations for them. “*Sawayaka*” does not, for example, imply that something will rot or somehow lose the positive quality, but “*shinsen*” is time dependent, reflecting the quickly depreciating value of feminine attractiveness within gender ideology.

Although the “NIVEA MEN” product series is very plainly marked as masculine in each language, the slogan differs between English and Japanese in more ways than a simple translation. The English catch copy is “It starts with you,” lacking any further outright reference to masculinity. Rather, it infers the activeness associated with and assumed by masculinity, almost creating an obligation to use the products with the vagueness of “It,” implying that whatever “It” is, if the reader fails to “start” “It,” nothing will happen. The reader can imagine this “It” to be related to business or another breadwinning realm associated with manliness, a romantic relationship, or any other start-worthy venture. This emphasis on activeness rather than the effect on the skin itself in the slogan shifts the brand from its assumed feminine place within the domain of beauty and skincare. The Japanese mission page includes words such as “*jishin* [confidence]” and “*kanousei* [possibility].”

Motto otoko ga tanoshiku naru

Have more fun being a man

Doitsu no Hanburuku ni 100 nen ijou mae ni umarete irai, sekai no ooku no fan ni sasaerareru Nibea burando.
Sono yasashisa to, hada o mamoru tame no tashika na hinshitu o motomeru kimochi o onaji ni, dansei burando toshite umarete “Nibea Men.”

Since its birth in Hamburg over 100 years ago, the Nivea brand is supported by its many fans. With that same gentleness and pursuit of a certain quality to protect skin, it was born as the male brand “Nivea Men.”

Dansei no ichinichi ichinichi no sukinkea shuukan ga, dansei no tashika na **jishin to kanousei o** hikidasu ippo to nari, mainichi o motto tanishiku, kokochiyoi mono e to michibikeru koto wo, teian shiteikimasu.

We propose that men’s skincare habits each and every day become a step to pulling out men’s certain **confidence and possibility**, and lead to making each day more fun and comfortable.

(Mission - Motto Otoko ga Tanoshiku Naru NIVEA MEN, emphasis added)

In addition to the marking the product itself, the American homepage includes humorous nods to masculinity with “MAN-TWEETS” and “BATHE YOURSELF IN YOUTUBE,” further softening the typical feminine image associated with skincare products. The UK website takes a somewhat milder approach with the more standard “KEEP IN TOUCH ON TWITTER” and “SEE MORE FROM NIVEA MEN & LIVERPOOL FC” links that appear. The UK site does, on the other hand, quite obviously call out to the audience with “MEN! THIS IS YOUR CREAM!” compared to the less direct but still lexically masculine “CRAFTED FOR MEN” on the USA homepage. Even within the English-speaking world, different strategies are employed to reach a specific group, implying more local differences in conceptualization, and underscoring the necessity of considering smaller groups rather than only on the monolithic level of English and Japanese. These markers of masculinity serve as labels that serve to obscure the assumed femininity of the product type. Let us consider this in terms of a simple domain matrix:

