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The Talking Dog: Representations of Self and Others in Japanese Advertising

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The Talking Dog: Representations of Self and Others in Japanese Advertising

Eryk Salvaggio

ABSTRACT

Japan has one of the smallest immigrant populations in the world, and foreign others are represented on Japanese television in rates far exceeding their immediate presence. Representations have a profound impact on shaping imaginaries of selves and others, defining the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. Yet, Japan, in its real and mediated spaces, marks foreigners with extreme and often self-Orientalizing difference, reflecting the influence of a long-dominant strain of ethos-nationalist ideology.

Television advertising reflects this ideology in its representations of others. By representing others according to myths unchallenged by physical contact, advertising sustains ideologies of 'Japaneseness' that conflate national, personal and social belonging which aims to orient Japanese identity to group, rather than individual, consciousness.

This qualitative study examines this ideology in two advertising campaigns featuring interactions with an Other. Barthesian semiotic analysis was applied to SoftBank's 'White Family' campaign and Boss Coffee's 'Alien Jones' campaign to reveal encoded associations within television advertising. A psychoanalytic framework was adopted to examine the point of symbolic exchange with the product: Was the product associated with stratified, individualized 'lifestyles' as in Western advertising, or toward group belonging, reflecting a particularly Japanese ideology?

The campaigns revealed evidence supporting both hypotheses. Others were depicted following the lines of ethos-nationalist ideology as it has been theorized by Western and Japanese academics. Furthermore, the advertisement rooted associations to its product through group orientations of identity, matching an ethos-nationalist concept of a homogenous Japan.

This methodology therefore suggests a fertile approach to reading Japanese advertisements through their ideological function.

Keywords: *Television, Advertising, Japan, Ideology, Representation, Others, Imagined Community*

INTRODUCTION

‘The world and its players appear in the media, and for most of us that is the only place they do appear. Appearance itself becomes, in both senses of the word, the world’ (Silverstone, 1994: 30).

Silverstone’s observation is of particular relevance in Japan, where ‘others’ are encountered on screens more than in streets: foreigners are 1.25 per cent of the total Japanese population (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications Statistics Bureau, 2013), ‘the smallest ratio of immigrants in the developed world’ (Green and Kadoya, 2013), yet white foreigners appear in 14.3 per cent of Japanese television advertising (Prieler, 2010: 512).

Simultaneously, a xenophobic ideology is found across Japanese public opinion and policy. Polls found that 63 per cent of respondents opposed increased immigration (Green *et al.*, 2013) and 56 per cent of Japanese respondents believed unfair treatment of foreigners is ‘inevitable’ (JCO, 2007). Hidehiko Nishiyama, the government official responsible for the clean-up of the Fukushima nuclear disaster, refused the assistance of foreign experts, explaining that ‘if we have foreigners roaming around Fukushima, they might scare the old grandmas and granddads there’ and, drawing from a mythology of Japanese uniqueness, suggested that American nuclear experts would be useless because ‘the soil in Japan is different’ (Tabuchi, 2013). Hidenori Sakanaka, head of the Japan Immigration Policy Institute, described an anti-immigration culture in Japan guiding unrealistic policy proposals challenging immigration expansion despite Japan’s low birth rate, aging population and critical labour shortage (Osaki, 2014). Meanwhile, discrimination in restaurants (Watts, 2002), home rentals (Scott, 2013) and the justice system (NCN, 2011) has been widely reported.

Face-to-face contact with ‘others’ rarely occurs in Japan, offering few opportunities to challenge media representations. Therefore, the ‘obligation to offer hospitality to the stranger in the symbolic space of media representation’ (Silverstone, 1994: 139) is of critical importance. Silverstone argues that mediated appearances create a ‘framework’ for defining a culture’s response to the other, ‘especially the distant other, the other who only appears to us within the media’ (1994: 110), suggesting a powerful role in shaping ideologies and concepts of foreignness and shared definitions of the ‘self’, a ‘Japaneseness’ defined in opposition to the other.

This paper examines television advertising's contribution to that framework. Studies show that 95 per cent of the Japanese population watch television, with an average daily viewing time of 3 hours and 35 minutes of television (NHK, 2010: 1). Television constitutes over a third of all advertising expenditures in Japan spent by the second-largest advertising industry in the world (Nikkei Koukoku Kenkyuujō, 2007: 47; Holden, 2004: 468). Television continues to be 'where the world appears' (Silverstone, 1994: 27) and where representation so often defines the other, isolating them or bringing them closer, render them safe or threatening, friend or foe, 'human (or not)' (1994: 31). And yet, a 2011 NHK study of multiculturalism and Japanese television acknowledged that 'Japan's broadcasting industry has so far maintained a highly domestic-oriented and homogeneous approach in its industrial structure, systems, and services' (Ritsu and Masana, 2011: 1), indicating that this 'hospitality' has been lacking in the Japanese Mediapolis.

This research will contribute to a greater understanding of how television reflects ideologies of 'self' and 'others' in allegedly homogenous communities, mirroring the idea that

[w]ithout new sentiments, there will be little momentum behind scripts of minorities and strangers as equals, and [...] no reason for publics to question powerful national and state narratives of belonging that prey on fear and animosity. (Amin, 2012: 135)

Representation is a crucial site of contestation in Japan, not merely for the sake of minorities, but in reflecting an ethos-nationalist ideology that relies upon the very difference it constructs, denying the production of Amin's 'new sentiments'. After reviewing literature on Japanese ideology and advertising's ideological function, I present data from an analysis of two popular television advertisement campaigns depicting others.

Applying semiotic and psychoanalytic methodologies, the advertisements were analysed for evidence of a specific Japanese ideology of difference, *ethos-nationalism* (defined in the literature review and conceptual framework). Each of the 11 case studies is included in the appendix and summary charts are provided within this paper. After a brief discussion of these results, I conclude by analysing the mechanisms of ideology within Japanese advertising, and propose further research questions drawn from this data.

LITERATURE REVIEW

In keeping with Silverstone's idea that 'television is so much a part of everyday life that it needs to be understood ... both at a psycho-dynamic and sociological level' (1993: 595), this section reviews literature from three fields.

In *Japanese Ideology*, I explore the history of Japan's modernization and its distortion of a constructed 'traditional' feudal culture into an ethos-nationalistic ideology, briefly exploring how it has affected relationships with others into the present day. The next section explores the nexus of ideology and advertising. First, *Advertising and Imagined Communities* explores advertising's role in forming national identities. Then, *Advertising and Identity* examines the nexus of capitalism and advertising from a psychoanalytical perspective, suggesting ethos-nationalism's pre-capitalist, Feudal imagination problematizes Western assumptions of universality in advertising functions. These concepts are united into a model for reading Japanese advertisements in the Conceptual Framework.

Japanese Ideology

Japan's modernisation was not purely 'Westernisation', and post-war Japan, even under the occupation, maintained its cultural commitment to a primarily hegemonic identity (Garon, 1994: 348). Though Japan was occupied by the US after its surrender in 1945, the process of modernisation had been underway since the Meiji restoration of 1868, which followed nearly 200 years of isolation from the outside world.

This section examines how Japan's pre-War political leadership, struggling with the pressure to modernise into equality with European and American power, actively constructed an ideology to negotiate modernisation without Westernisation (Macfarlane, 2007: 13). Modernisation was 'not a process of intrusion of the other, but a kind of simulation done by Japanese people themselves' (Yoshioka, 1995: 101), adapting Western practices into the Japanese context. Two conflicting ideologies emerged: Rational bureaucracy for the elites, and a communal, cooperative identity for the rest (Tsurumi, 1986: 25).

By the late Meiji era, dominant village ideology viewed urban modernisation, represented in magazines and films of city life, as a selfish 'departure' from the 'traditional way' which had organized Japan for centuries (Harootunian, 2000: 28). As elites grew concerned over a rising class consciousness, this grass-roots ideology was deliberately incorporated into a concrete state ideology in 1938. Scholar Miki Kiyoshi was invited to the Showa Institute to

lead the Cultural Problems Research Group to create an ideology that could unify Japanese society, which he coined 'cooperativism' (Fletcher, 1982: 112). Under cooperativism, Miki suggested, 'classes will cease being classes and become an occupational order within a higher whole ... functional and not stratified' (Fletcher, 1982: 112), citing social harmony and submission to authority as a traditional aspect of 'Japanese spirit' that would form the core ideology of the state. This was paired with an ideology based on the 'revolutionary ethnic nationalism' (*minzokushigi*) of the late Meiji era, which emphasized an ethos-nationalist/cultural rejection of capitalism in which racial solidarity replaced communism's solidarity of the proletariat (Doak, 2009: 36).

These ideologies were promoted by the state as it sought modernity without 'Westernisation'. Yoshioka writes that 'Japan has colonized itself' (1995: 104), deliberately distorting local traditions into tools of modernisation. Despite the occupation, this ideology has been remarkably persistent. Miki's Research Group spawned the *nihon shugi* ('Japanism') academic research of the 1930s, which formed the base of post-war '*nihonjinron*' ('Japan theory') sociology until the 1980s, and continues to contribute to ideologies of 'Japaneseness' in the popular press and corporate literature (Dale, 1986; McVeigh, 2004).

This paper adopts the term 'ethos-nationalism' (McVeigh, 2004: 147) to describe the contemporary ideology that unifies ethnic, national and racial identities into the singular category of 'Japaneseness' (Yoshino, 1992: 25; Stronach, 1995: 61; Treat, 1996: 2; Weiner, 1997: 2). Befu calls this myth 'the coterminousness of geography, race, language, and culture' as embedded into the 'blood' of the Japanese (Befu, 2001: 70).

This contemporary ethos-nationalism draws from late-Meiji and wartime ideology, which naturalises the imagination of a homogeneous Japan as ethnically and culturally *pure*—'a myth so powerful that it informs the idiom of everyday discourse, media, journalism, and academic writings about Japan' (McVeigh, 2004: 147). That association of racial and cultural belonging, is

for the most part unconsciously constructed, is not always explicitly made, and is probably an instinctive reaction (rooted in deep ideological patterns) to categories that somehow 'should' be kept separate, i.e., Japaneseness and 'non-Japaneseness'. The consequence is that 'Japanese culture' is something only the Japanese people themselves can possess. (McVeigh, 2004: 191)

This problematizes the position that 'the foreigner is the one who does not belong to the state in which we are, the one who does not have the same nationality' (Kristeva, 1991: 96). Japan's emphasis on cultural and ethnic homogeneity, rather than one based on citizenship or civil participation, denies foreign residents access to a 'unified' Japan, despite the historical presence of minorities and that Japanese 'blood' itself being a mixture of Chinese, Korean, and Mongolian migrants (Yoshino, 1992: 25). In an interview with a Japanese businessman, Yoshino finds a common view:

Unlike in America where any people -- Italians, Japanese, Hispanics, blacks -- could become Americans and appreciate the American way of life, you have to be born a Japanese in order to understand the Japanese heart. (Yoshino, 1992: 115)

Ethos-nationalism frames 'Japaneseness' within a strong group orientation of identity and homogeneity of personality. The myth of the Japanese collective is then useful in masking social and political divisions (Dale, 1986: 222; Weiner, 1997; Befu, 2001; McVeigh, 2004: 147). This deindividuated relationship, called '*amae*' (甘え) (Yoshino 1992, 18), marks a group orientation and dependency (Dale, 1986: 201). It also naturalises complacency and obedience:

In the *nihonjinron* perspective, Japanese limit their actions, do not claim 'rights' and always obey those placed above them, not because they have no other choice, but because it comes naturally to them. Japanese are portrayed as if born with a special quality of brain that makes them want to suppress their individual selves. (Wolferen, 1989: 265)

These concepts mask otherwise standard conflicts of modernising societies as a battle between 'tradition' and the 'West'. *Nihonjinron* 'may be defined as works of cultural nationalism concerned with the ostensible 'uniqueness' of Japan in any aspect, and which are hostile to both the individual experience and the notion of internal socio-historical diversity' (Dale, 1986: 1). Dale adds that, as many 'traditional' traits derive from feudal agricultural communes, Japanese citizens are pressured to conform to the collective behaviour of peasants.

Yoshino finds support for *nihonjinron*-influenced ideologies in contemporary management practices. 'Asian values literature' in the Japanese business community often assume that society is 'united', 'differentiated from Western norms and approaches,' and 'beyond the ability of ethnocentric Westerners to comprehend' (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1995: 241). *Nippon*

Steel Corporation, Mitsubishi, Toshiba and Gakken all publish nihonjinron-derived instructional books (Yoshino, 2002: 140), which ‘teach’ English through phrases describing Japan to foreigners, rather than emphasising self-expression. These books ‘often have the consequence of sensitising the Japanese excessively to their differences from others, real or imaginary, and thereby creating another kind of obstacle to social interaction between Japanese and non-Japanese’ (Yoshino, 2002: 145). Likewise, surveys have shown that enthusiasm for the ideology is strongest among ‘educated middle-class Japanese’ (Kowner, 2002: 178) and that similar ideologies are found in state-issued English textbooks (Yoneyama, 1999: 54; McVeigh, 2002).

In the next section, I present evidence of traces of nihonjinron ideology in contemporary Japan, particularly among relationships with non-Japanese others.

Differentiation and Others

Discrimination in Japan is said to be ‘practiced with a degree of mildness and couched in a self-Orientalizing idiom’ that leads foreigners to ‘interpret it as something else, to the point of sometimes even defending the racist status quo’ (Miller, 1982: 213). Foreigners are subject to ‘a subtle, almost invisible mechanism of differentiation ... based on appearances’, emphasizing that it is not *discrimination* but *differentiation* (Zoppetti, via Sakamoto, 2006: 145) which defines the relationship between ‘us and them’. As Yoshino describes it, ‘it is usually ‘our’ [the Japanese] difference that has been actively used for the reaffirmation of Japanese identity’ (1992: 11). McVeigh writes that ‘to be a foreigner from a Japanese perspective often denotes *Japaneseness-less*’ and that ‘according to the logic of the proprietary theory of nationalism, only Japanese can possess things Japanese,’ (2004: 187; Befu, 1993). This relies on a *positive assertion* of identity and tradition, a reversal of cultural tendencies to identify themselves negatively (Said, 1978: 54). This association of ‘Japaneseness’ extends to signifiers such as respect for harmony (*wa*) to banalities such as eating with chopsticks; ‘non-Japanese who acquire “Japaneseness” are considered ‘relatively unusual and remarkable’ (McVeigh, 2004: 187). This applies only to non-Asians; Japanese-speaking foreigners who *look* Japanese — such as Koreans and Chinese — could ‘become Japanese’ if born and raised in Japan without being aware of their home culture (Yoshino, 1992: 119), suggesting that homogenized appearances are a crucial boundary of this Japaneseness.

This same emphasis on physical appearance in ethos-nationalist ideology tends to obscure the recognition of minorities, such as Ainu, Korean, Brazilian and the solely class-

differentiated *Burakumin*. Japan's homogeneity myth denies full representations to these minorities; distancing Japan from non-Asian others while masking class differentiations among the Japanese themselves (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1995: 248; Yoshino, 1992: 25).

The Ideological Function of Japanese Advertising

Contemporary ideology does not dominate through force, but through subtly mirroring assumed social truths (Eagleton, 1991: 15); ideology 'operates through the production, legitimization and sustenance of *common sense*: taken-for-granted, self-evident truths which are often accepted uncritically' (Orgad, 2012: 26). Žižek takes this further:

The fundamental level of ideology, however, is not that of an illusion masking the real state of things but that of an (unconscious) fantasy structuring our social reality itself (Žižek, 1989: 30).

Sustaining the unconscious fantasies of ethos-nationalism in the face of social divisions requires 'the exercise of different forms of cultural power' (Hall, 1992: 297). The media, particularly television, contribute to such 'common sense' values and reflect the unconscious fantasy of ideology. As Silverstone suggests,

Television's unity in diversity, its naturalized and naturalizing strangeness, its powers of legitimation and exclusion, its familiarity and taken-for-grantedness, are all easily recognizable as elements in an over-arching culture which contains and constrains alternatives, differences and oppositions (1989: 138).

We can turn to television to analyze the priorities of the culture making it; and, I will argue, this includes the unconscious layer of ideology.

Advertising and Imagined Communities

Billig writes that 'the nation, in being addressed in the business of being represented ('stood for') will also be represented ('depicted') in the business of being addressed' (1995: 98). In other words, politicians also 'evoke the nation' in the imagination of the individual when they claim to speak on that nation's behalf (Billig, 1995: 98). Anderson (1991) suggests nations are an *imagined community*, constituted by the media. It is '*imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the images of their communion,' and a

'community', because 'the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship' (1991: 15-16). Media creates and sustains this collective imagination, by describing events across space and time from a position of statehood (Anderson, 1991), creating a 'shared symbolic space' (Silverstone, 1999: 98).