<Domains Associated with Masculinity and Femininity within Gender Ideology>

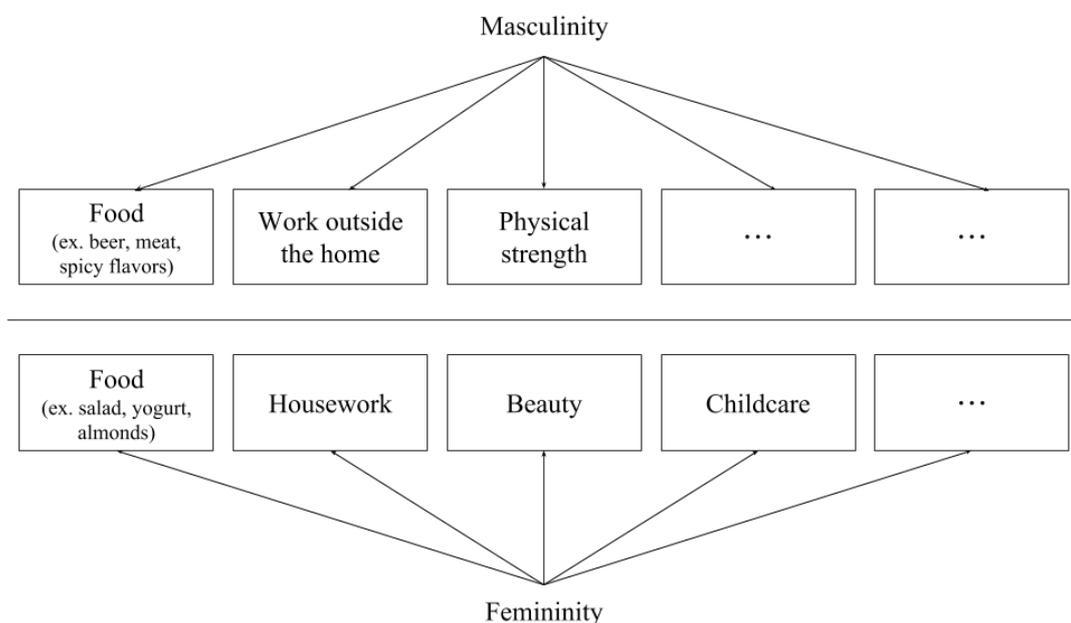


Figure 5-10

Because of gender ideology, women’s and men’s typical roles and domains are clearly split. Any action considered manly is inherently considered unfeminine, and crossing these boundaries has

traditionally been frowned upon. As evidenced by the processes and media examples we have discussed above, the transformation that has begun to occur in cognition on a societal level can be expressed as follows.

<Crossover of Traditional Masculine and Feminine Domains>

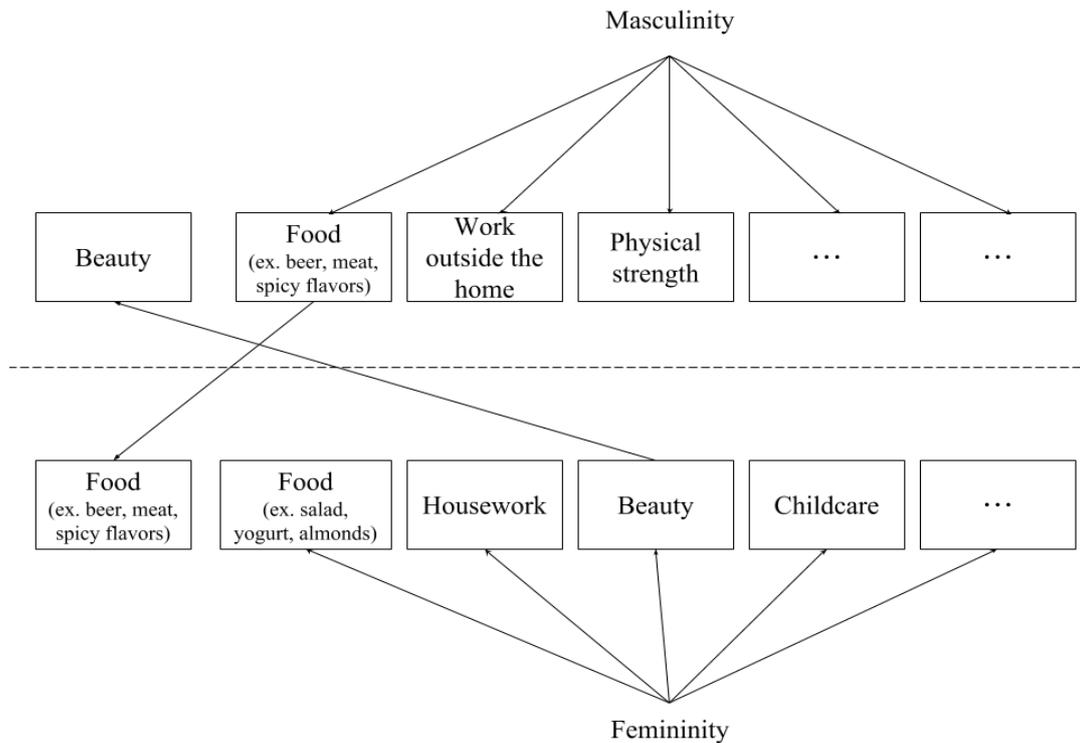


Figure 5-11

Some things typically thought of as being for men are more easily accepted for women, and certain traditionally women’s behaviors or possessions are more forgivable when taken by men. This can be thought of as the result of once widely separated, binary domains have become somewhat more blurred in recent years.