This imagination has carried into electronic communication, including television, giving us the idea of the Mediapolis (Silverstone, 1993; Williamson, 1978). This symbolic space has symbolic boundaries, marked by inclusion and exclusion, and Silverstone writes that 'awareness of the symbolic boundaries of our culture and their dramatization in their performance is a precondition for the making and holding of community. Our boundaries define us' (1999: 99). Though some have argued for the end of ideology (Fukuyama, 1992) and the triumph of liberal democracy, Billig suggests a 'banal nationalism' is still a crucial influence on perspectives of a nation, 'a world which has institutionalized "them" and "us"' (Billig, 1995: 94).

Nihonjinron ideologies inform Japan's 'banal nationalism'. Widely circulated in books and newspapers in the late-Tokugawa/early Meiji era, media contributed to this sense of imagined nationhood (Yoshino, 1992: 85-86) by masking the modern within the traditional:

One of the paradoxes of the period is how mass circulation magazines dispersed an ideology of the recovered family and established social relationships yet continued to introduce new possibilities for consumption capable of eroding the bonds of social solidarity (Harootunian, 2000: 27).

Japanese advertising thus contributed to the imagined community by promoting myths of homogeneity in explicit ways, which have now become banal — 'seeping into everyday consciousness' (Billig, 1995: 77).

One way symbolic boundaries are defined and reinforced is through the repeated, naturalised representations of difference in the Mediapolis. Giddens defines *ontological security* as the confidence in the continuity of personal identity and the surrounding social environment, a product of the routines of physical, cognitive and affective engagement, which all rely on trust in the certainty of our imagined community (Giddens, 1990: 92; Silverstone, 1993: 577). Advertising, through its repetitious nature, sustains this imagination: 'to fuel the construction of continuity and commonality of meanings' (Alperstein, 2003: 137). The rhythms and routines of television scheduling, viewing patterns and content affirm the

‘correctness of abstract principles’ (Silverstone, 1993: 578) useful in reinforcing ontological security and imagined belongings within the Mediapolis.

In Japan, the *other* displaying traits of ‘Japaneseness’ may threaten confidence in the ‘abstract principle’ of ethos-nationalist ideology, challenging ‘us both as individuals and as collectivities’ (Silverstone, 1993: 578). Representation is therefore a critical tool for forming attitudes toward ‘others’ and returns us to Silverstone’s idea of power and the Mediapolis, which can define the other as friend or foe, ‘human (or not)’ (1994: 31).

For example, Japanese-speaking non-Japanese are ‘othered’ by a celebration of acquiring that signifier of ‘Japaneseness’, presented on television as a rarity, and derogatorily called ‘talking-dog foreigners’ because, like a dog that speaks, they are an ‘unnatural’ spectacle (Miller, 1982). This maintains the social distance of the most assimilated ‘others’. In an interview with a Japanese headmaster, Yoshino found a similar sentiment: ‘Japanese-speaking foreigners have increased in number both on television and even in our town. I have met an American woman teaching in one of our schools, and her Japanese is so good as to make us feel uneasy’ (Yoshino, 1992: 117). The ‘talking-dog foreigner’ is one example of tensions toward even the most assimilated non-Japanese for displaying their cultural fluency.

Representation and Others

Previous research into television and representation in the US and Japan provide useful precedents for this research.

One study of British media found that representations of blacks had a low level of impact on the attitudes of the audience toward other blacks encountered in daily life, but that media had a large impact on *how* people thought about ‘race’ issues. The same study reported that UK children were more likely to have negative ideas of blacks if they lived in areas where blacks were not visible in the everyday (Hartmann and Husband, 1972, via Morley, 1992: 80). Media impact was seen as ‘operating on interpretative frameworks – the categories people use when thinking about race-related matters – rather than on attitudes directly’ (Morley, 1992: 80). In Japan, this *interpretive framework* of others is most detrimental to a true hospitality, because the other is not present to ease the anxiety his existence provokes. As it prevents the engagement of others on equal term and allows a sense of self-Orientalized ‘uniqueness’ to go unchallenged, this construction of Japanese identity is harmful to Japan itself.

Previous research into Japanese television has found evidence of other boundaries of inclusion. Painter's analysis of Japanese daytime television describes the emic Japanese concept of *uchi*, 'inside', as a place of 'participatory belonging' such as a home, school, office or team, which Japanese television often extends to the nation as a whole (1996: 228). Painter suggests that this idea of belonging *inside* brings a specific flavor to television viewing within Japan. He writes that 'the various techniques and strategies used by TV producers to produce this quasi-intimate feeling should alert us to the fact that none of this happens naturally— Japanese telerepresentations of unity, unanimity, and spontaneity are carefully planned and engineered' (1996: 228), constructing the very ideology it relies upon. This 'belonging' is paired with the Japanese concept of *soto*, 'difference', that which is *outside*. Painter describes one regularly occurring segment of a daytime talk show, in which a Sri Lankan foreigner 'typically has to chase people down on the street in order to get them to speak English' (1996: 300). Painter suggests that this predictable segment highlights the unity of a Japanese response to cultural difference, encouraging an association with group belonging and resistance to outsiders — *uchi* defined 'not by focusing on what is shared, but instead on the alien nature of other ways of life' (1996: 300).

Likewise, Prieler's (2010) quantitative study of racial representation in 200,000 Japanese television commercials found that 'the representation of others constructs "Japaneseness" by creating differences and highlighting boundaries' (2010: 512). Prieler noted several trends in representations of foreigners, often based on Western stereotypes, as did a 2011 NHK study of Brazilian representation in Japan. That study concluded that the network's representation of foreign residents in Japan was a key social issue for the media, concluding that if it 'fails to fulfill that role, the result will be merely a continued increase in "invisible residents," not the advent of a truly multicultural society' (Ritsu and Masana, 2011: 154).

Advertising and Identity: A Psychoanalytic Approach

Hall writes that 'identities are constructed through, not outside, difference' (1996: 4), that the other serves as a 'constitutive outside' through which we see what we are not. By defining what we lack, we come to imagine who we are. As a form of cultural power defined by creating a lack, advertising can be understood as a site of definition for 'difference'. For this, I turn to Williamson's psychoanalytical model of advertising (1978).

Williamson's model borrows directly from Lacan's mirror stage, in which a child identifies her 'self' in the mirror, but also recognizes that the reflection is not-self, rather, a symbol of self distant from the actual experience of the body. This alienates the child between an

imagined ideal and the impossibility of realizing unity with that ideal (Williamson, 1978: 62; Evans, 1996: 119; Lacan, 2007: 148). Williamson replaces the mirror with the screen: We imagine we *are* the images on television, even as we know that they are idealized, distant symbols. In the desire to be what we see, achieved through identification with the 'other' in the advertisement – 'they suggest that you can become the person in the picture' (Williamson, 1978: 65) – we find a gap. This distance between our imagined self and the symbol of this ideal *not-self* creates a sense of lack, which inspires desire to be like the image: 'We want to merge with, to be a part of, something that signifies us only through its separation from us' (Williamson, 1978: 65).

Advertisements, writes Williamson, operate by directing this desire for unity toward the product, represented as a piece of that ideal self, which becomes a symbolic currency of exchange for this sense of wholeness. But the desired product is 'itself nothing but an objectification and embodiment of a certain lack' (Žizek, 1989: 195) and when the product is gone, the distance between our real and ideal selves remains, sustaining the cycle of lack and desire that advertising depends on to function.

By redirecting our desires to the product, we are encouraged to 'create ourselves' from the selection of products offered in these symbolic images (Williamson, 1978: 70). In keeping with the individualist ideology of capitalism, we are, crucially, encouraged to *choose* the products in the ads as a means of self-definition. In Western advertising, lack is redirected toward the product, which signifies individuated ideas of belonging according to corporate-constructed 'lifestyles' or 'brands' associated to the product (Williamson, 1978: 64). Advertising depends upon a 'desire to belong' to function but masks it as 'freedom to choose' (Williamson, 1978: 53). In this way, advertising 're-groups' society by sublimating divisions rooted in economic or social power with abstract groups stratified by otherwise meaningless product choices. By associating our position in society through what we purchase or consume, Williamson argues, the capitalist ideology behind advertising 'obscures the actual class basis which still underlies social position' (Williamson, 1978: 13).

This concept relates to Marx's 'commodity fetishism' in that the commodity is mistaken for standing in for what it *represents*. By Williamson's account, the commodity's representation is what is being sold in capitalist advertising, through its representation-definition as that of the 'other' who has what we lack. We fetishize the soft drink as a replacement for the interaction with the imagined other. But can the capitalist fetish of commodities sustain itself under an ideology with pre-capitalist assumptions, as with ethos-nationalism's reliance on feudal, deindividualised ideal of identity? As Žizek writes, commodity fetishism assumes a

relation-between-*things* which *stands in* for the relation-between-men, which is incompatible with feudal societies (1989: 21) which, in the case of ethos-nationalism's emphasis on rigid hierarchy and co-dependence, fetishizes the relation-between-men.

I suggest Japanese advertising, if relying on ethos-nationalist ideology, cannot maintain the mythology of group orientation and national identity if it stratifies identity into individualized 'lifestyle' groups as Williamson describes. Instead, I suggest that 'Japaneseness' will become the 'lifestyle' which advertisements associate with their product, while the 'other' becomes what this 'lifestyle' is defined against – Hall's 'constitutive outside'. This marks the *form* of the association used by the advertisement. Though a 1987 study of print advertising (Mueller, 1987) found that 'consensus' was *not* part of the copy/headline content of Japanese advertising, I suggest that it nonetheless occurs as a *psychological construction* which may not be clearly denoted in headlines or copy.

I suggest that the representation of others, by relying on tropes of nihonjinron and ethos-nationalist fantasies, serve as 'floating signifiers', which Žižek describes as 'quilted' into a 'unified field' of ideologies, which 'stops their sliding and fixes their meaning' (Žižek, 1989: 95). The 'other' in ethos-nationalism has been totalised – 'they become parts of the structured network of meaning' (1989: 96). That is to say, the representations of foreigners are used to reinforce the unconscious undercurrent of ideology. This reinforces the need for Amin's 'new sentiments' to challenge powerful national narratives of belonging (2012: 135).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: IDEOLOGY AND ADVERTISING

This paper is concerned with the presence of ethos-nationalist ideology in the content and form of Japanese television advertisements. I examined this ideology through two co-dependent operations. First, I analyzed the content of the ad for representations of 'Japaneseness' and 'others' adhering to an ethos-nationalist ontology. Second, I identified how this ontology directed the psychological *form* of the advertisement's association to the product: Was it a group orientation of identity, consistent with the '*amae*' and 'group consciousness' of the ideology, or was it an individualistic stratification of product brands for distinct 'lifestyles'?

Examining Content

As I have shown, the media draws from ideology in encoding images to be widely understood. Ideology should be identifiable within the images the media circulates, within the symbolic referents it selects in producing meaning, and the psychology of belonging it presents as it stimulates desire for products.

I have also shown representational practices and the psychological form of advertisements can serve as a defence of national boundaries and belonging. I suggest that Japanese advertisements draw upon an ethos-nationalist ideology as a currency of symbolic exchange. In turn, advertisements, in form and content, will reflect 'belonging' along pre-existing ideological lines of ethos-nationalist 'Japaneseness.' As such, depictions of foreigners will represent the other in ways that reflect this ideology. I outline specific ideological signifiers in the methodology chapter.

Examining Form

The Japanese ethos-nationalist ideology grounds identity in '*amae*', dependency on a homogenous group — 'a pre-empowered, pre-distinctive collective consciousness' (Dale, 1986: 222). This may be described as an association with a 'primordial identification' (Lacan, 2007: 148), the consciousness that existed before forming an individual identity. Following Williamson's model, differentiation into stratified 'lifestyles' associated with different brands would disrupt this homogeneity myth. While symbolic representation of *ideal selves* is aimed at associating individualized desires for 'lifestyles' with product brands in Western advertising, ideologically consistent Japanese models would aim to associate viewers into desire for *unity with the homogenous collective*.¹

To test the extent to which advertising circulates such ideologies, I examined 'Japaneseness' as a 'lifestyle' associated with products. This draws upon Williamson's use of Marx's commodity fetishism to explain how products, through advertising, become a *currency of symbolic exchange*, a means of purchasing 'belonging' to a group which represents the desire for individual completeness. In Western advertising, this group is highly individuated as a means of distinguishing the advertised product from other products, i.e., 'the Pepsi people'

¹ I am not here suggesting a fundamental shift in the unconscious Japanese mind (itself a very *nihonjinron* position), merely that the ideology constructed and circulated within Japanese and Western media assume this shift and reinforce it in circulating the concepts it 'reflects.'

and ‘the Coca-Cola people’ (Williamson, 1978: 13). While Japanese ideology continues to operate through this symbolic exchange, the ethos-nationalist ideology of group orientation would prevent stratified, individualized ‘lifestyle’ associations. If ethos-nationalist ideology is the ‘alreadyness’ or ‘common sense’ which advertising draws upon to construct meaning, advertising should construct ‘Japaneseness’ as the ‘lifestyle’ symbolically exchanged with the product. The presence of this association would suggest a fundamental ideological shift in the *form* of advertising within Japan, which could be tested against Western models.

Research Objectives

This paper has the following objectives:

- To examine representations of otherness in two Japanese advertising campaigns.
- To examine how these representations establish boundaries of inclusion and exclusion that reflect Japanese ethos-nationalist ideologies.
- To identify the presence of ideological influence in associating products with homogenous group identification, rather than stratified individual identifications with the product.

Following these objectives, I have identified the following research question:

How do representations of ‘self’ and ‘other’ in Japanese advertising support an ethos-nationalist ideology?

This research will contribute a nuanced psychoanalytical model for the reading Japanese advertising for ideology in both *form and content*, by examining not only representations of others in advertisements but also how they contribute to the encoding of ethos-nationalist ideology.

RESEARCH STRATEGY

This research examines the presence of ethos-nationalist ideology in Japanese advertising by applying Barthesian semiotic visual analysis, which claims to be useful for uncovering the naturalized, hidden assumptions images rely upon to communicate meaning to the viewer (Barthes, 1977: 51) complemented by a psychoanalytic model of advertising and ideology

informed by Williamson (1978). This paper analyses two Japanese television advertising campaigns to examine how ethos nationalism is reflected in Japanese advertising.

Hall suggests that *all* cultural activity — including television commercials — produces and exchanges meaning between members of a group, and that a ‘culture depends on its participants interpreting meaningfully what is around them ... in broadly similar ways’ (Hall, 1997: 2). Semiotic analysis analyses how these shared codes of meaning are constructed. Barthes suggests that images rely upon, and help to create, various ‘myths’, a ‘collective representation’ which turns ‘the social, cultural, ideological and historical into the natural’, embedding ideas into something which feels inevitable and ‘true’ (Barthes, 1977: 165). Semiotic visual analysis can ‘produce detailed accounts of the exact ways the meanings of an image are produced through that image’ (Rose, 2012: 106) and reveal the ‘perceived truth value’ within them (Leeuwen, 2001: 3).

I chose semiotic visual analysis because this analysis is chiefly concerned with uncovering ideology in text and images. If ethos-nationalist ideology is present in Japanese culture, it should be found within the images Japan produces, particularly in representations of Japanese and foreigners.

Barthesian semiotic analysis examines the images created by a culture and the codes viewers use to understand those images (Hall, 1997: 22). Barthes writes that semiotics examines *what* images depict (the literal, *denotative* meanings), and *how* codes create an understanding between the viewer and the image being viewed (the *connotative* meanings). This methodology reveals how images refer viewers to meanings within the frame of the image, through colour, posture, framing and other compositional factors, but also how images refer to outside ‘myths’ and meanings which already exist in the viewer (Barthes, 1977), in this case, the myths within ethos-nationalist ideology.

The approach has been complemented with a psychoanalytic understanding of advertisements based on Williamson’s (1978) model, itself a synthesis of Marx and Lacan. Williamson has suggested that advertisements utilise a personal identification through stratified branding of ‘lifestyles’ to appeal to consumers. I have suggested that this branding technique is not compatible with ethos-nationalist constructions of national identity. Therefore, after examining representational practices of foreigners, this research examines how these representations associate products with sentiments of deindividuated group orientation compatible with ethos-nationalist mythologies, reflecting Zizek’s ideological ‘quilting’ of signifiers into an ideological whole, as discussed in the conceptual framework (Zizek, 1989: 95).

Quantitative analysis was rejected as a methodology given its limitations in determining ideological meaning and the codes used to produce it, which is of most interest to this study. Quantitative analysis work was the subject of substantial previous research by Prieler (2010), which coded 20,000 Japanese commercials for patterns of racial representation. This paper will contribute a closer semiotic reading of a smaller sample for a deeper analysis of the relationship between ethos nationalism and representation, keeping with the idea that 'the qualitative approach, when theoretically informed, is the most open-ended, flexible, exploratory means of formulating hypotheses for further structured analysis' (Mangen, 1999: 109). Potential methods for further analysis are suggested in the conclusion of this paper.