5.3 LGBTQ Awareness in Marketing Discourse

The strict father model proposed in Lakoff (2002) can be understood of as present in not only the political space, but in various parts of a person’s life. The public and private, the political and the personal, influence each other and are not as easily separable as is commonly believed. The

political frame and the personal (consumerist) frame are mutually dependant, with the potential for mapping between them.

"Voting with your dollar" is an established concept in American English, giving political power to participation in capitalism. A political approach is often a part of modern marketing, especially when targeting politically minded consumers. Using politically charged advertisements or product naming in accordance with the target group, especially when it involves marginalized people (ex. people of color or LGBTQ) or takes a stance on political problems (ex. immigration, feminism) can make it especially difficult to completely separate politics from consumerism.

Transgender rights was a central issue in the 2016 U.S. presidential election. The following advertisement for Secret deodorant takes a clear political stance on transgender women's rights to use the women's public restroom. Years ago Secret changed their original slogan, "Strong enough for a man, but made for a woman," eventually coming to the current one, "Stress tested for women," acknowledging the special kinds of stress patriarchal society causes women, and that it "stinks out there" for women. The following shows the displayed text during this LGBT affirming commercial.

Stress test #8620
Dana finds the courage to show there's no wrong way to be a woman.
STRESS TESTED FOR WOMEN

(Secret Deodorant | Ladies' Room | #StressTest)

The video simply shows a (presumably transgendered) woman about to leave a bathroom stall, but pausing when two other women come in and start chatting at the sink. She does decide to leave the stall, and is spared stinkiness in the stressful situation because of her choice in deodorant. The ad does imply that the trans woman is simply trying "to pretend to be a woman" or "to dress like a woman," which would undermine the experiences of women like her, but instead subtly declares that she is a woman. Accepting transgender women as women, without qualifying it, and without even outwardly referring to, and thus marking, her gender, is the same as taking a liberal political

stance. The lack of markedness is a bold choice that normalizes a marginalized experience and aligns the company with the far left, and as an ally to LGBT customers. Furthermore, Dana is described as having “courage,” an undeniably positive trait, inviting the viewer to conceptualize her as a hero. By choosing a woman who is peripheral in the category, addressing harassment as a real fear, and expressing solidarity, Secret risks alienating some viewers with Lakoff’s “strict father model,” who would likely not accept her as a woman, which could potentially lead to backlash and harm to the bottom line.

Homosexuality challenges the monolithic authority of the father. And above all, it challenges the natural order, which presupposes that sex is heterosexual sex in which men are dominant over women and that, in a family, this natural order carries over to the moral order.

(Lakoff 2002: 225)

Those with familiarity of gender studies use separate words to describe different sexual orientations and gender identities, but LGBT may be lumped together into one major concept for those who have a strict father moral framework. The difference would be whether someone dresses as a woman or not, but rather that they express defiance in terms of the natural order. Women cannot become men, and men cannot become women, which would be a step down socially.

From the perspective of Nurturant Parent morality, the issue of education looks very different. Multiculturalism, feminism, gay rights, and the ecology movement are seen, like the civil rights movement, as being great advances—moral advances—in American culture and civilization. Like the civil rights movement, they should be taught as advances.

(ibid.: 23)

But advocates of Strict Father morality do not see all these changes as advances; they see many of them as immoral, backward steps. And they see the history of some of these changes, which is written from the perspective of correcting abuses, as an attack on their most fundamental moral beliefs.