Though ethos-nationalism is defined by racial and ethnic belonging, I have avoided theorizing 'whiteness' and 'blackness' within Japan's racial hierarchies, despite Sakamoto's claim that Western whiteness has 'remained modern Japan's constant reference point and its dominant Other' (Sakamoto, 2006: 145). This was a decision guided by the parameters of ethos-nationalist ideology, which are theorized as universalizing and equivocating all 'foreignness' into a category of 'non-Japanese.' I intend to study how this ideological organization of society is reinforced by advertisements, with no interest in its so-called 'truth value' as an ideology. This study concerns itself with Japan's *imagined* differentiation of itself from generalized, rather than racialized, difference. The extreme position of ethos-nationalism is that *all* difference is *soto* (outside) and all Japaneseness is *uchi* (inside). However, the same data could be applied to examine racial hierarchies and the construction of 'blackness' in Japan (Russell 1991; Russell 1998).

This paper draws on the understanding of nihonjinron and ethos-nationalism as an *ideology*, and rejects the nihonjinron trope of 'innate' genetic or psychological difference between European-American cultures and Japan. While I acknowledge Japan in 'unique' terms, I reject claims to a genetic predisposition to 'Japaneseness,' emphasizing my analysis of this 'uniqueness' as a construction of an ideology.

Finally, my limited capacity to decode Japanese signs is signified by my surname: I am not Japanese, have not been raised in the culture of symbols or collective imagination through which the Japanese audience interprets these images. Barthes himself attempted this in *Empire of Signs*, but acknowledged that his analysis of Japanese symbols was that of a European visitor, therefore joining the rank of researchers 'making no claim to speak about Japan when writing about a country they elect to call Japan' (Dale, 1986: 3). Dale dismisses this as 'a mere device around which the writer assumes a complete liberty to weave orientalist

fictions' (1986: 3). I have lived and worked in Japan for three years, collecting over 800 pages of notes and research, closely analysing and adopting Japan's cultural practices. I have been careful to avoid interpreting Japanese signs from a purely Western lens. I have conducted this analysis as an outsider to Japan, one who has been marked 'different', and I will inevitably interpret codes from this perspective. I have done my best to navigate this semiotic field carefully and objectively, relying upon the logic of the images studied. I acknowledge my experience and 'outsiderness' may nonetheless colour my analysis of Japanese culture.

Selection of Sample

The first, for telecom carrier Softbank, depicts the Shirato ('White') family. Since 2007, 133 segments of varying length have aired, complemented by print campaigns. The campaign has been included in surveys of most memorable advertisements conducted by Tokyo's CM Research Center for five years (Corkhill, 2012), suggesting mainstream acceptance. These ads feature the Shirato family patriarch, a Japanese man in the body of a snow-white Hokkaidō-Inu breed of dog (Jiro 'Otosan' Shirata), his Japanese wife Masako, their Japanese daughter Aya, and their older son, Kojiro, played by African-American actor Dante Carver.

The second, for Boss Coffee, feature the American actor Tommy Lee Jones. The series debuted in 2006 and features Tommy Lee Jones as 'Alien Jones' (宇宙人, *uchuujin*, 'outer space man'), a creature from another planet who visits Japan to 'investigate human culture'. In the 38, 30-second spots that aired between 2006-2013, Jones takes on different roles within Japanese society to file reports for his home planet. The ads initially ended with the tagline, 'このろくでもないすばらしき世界', *kono roku demonai subarashiki sekai*, loosely translated as, 'For this worthless wonderful world'.

The samples were selected for several criteria.

First, selection reflected their popularity and longevity. Extended campaigns in Japanese advertising are rare, and the spans of these ads (seven years for BOSS, eight for Softbank) speak to their popularity and mainstream acceptance. The simultaneity of their runs allows for a comparison of ideology between two campaigns within the same time period.

Second, the advertisements are relevant to the ideology being studied. Both campaigns model *interactions* between 'others' and native Japanese where ideological influence may be observed.

Finally, these campaigns depict a range of negotiations with belonging: Jones is a visitor, while Kojiro is a native Japanese man who happens to be black. The Shirata patriarch, Otosan, is positioned as a hybrid figure (see analysis).

Methodology

I examined five commercials for Boss Coffee and six for SoftBank. This analysis followed an analytical framework described by Rose (2012: 91):

1. Decide what the signs are.
2. Decide what they signify 'in themselves'.
3. Think about how they relate to other signs both within the image and in other images.
4. Then explore their connections (and the connections of the connections) to wider systems of meaning, from codes to dominant codes, referent systems or mythologies.
5. And then return to the signs via their codes to explore the precise articulation of ideology and mythology.

Determining the Signs / Determining Signified / Determining Relationships

First, content was examined using Barthesian analysis to create an inventory of signifiers and their associations. Data was collected through sequential analysis, applying the process described by Barthes (1977: 127) to create an inventory of *denoted* messages – that is, what the advertisement literally portrays. Camera placement, color use and postures were inventoried, following the Barthesian maxim that 'what is noted is by definition notable' (1977: 89). Intertextual relationships were added to the 'constructed associations /denotations' column of each case.

Connections to Ideology and Mythologies

Semiotic analysis examines how images are 'produced and interpreted through particular social practices' (Rose, 2012: 37), a critical aspect of this analysis. The inventories were examined for *connoted* messages, 'which is the manner in which the society ... communicates what it thinks' through images (Barthes, 1977: 17).

The data was analysed according to the following mythologies of ethos-nationalism, which have been identified in our literature review but are summarised in fig. 1 for reference. These are further delineated by their reflections of Japanese 'uchi' (insider) positions, defining 'self,' or 'soto' (outsider) positions, defining 'other'.

Fig. 1: Coding Frame for Evidence of Ethos-Nationalist Ideology in Japanese Advertisements

Keyword	Mythology
	Myths Defining ‘Insiders’ (<i>Uchi</i>)
Group Orientation	Group orientation of identity, ‘amae’, such as maintaining social order and harmony (Dale, 1986: 222; Weiner, 1997)
Homogeneity	Myth of Japanese homogeneity as sustaining social order (McVeigh, 2004: 147)
Self-Orientalizing	Japaneseness presented as strange/remarkable, ‘unique’ from the perspective of foreigners (Miller, 1982: 213)
Pure Japaneseness	Establishing homogeneity specifically through ‘coterminousness’ of ‘geography, race, language, and culture’ or co-dependent association of racial, ethnic and cultural traits (Befu, 2001: 70; McVeigh, 2004: 191).
	Myths Defining ‘Outsiders’ (<i>Soto</i>)
Tradition (vs Modernization, vs Westernization)	‘Samurai’ metaphors of ‘traditional Japaneseness’ defined in opposition to Westernisation / Modernisation myths (Yoshioka, 1995: 105) – literally or metaphorically depicted
Differentiation	An emphasis on differentiation from others (Zapetti, via Sakamoto, 2006: 145) and Japaneseness depicted as alarming/remarkable when performed by a foreigner (McVeigh, 2004: 187; Miller, 1982: 213)
Japaneseness-less	Presentations of foreignness as merely being ‘not from Japan’, that is, ‘Japaneseness-less’, lacking individual identities (McVeigh, 2004: 187)
Social Distance	Evidence of ‘social distance’ between others and Japanese (Miller, 1982: 213) which may or may not include differentiation.

Explore the Precise Articulation of Ideology

The data was analysed for evidence of the product’s use as a currency of symbolic exchange (Williamson, 1978) for individual identity or group belonging, the ‘Japaneseness as lifestyle’ outlined in the conceptual framework. This revealed whether advertising encoded associations to products with group-oriented or individualised concepts of belonging. Group orientation would suggest an ideological influence on advertising’s direction of unconscious desire within the form of the advertisement.

RESULTS AND INTERPRETATION (See Appendix 1 and 2)

There was evidence of ethos-nationalist ideology in the case studies of both advertising campaigns. This section is organised to address ethos-nationalist ideologies in

representations of others within each campaign, first with SoftBank's Shirata family and then with Alien Jones.

For ease of reading, two charts, summarising each case in each campaign, are included in the relevant discussion sections. As each campaign has a unique logic of signification, the presentation of each campaign varies slightly. The Shirata family appears in its entirety in each advertisement, which draws stories out of their interactions. Therefore, Softbank advertisements are presented according to the power dynamics revealed by these interactions. Alien Jones is a single character who is placed in different scenarios in each commercial with no other recurring characters. Therefore, I emphasise Jones' interactions with 'Japaneseness' in each scenario. After presenting the results of each campaign, I engage a broader interpretation of intertextual meanings in the discussion chapter.