(ibid.: 232)

The “family values” often appealed to by conservatives reflect fear of different family structures would have a negative effect on their strict father ideal, which protects the inherent hierarchy within and among nuclear families.

Chapter 6

Discussion and Conclusion

This study has explored the ways in which gender ideology is expressed in the language of everyday media, as well as some probable effects on the people who consume that media. As discussed in Ehara(1988), despite not being directly involved in or affecting the content, the consumers of media actively strive to understand and give meaning to the media expressions they take in. While media is commonly thought of as less important than real-world communication, viewers, listeners, or readers are affected more deeply than they might imagine.

Society's image of how women are supposed to be is used to encourage or discourage a variety of behaviors, as was seen in each of the main chapters. The same behavior, such as buying accessories, doing household chores, or removing hair, can be placed in either the category of masculine or feminine based on the linguistic choices on the part of the media makers.

In this dissertation we have explored the discourse in three types of media discourse using a cognitive linguistics approach to more deeply understand the gender ideology reflected in the language. This study found that, although women do have more freedom than they once did, the discrimination that remains is on a deep, conceptual level. Gender ideology restricts people of all genders from truly making their own decisions, but, as is reflected in the language, women bear the extra burden of beauty and other aspects of femininity that overshadows other areas of their lives.

The current social climate and continued necessity of gender and language research was discussed in the introductory chapter, along with the potential for media language (as opposed to natural speech) to push towards a more inclusive society.

Previous studies in women's language, cognitive linguistics, and sociolinguistics were introduced in Chapter 2. Along with the limitations of more singular approaches, it offered an explanation of how both critical discourse analysis and a cognitive approach are valuable tools in reducing the impact of deeply imbedded bigoted thinking.

Chapter 3 used examples from entertainment media, that which is generally the focus of a media interaction, rather than political or capitalistic action, to explore ways in which language, an expression of gender ideology, is used to normalize and encourage behavior and thought patterns. The basic linguistic strategies discussed in Chapter 3 were found in the other main chapters, slightly

adjusted according to the purpose of the media. With ideological language in both examples of the promotion of classic gender norms (in women's fashion magazines) as well as less established behaviors (in men's fashion magazines), it forms the foundation for the rest of the analysis in this dissertation.

Chapter 4 examines political discourse in a broad sense, from public service announcements aimed at laypeople, to news segments, to the words of politicians. Due to the nature of the subject matter, a seemingly endless barrage of media, when to add more examples and when to save them for future research was a major dilemma faced during the course of this dissertation. Each section of any of the main chapters could easily be analyzed in more depth, zoomed in on with more examples, and this was found to be especially true for Chapter 4. While there was large variation in the types of political media, the discourse points to a persisting ideology of the roles men and women should have. Although far-reaching media requires financial support, political media is, at least superficially, the least motivated by capitalism, offering a clearer look at the social ideals without the pressure to sell a product or service.

The final media type, marketing media, was discussed in Chapter 5. Due to its limited run time or space on a page, as well as the goal of convincing the consumer to pay for a product or service, advertisements can be thought of as the most concentrated form of mass media. Because of this compact nature, we expected that stereotypes and other cultural prototypes would be even more salient than in full-length mass media, and this seemed to hold true for this case study. The intersection of consumerism and gender ideology was especially salient in advertising that targets women or men specifically. Nakamura (2003) suggests that societal pressure leads women on an unending, obligatory quest for beauty, creating a culture of "consumer femininity" (Nakamura 2003:209). The promise that beauty, and in turn, worth, can be had with the purchase of one more product could make women more vulnerable to advertising. As was especially present in Chapter 5, the pursuit of value and strength through beauty, an accepted domain of femininity strongly linked to her worth, is especially limited in this misogynist culture that discredits women because of the very femininity they strive to enhance.