Despite differences in presentation, each case study was analysed with identical notation strategies, which are available for reference within the appendices.

Results: SoftBank campaign

Each case is detailed in appendix 1. Cases are summarized in Fig. 3.

Evidence of social inclusion and exclusion of others along ethos-nationalist ideological lines was found in the SoftBank case studies, as was an orientation to group identity.

The SoftBank commercials associated 'inclusion' with the power to speak, keeping with SoftBank's image as a telecommunications company, a data and voice carrier and mobile phone distributor. Speech is SoftBank's business. I suggest these advertisements are encoded to associate inclusion in the 'Japanese lifestyle' with freedom to communicate, positioning Softbank as a product of social inclusion, rather than a brand associated with an individuated identity.

Representational Practices of the SoftBank White Family Campaign

This section presents SoftBank's White family as archetypes compatible with myths of ethos-nationalism. The mother, Masako, the only 'pure' (racially continuous) Japanese member of the family, is associated with social control. Aya, the daughter, is outwardly Japanese and comes to be associated with ethnic and cultural 'inclusion' despite her (internal) difference. Ootosan, a Japanese father who inexplicably inhabits the body of a talking dog, is associated with multiculturalism through his hybridity of dogness and Japaneseness. Ootosan is

frequently chastised by his wife, Masako, suggesting maintenance of the boundaries of order within a multicultural context. Finally, Kojiro Shirata is the African-American son of Mother and Otosan. Across these case studies, his function is primarily to be silenced, punished or excluded.

For the purpose of clarity, Fig. 2 is presented as a summary of case studies where these associations are constructed. Though this contains aspects of quantitative data, the sample size does not support a statistically relevant quantitative evaluation. Numbers are provided for reference to reinforcement of the qualitative analysis only.

SoftBank: Masako Shirata, 'Social Order'

The matriarch of the Shirata clan is represented as a Japanese woman (actress Kanako Higuchi), the only Shirata with no mark of ethnic, cultural or racial difference – that is, she is the only 'pure' Japanese family member, suggesting the 'coterminousness' of Japanese blood and culture. In five case studies, she determines who speaks or orders someone to stop speaking. She frequently ignores Kojiro and privileges Aya in dialogue, even looking at Aya when responding to Kojiro (Ad 5), and she ignores a French tourist who addresses her directly (Ad 3), suggesting 'social distance'. Masako holds a privileged position of designating participation in family activities – that is, in determining who is *included*.

The portrayal of Masako suggests an ethos-nationalist myth of 'pure Japaneseness' associated with 'pure blood', tasked with maintaining boundaries through the regulation of social control and social norms. She is presented as an arbiter of inclusion / rule enforcer in the first advertisement: Each family member asks Aya about the cell phone plan, but only Masako 'gets' the information, suggesting her privilege of inclusion. (*See over for Figure 2*).

Fig. 2: Functions of Shirato Family Members

Character	Function	Connotation	Specific Associations
Masako (Mother)	Enforces Social Norm Ad 1, 2, 6 Silences/Ignores Ad 1, 2, 3, 5, 6	Social Order, Determines inclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Never Excluded • Determines inclusion or is included in all cases • Ignores French tourist (Ad 3)
Aya (Daughter of Otosan and Masako)	Evaluates Ad 1, 3, 4, 4 Questions Ad 1, 4 Silences Ad 4, 5	Japanese, Included	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defines Kojiro as lazy (Ad 4) • Ambivalent inclusion in 'student discount' (Ad 5) • Defines Kojiro as 'shouldn't be here' (Ad 6)
Otosan (Jiro, Father to Aya and Kojiro)	Hybrid/ Multicultural Ad 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 Silenced/Ignored Ad 1, 2, 4, 6 Silences/Ignores Ad 1, 2, 5, 6, 7	Hybridity, Multicultural, Negotiates Inclusion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speaking ability condescended by Kojiro's girlfriend, when he criticizes her speech (Ad 1) • Speaks French (Ad 3) • Gets free meal based on being 'ordinary' (Ad 5)
Kojiro (Black Son of Otosan and Masako)	Silenced / Ignored Ad (1), 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 Differentiated Ad 3, 4, 5, 7	Foreign, Excluded	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Girlfriend answers question addressed to him (Ad 1) • Expected to speak French/English, despite being Japanese (Ad 3) • Denied free meal based on not being 'ordinary' (Ad 5) • Suggested that he does not speak Japanese well (Ad 5) • Introduced to campaign with Aya's comment that he 'shouldn't be here' (Ad 6) • Told he looks like Obama by mother (Ad 7) and then told to hold a banana before being chastised by Otosan.

SoftBank: Aya Shirata, 'Ordinary Japanese'

The daughter of Masako and Otosan, Aya, played by professional spokesmodel Aya Ueto, conforms to a homogenized appearance of Japanese, despite being half-dog, an association never directly made in the advertisements. She instead forms an axis of 'ordinary' (and feminine) Japanese with Masako in contrast to her frequently excluded black brother, Kojiro, who is her equal in all ways aside from homogenized appearance. This suggests an association of racial and cultural belonging reflecting appearance. Aya is also the daughter of the talking dog, but perhaps owing to her 'ordinary' appearance, she is not 'excluded' or socially controlled as often. Aya draws upon the ethos-nationalist myth of ethnicity and

Japaneseness, and serves as the *'uchi/insider'* defined by, and defining, her brother Kojiro. For example, in Kojiro's first appearance, Aya tells him, 'you aren't supposed to be here / shouldn't you be out?' (Ad 6), and later calls him lazy for doing the same work she does (Ad 4). Aya, on the other hand, is depicted with the assumption that she is 'ordinary' Japanese, and treated without any sense of distinction. This matches a distinction that Yoshino found in several interviews conducted in Japan: that those who look Japanese can become Japanese (1992: 119).

SoftBank: Jiro 'Otosan' Shirata, 'The Hybrid Other'

Otosan, a talking dog voiced by the 69-year-old actor Kinya Kitaouji, signifies a hybrid of the traditional and multicultural. While he is considered 'Japanese' denotatively and voiced by 'one of Japan's most well-known actors of authority figures' (Corkhill, 2012), he also has traits of multiculturalism: He has studied language abroad in France (Ad 3), his 'brother' has been portrayed by a white foreigner (American director Quentin Tarantino) and Otosan has a black son, forming an axis of Foreign Masculine identity with Kojiro. He is a literal manifestation of a 'talking dog', the nickname given to foreigners who can speak fluent Japanese, thus associating him with some aspect of 'outside'. This Japaneseness/Multicultural hybridity is signified in his own hybridity between Japanese human and animal. Nonetheless, Otosan is referred to as 'ordinary' in an ad in which 'ordinary Japanese' receive a free meal (Ad 5), and maintains authority over his children. He is confirmed as 'Japanese' despite his talking-dogness, while Kojiro is excluded from 'Japaneseness' based on the appearance of a non-Japanese ethnicity. However, Otosan's interactions are primarily with Kojiro, and are frequently negative enforcements of social control – that is, silencing him.

The portrayal of Otosan suggests the ethos-nationalist myth of synonymous cultural and racial identity. Despite his species and vague suggestions of multiculturalism, we learn that he was once Japanese (Ad 2) and remains included despite his appearance, a relationship that problematically suggests 'Japanese belonging' is associated with purity of 'Japanese blood.' Otosan was born Japanese, but was transformed into a (uniquely Japanese) breed of dog for reasons which are unexplained. His inclusion within the circle of Japanese belonging is nonetheless sustained, though mitigated: Masako often chastises Otosan for violating social rules. However, Otosan is always *aware* of the social rules he violates; he retaliates and silences others to regulate *their* behaviour. Aware of his social position, he can be accepted, suggesting the naturalising of group orientations of identity achieved through the recognition of difference.

SoftBank: Kojiro Shirata, 'The Other'

Kojiro is a Japanese citizen with black skin, and is frequently associated with 'outsider' status and exclusion. Tellingly, his name, 'Kojiro', is derived from his father's, 'Jiro,' the 'ko' signifying 'little' but also 'dark.' In four cases, his function was to be excluded or to be referenced as different. In five cases, his function is to be silenced by his father, a talking dog.

Kojiro is a native of Japan, but his family relates to him as a foreigner: Aya is surprised when he doesn't speak English (Ad 3), showing a conflation of racial/ethnic characteristics with cultural ones, the 'pure Japaneseness' benchmark of ethos-nationalist ideology. He is racially differentiated by being told to hold a banana to his face to see if he looks like Obama (Ad 7), and he is denied a free meal offered to all other 'ordinary' Japanese in a restaurant (Ad 5), evidencing 'social distance' through outright exclusion. Unlike Otosan, who is often scolded for violating the social order, Kojiro does not retaliate or regulate the behaviour of others, suggesting a diminished authority.

By rejecting Kojiro's Japaneseness while accepting Aya's, the portrayal of Kojiro reflects an ethos-nationalist myth of coterminous cultural and racial identity. His black skin is a reminder of difference, which positions him outside of homogenous Japaneseness, despite being born and raised by a Japanese family. That he is both Japanese and black is associated to his father, a talking Japanese dog, which associates Kojiro with signifiers of the unnatural and inhuman. Paradoxically, his father is included more often in 'Japanese' boundaries, and as such is presented as 'more' Japanese than Kojiro.

Japaneseness as Lifestyle in the SoftBank Campaign

Each case study contains some remainder of ethos-nationalist ideology in their construction. The ads, like BOSS coffee's campaign, refrain from associating the product with individualised 'lifestyle' groups, instead relying on associations of group cohesion and inclusion to a generalised 'Japaneseness'. Part of this relies on the campaign concept, '*tadatomo*,' (Ad 1, 'Girlfriend'). *Tadatomo* is a portmanteau of the words 'tada' and 'tomo'. Several ads rely on an ambiguity in the meaning of these words: 'Tada' (只) stands for the meaning 'free of charge' but its various interpretations include 'ordinary', 'usual', 'common', 'only', 'safe', 'just' and 'nevertheless'. 'Tomo' (友) means 'friend'. The metonymy of 'tada' is denotated directly in Ad 1, when confusion ensues from Kojiro's girlfriend telling Aya they are '*tadatomo*' - Aya is unsure if it means 'just friends' or if it means that they are serious enough to be on each other's free-call list. Likewise, in Ad 5, 'Katsudon', the chef shouts 'tada' to each

patron in his restaurant to indicate that their meal is 'free'. But it also means 'ordinary', and is delivered with a hand gesture indicating each Japanese person. Introduced as a 'student discount', Kojiro is the only patron excluded (his middle-age mother and talking dog father in a school costume are 'included'), creating the initial drama of the advertisement.

While these were two advertisements within a yearlong sales campaign (the advertisements have been running through several sales strategies), each case study signified a circle of belonging (directly, in Ad 1) metaphorically, and of the negotiation of exclusion and inclusion within the circle (see Fig. 3).

This campaign relies not on association to stratified 'lifestyle' groups but calls upon a generalised anxiety of belonging to 'Japaneseness', produced through representations of exclusion and inclusion to establish who can 'speak' (see Fig. 3 overleaf). Speaking is the nature of Softbank's product; it, too, allows one to speak. Thus, speaking in these advertisements is associated with *social inclusion* and speaking is associated with the telephone network. This is defined against the 'otherness' of Kojiro, a black Japanese man who disturbs the coterminous myth of Japanese racial and cultural traits, being constantly interrupted and prevented from speaking. Desire is oriented toward the *connectedness* afforded by communication as a facilitator of inclusion in 'Japaneseness', signified by being 'inside the circle' of communication and harmonious social relations (Ad 1).

Results: Boss Coffee campaign

Each case is detailed in appendix 2. Cases are summarized in Fig. 4.

Alien Jones, who is constructed as a visiting foreigner, was frequently associated with modernisation, confirming a nihonjinron myth conflating the modern with the Western. Furthermore, Jones' 'modernisation' association was frequently placed into a binary opposition with traditional 'Japaneseness'. Japaneseness within the campaign was associated with tradition and boundary maintenance through enforcement of social order.

The advertisements relied on this construction of difference to represent belonging and social inclusion, which were then associated with the product of 'canned coffee'. The advertisement therefore met our criteria defining an ethos-nationalist ideology as form, addressing a homogenous collective rather than an individualized 'lifestyle' in constructing its brand.

Fig. 3: Inclusion and Exclusion as Themes in Softbank White Family Campaign

Ad #	Themes
1	Aya wants to determine the boundary of Aya and Kojiro's relationship: Is she inside the 'circle of friendship' of the calling plan? Kojiro is asked a question but stammers and his Japanese girlfriend answers on his behalf. Ootosan warns her about her speaking, but she responds by being affectionate, before mother puts an end to the interaction. The Japanese (women) speak, the men are both 'outside' and excluded from speaking.
2	A circular dinner table. Ootosan is giving a wedding speech outside of the circle / table, but is ignored by the family (excluded). Aya suggests the phone plan to a niece. Kojiro tells a joke, when people laugh Ootosan orders for them to listen (silencing Kojiro), Mother refuses. Ootosan is 'outside' and not listened to, and Kojiro is silenced for speaking.
3	A French tourist enters and Aya and Kojiro rise to greet him, though they can't communicate. The ad centres around being unable to speak to the Frenchman, who is excluded/silenced, except for Ootosan. The Frenchman is outside of the circle of communication . This is visually depicted in that Aya, Kojiro and Ootosan form a circle around mother, who does not acknowledge the French tourist in any way. Mother is inside the circle while the rest are the boundary, and the Frenchman is strictly outside . (Other boundaries are suggested in this ad as well, such as Kojiro's boundary of exclusion evoked by the expectation that he speaks English, which defines Kojiro by racial/ethnic/cultural difference rather than his Japaneseness, and Ootosan's multiculturalism, suggested by his ability to speak French).
4	The 'uchiwa fight' plays on the double meaning of uchiwa as both 団扇, 'paper fan,' and 内輪, 'inside/family circle'. Ootosan's pun works on the metonymy of the ad's meaning: Aya and Kojiro are fighting, Aya saying that Kojiro is being lazy about fanning her, Kojiro declaring that <i>he is the same as Aya</i> . This fight reflects their identity positions in the family as well, though this isn't direct. When Ootosan calls it a 'fan/family fight', he is noting that the fight is about the fan and the 'circle' of family, that is, a fight about the fan, a family fight, but unspoken is that it is also an unspoken fight about inclusion , i.e., that Kojiro and Aya are doing the same thing, but Aya insists on Kojiro's difference .
5	The circle of 'tada' (free meal / ordinairiness) is drawn to include everyone but to exclude Kojiro . He declares that it is unfair, and is ignored. Later, he doesn't understand a Japanese word, even though he is fluent in Japanese, reconstructing him as an 'outsider' both within the social circle of the advertisement and in his own depiction as a character. It also signifies his inability to communicate.
6	Everyone wants to know about the White plan, but Aya doesn't want to explain it. The interactions highlight exclusion ('You aren't supposed to be here,' she says to Kojiro; Mother silences Ootosan). When the mother asks the question again, the advertisement itself is what answers, a title card explaining the plan. The ad is driven by desire for inclusion in the circle of information, and thus access to communication, and in being excluded from communication / accessing that information.

This section analyses the intertextual circulation of 'Japaneseness-less foreigners', 'tradition' and 'social awareness' myths circulated by five case studies of Alien Jones Boss Coffee advertisements. These associations contained a distinct set of significations from the Softbank campaign. Because Jones is the only continuous character in these advertisements, each advertisement with Alien Jones is separate, inscribing Jones with a new set of significations, drawn together through his 'otherness'. These are summarised in Fig. 4.

Fig. 4 : Constructing ‘Japaneseness’ in Alien Jones Boss Coffee Advertisements

Title	Synopsis	Semiotic Constructions	Summary of Associations
‘Tired’	Alien Jones (AJ) is a new worker at a warehouse. He lifts a box with superhuman strength. Later, co-workers are saying ‘well done’ to each other, but not Jones. Jones is then offered a can of coffee by his co-worker.	Workers all wear yellow gloves, AJ wears blue. Workers give each other traditional greeting at end of day, but not to AJ. AJ is invited into the ‘circle’ of Japaneseness when he takes off his glove and an ungloved worker hands him a can of coffee and extends the traditional greeting to him.	Japaneseness is associated with hard work and Boss Coffee. Jones is differentiated, Japaneseness-less, and socially distanced.
‘Moe’	Jones is holding lights for a camera crew in Akihabara, a cosplay / sci-fi centre of Tokyo. He goes to a maid cafe and has a crush on his omelette while the ‘maid’ expresses her ‘moe’ (‘crush for a fictional character’) on him.	Crowd of Japanese pump hands in unison while Alien Jones’ hands are in the air holding camera equipment. Japaneseness is presented as strange and unique, maid cafes and cosplay, AJ is treated as a fiction (‘moe’ is a crush on a fictional/unreal character, and professed by maid cafe girl to AJ).	Japaneseness is associated with ‘strangeness,’ ‘uniqueness,’ and an incomprehensibility to foreigners, i.e., self-orientalizing .
‘Extra’	A scene of a samurai fighting a group of peasants in a traditional village, as a narrator describes ‘two kinds of people: stars and extras’. A peasant is stabbed and occupies the frame with grotesque over-acting, it is Jones. The scene is revealed as a movie set when a director yells ‘cut’ and orders Jones out of the scene. Jones, isolated, reflects on his ‘ <i>kuuki yomenai</i> ’, that is, ‘can’t read the air’, meaning his inability to understand social protocol. Later, the samurai actor offers him a canned coffee, saying he has ‘guts’.	Setting and peasant/samurai suggests ‘tradition’. AJ is a peasant, but is removed from scene due to inappropriate behaviour -- he ‘can’t read the air’, and isolated among modern film equipment (modernity). Actor playing samurai enters, framed by traditional village set, and extends canned coffee to Jones, still framed by modern film equipment: He is welcomed in, now that he knows his place.	Japaneseness is associated with ‘reading the air’ (understanding one’s place in the social) and with ‘ tradition ’ (samurai) defined against ‘modernisation/ Westernisation’ (AJ’s modern film set). Extending Boss Coffee to AJ is associated with ‘traditional’ reaching into the ‘modern’, and connects Boss Coffee to ‘inclusion’ in Japaneseness (once one knows their place).