Focusing, blending, and framing were observed as mechanisms of conceptualizing behaviors as ideologically appropriate or inappropriate. While some amount of justification was offered for new behaviors (ex. men choosing accessories or women buying computers), the

culturally accepted gender norms (ex. women do chores, women must always strive to be more beautiful) were assumed, presented as background information without explanation. The implication that everyone knows something and the target media consumer is the last to find out about something plays on the fear of being left behind socially, and is another strategy that repeatedly appeared in the examples analyzed in this dissertation.

Gender ideology was used to encourage behaviors, whether it be through normalization in entertainment media, social change in political media, or capitalistic gain in marketing media. The behavior itself appears to be irrelevant to whether it was prescribed for the target, what matters was the framing and categorization of the behavior, a large part of which are linguistic factors, such as those presented in this dissertation.

An important strategy used to normalize these behaviors was categorization of it as masculine or feminine. This femininity or masculinity was frequently conceptualized as advantageous in terms of being attractive to the opposite sex. Implying strength, prestige, and other masculine traits placed the styles presented in men's magazines, for example, within the masculine domain. Linguistically blending the behavior with an accepted part of the masculine domain re-conceptualized it as an instance of masculinity, potentially overriding the reflex to write it off as feminine, thus increasing its overall acceptability. The linguistic marker of products or services as being "For men" or "Men's" was seen in both English and Japanese examples, clearly marking behaviors as being for a particular gender. Conceptual metaphor (ex. warrior) was a more subtle, but still clear within the cultural context, way to mark a behavior as being masculine or feminine.

One notable finding was that although mainstream media generally promotes their product, service, or normalized behavior as pulling the actor towards centrality in the category, some targets were not promised true centrality but rather relative centrality, compared to their starting place in the category. This makes subculture, counterculture, and otherwise non-prototypical targets another important path of continued research.

For any given action, language could be used to focus on how it would make the doer feel stronger and more capable, or make the people around them experience them more pleasantly. According to the analysis of the examples given in this dissertation, men tend to be the active subject whether the media is geared towards men or women. Conversely, women were conceptualized as

passive, much of their worth in how they are perceived by others, even in media for and by women, in both English and Japanese examples.

The discourse hints at lingering societal tendencies to assume the male gaze as the default and men's as the standard voice. Even in women's media, and even in pieces written by women, the embodied experience given weight to was that of the man, or society at large, who perceives her, rather than the person herself. In the media discourse, both men and women are invited to conceptualize women as objects rather than subjects, acted upon rather than having agency of their own. Each woman is seen through the lens of society, each aspect of her a commodity, by both other people and when evaluating herself. Her own embodied experience is suspected and minimized, conceptualized through metaphor and the like as being less than human, if it is even mentioned at all.

Women are still assumed as in charge of the home and domestic duties, while men are active participants in larger society. The contradiction of women being both pushed toward the home and being public property cements to their status as less than. The standards placed on women in the name of femininity are unrealistic, but through these time consuming beauty routines, expensive clothing, and stifling of their voices, they must pay the toll into the world of men, fulfilling their duties as women before being given a space in the public sphere, assuming that the space is actually there. If only she were thinner, with better skin, or more flattering clothes, or if only she were more confident she could play with the big boys. But as we see in our treatment of women in the public sphere, women are criticized and shamed for how they present themselves, whether they are too close to or too far from the prototypical, beautiful, feminine woman. In patriarchal society, with the long history of misogyny so deeply ingrained, women are liable to be criticized for stepping out of her assigned place whether she follows the rules of gender ideology or not.

While the thinly-veiled but ever present misogyny can seem hopeless, this is where the power of language can be used to create the gender equal society the first world claims to have. The same linguistic strategies that are used problematically, such as the support of behaviors or the exploitation of ideology-based insecurities purely for economic gain, can be used to support the broadening of minds.

Research such as this dissertation, that builds off of the work of feminist linguists and cognitive linguists, can call attention to the ways in which media consumers are made susceptible to

the concepts presented to them. Through this awareness, people can increasingly make their own decisions, rather than simply buying into what gender ideology leads them to believe is ideal.

The goal of this research is not to ruin everyone's fun by creating a world without fashion, cosmetics, or dessert, but to point out some weaknesses we have when ideas are presented in certain ways. Language can be used to frame what we might otherwise reject in an appealing (or necessary) way, guiding both our choices and way of thinking. Media literacy can be a form of self defense, to allow people to make freer choices, rather than that based on normalized stereotypes or obligation based on their genitalia. Simply put, actions become manly when men are supposed to do it, and womanly when women are supposed to do it (and especially when it is advertised in a curly, pink font). Media language, reinforced the stereotypical, active roles for men and passive roles for women in society.

The examples in this dissertation point to ways in which society conceptualizes women as being in very restrictive roles. While not as overt as it once was, women are primarily expected to perform femininity, a large part of which is beauty, before any other expressions of humanity. Femininity is, as acknowledged by particular advertisements and magazines, unrealistic in itself for those of us to whom the traits do not come naturally, as it is largely a combination of denial of human drives for food, comfort, and rest. The obligation to be of a specific build, wear certain clothes, and perform time consuming grooming rituals, and spend one's own money to do so makes the gender wage gap discussed in the introduction even more infuriating. While these sacrifices of time, money, and energy to the god of femininity are becoming more recognized as an unreasonable burden, society makes it very difficult to step outside of it, with public ridicule of women who do not conform.

Gender performance is fluid, changing with the time and place, and while the concrete behaviors may change, the reasoning behind them is consistent with that culture's ideals of femininity or masculinity. Whether behaviors are encouraged or discouraged has more to do with the cultural context than how natural it is for men or women to be performing it.

While biological characteristics and processes are unlikely to be associated with another sex, learned femininity and masculinity is more about a set of ideas than the behaviors themselves. Much of what we think of as feminine or masculine is less about the physical body and more about social construction. Idealized feminine physical traits, though considered attractive and beautiful, are

largely not tied directly to biology, but to her adherence to a set of rules women are expected to obey, which, in the first world, is to make her body as thin, hairless, and well decorated as possible.

Feminine behaviors, manner of speaking, and even thought, are socially constructed and part of the social training that makes girls feel the need to protect their futures by manipulating their physical form. As both a symptom and a cause of upheld gender ideology, and the unequal burden it places on women, language has the potential to create real change. While it may be too late for some of us to completely remove limiting patterns of thinking, gradual change in the social environment may give future generations the opportunity for true equality.

While truth is often decided by who has the power to define it, leading to the maintenance of prejudice and language offers the potential to change societal truths. Just as some of what we once believed to be facts about women or minorities has been set aside, there is still much improvement to be made for fair representation of marginalized groups. Without giving value to voices of all people, not just those who are historically privileged, there will continue to be a limited point of view, skewed towards maintaining the power imbalance. This dissertation has helped to secure the cognitive linguistic approach as an important analytical tool for social problems, expanding possibilities for its use in understanding mechanisms of discrimination. By broadening the applicability of cognitive linguistics, this study helps bridge the disconnect between it and gender and sociolinguistics.

While this study has unpacked some of the larger themes relating to gender ideology in the media discourse, such as the idea that women are public property, for consumption by society as a whole, or that her body is dangerous and must be controlled, this research is far from complete. This dissertation largely focused on women's media, with the corresponding men's media secondary to it. Because, although gender ideology affects all people and limits their agency, women are generally limited in greater and more obvious ways, with more urgent affect on their lives⁸⁵. As is such, most of the behaviors associated with the language analyzed in this case study are generally considered to be of women, leaving a clear path of future study.

⁸⁵ In the commonly believed, binary model of gender, there are biologically male men and biologically female women, with no other variations. Of course, individuals who do not fit into this narrow understanding of gender are further from any prototype, and thus more likely to be oppressed in society as it is.

Qualitative research, such as this case study, allows for deep analysis of the discourse, but is limited in telling just how prevalent it is. Future research can build on this study and more thoroughly examine the media discourse outlined here. Possible directions include a more focused look at gender ideology expressed in media aimed at men and women at each stage of life (children, teenagers, adults, elderly, etc.) and for or about those of ethnic or social minorities.

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