'Rice Farm'	Tommy Lee Jones, in blue poncho, is planting rice using traditional methods with Japanese workers, in red hats. A tractor passes by with a driver wearing blue. Jones studies the tractor and imitates it with superhuman speed. The red-hatted spectators are stunned. Jones describes that the traditional life is backward, but that something 'penetrates' his heart. Later, on a traditional farmhouse porch, a can of coffee is served to AJ on a red circle tray on traditional farmhouse porch, surrounded by blue crates. He is offered to inherit the house by a pained farmer and we see a graphic of the word 'investigate' replaced by the word 'heir'.	Blue signifies 'modernization' through association to tractor and Jones. Tradition/Japaneseness is linked to the farmers in red hats, planting rice in a 'traditional' manner. Jones performs the rice planting at superhuman speed, suggesting something 'unnatural' about his assimilation. Can of coffee is placed on red plate (circular, like the flag) already associated to Japan through red hats on farmers. Family sits surrounded by blue crates while AJ wears blue and is shown as the word 'penetrates' is heard (modernisation encroaches, AJ associated with penetration of the modern). The graphics of investigate / heir represent the 'modern' work of Westernised Jones and the 'traditional' work of Japanese Jones. Against the 'backwardness' of Japanese traditions, the Westerner has been converted.	Japaneseness is associated with a traditional under threat of modernisation/Westernisation . AJ functions as a hybrid in this commercial, but is depicted as 'converted' to Japanese traditional methods and therefore 'included' when offered to take over the farm. The coffee is associated with the offer of inclusion within 'Japaneseness'.
'Sunrise'	Men in a late-night ramen shop, 'traditional' Japanese food being served in bleak modern setting full of lonely and exhausted people, discuss an 'alien' living among them. Jones is revealed to be listening. Jones remarks in a voice-over that the Japanese people are 'lacking something' but that the sunrise is beautiful as he watches it while drinking Boss Coffee.	Modern Japanese life depicted as exhausting by sleeping men, lonely by men eating alone, and unpleasant through atmosphere of fluorescent lighting. AJ suggests the Japanese are 'lacking something' but then sees the sunrise and finds it 'beautiful', an association to 'traditional' Japanese signifiers of the 'land of the rising sun', the red circle of the flag, the Emperor being descended from the sun God. The lack is literally directed toward the Sun, symbol of Japan, and associated with Boss Coffee.	Japaneseness associated with Japanese signifiers (rising sun) but also 'a lack of something', connecting 'Japaneseness' to 'traditional' symbols of nationhood , while AJ takes in both the canned coffee and the sunrise. 'Japan' comes to be associated with 'Boss Coffee'. (Though the last in our analysis, this is the first advertisement aired, suggesting a master signifier function).

Representations of Alien Jones in the Boss Coffee Campaign

A 'Japaneseness-less' foreigner

Jones is 'Western' in outward appearance, but his generalised and alien 'foreignness' is tied neither to national culture or individualised behaviour: He has few mannerisms or displays of emotions, no cultural traits. His identity is defined solely through 'Japaneseness-less'. This association is also constructed through an absence of proper social protocol across the case studies, and is supported by Jones' construction of being from 'nowhere' though his body signifies 'Western'. The representation of Jones reinforces conceptions of foreignness as being *non-Japanese* – that is, defined exclusively by the *absence* of Japaneseness.

Tradition vs Westernisation/Modernisation

Tradition, defined as any association with 'pre-modern' Japan, was a common association with Japaneseness in three advertisements, 'Extra', 'Rice Farm', and 'Sunrise.' Each highlighted the contrast between 'traditional' and 'Modern / Westernised' Japan. 'Modern' Japan was highlighted in 'Tired,' 'Moe' and 'Sunrise' (summary in fig. 1).

Tradition was frequently evoked as being under threat from modernisation. While these cases rarely suggest an outright hostility to Jones as a representation of Westernisation, they are careful to outline boundaries to contain him. He displays machine-like super humanness as a hybrid between hard work and mechanisation in both 'Tired' and 'Rice Farm', but is only 'included' when he has been properly differentiated from group belonging (see 'Differentiation,' below).

In 'Rice Farm' and 'Extra', Jones is established as a modern figure, and in both cases Jones is associated with an act of *penetration*. In 'Rice Farm', Jones' narration describes a certain backwardness to traditional farming life as we see him (in blue) outperform a tractor (with a blue-clad driver) to the shock of red-hatted farmers insisting on traditional planting methods. But then, he is seen (in blue) on a traditional porch surrounded by blue crates as Jones' narration arrives to the word 'penetrates.' The effect suggests that the modern (blue) is penetrating the traditional (red, depicted in red hats and as a red plate on which his can of coffee is served). Furthermore, in 'Extras', Jones, a Westerner pretending to be a traditional peasant, is stabbed, which leads to his exclusion from the scene. This suggests that the West/Modernisation is an unwelcome penetration of the modern into the traditional, reinforcing ideological constructions of tradition.

Social Distance: Reading the Air / Behaving as Expected

Jones' distance is established in his character, he is an alien, and is identified as such by text at the beginning of each advertisement. Boundaries are further maintained through group orientation / social control, suggesting that the awareness of social order in a homogenous culture is a defining aspect of 'Japaneseness'. For example, in 'Extra', Jones is an actor excluded from participating in the 'traditional' scene of peasantry after his grotesque over-acting usurps the samurai actor. A director stops the scene and orders Jones backstage, where he laments his '*kuuki yomenai*', the inability to 'read the air' (a common expression meaning 'unable to follow social protocol'), while surrounded by modern machinery of the film set. Jones is segregated to the modern/Western world on account of his inability to understand his role in the social world of Japan. Only after being punished for violating the social order is Jones acknowledged with a can of coffee from the samurai/actor, who reaches across the frame from the 'traditional' setting of the Japanese village into the 'modern' area of the film set.

In another case, 'Moe', a maid in a maid cafe tells Jones he is cute, but then expresses her affection for him using the word 'moe', a Japanese word used by comic and anime enthusiasts to express affection specifically reserved for fictional characters, or for individuals who aren't 'real'. This differentiates Alien Jones as something distinct from 'Japaneseness'.

Differentiation

In 'Tired', Jones is given a task as a new warehouse employee and reveals a superhuman strength, like that of the machines in the background of the shot. In 'Rice Farm', Jones again emulates a machine to accomplish at rapid speed what the 'traditional' rice planters are doing extremely slowly. His performance of Japanese traditional rice farming is portrayed as remarkable, reinforcing the strangeness of foreigners adapting Japanese ways. This suggests that it is unnatural and superhuman for foreigners to adapt to Japanese tradition, a process of differentiation similar to that of the 'talking-dog foreigner' discussed in the literature review. Once this difference is established, Jones is given a coffee as an act of inclusion into the group he has differentiated himself from. In these advertisements, Jones is included only after his difference has been rendered complete, suggesting a negotiation of his inclusion, and the negotiation of incorporations of Western/Modern methods.

Japaneseness as 'Lifestyle' in the Boss Coffee Campaign

In the first advertisement of the campaign, Boss Coffee is positioned as a master signifier for Japaneseness. By starting the ad in a dingy ramen shop, surrounded by exhausted and lonely

people, the ad constructs an imagined ‘modern’ Japan, and the narrator tells us the people ‘lack something’. The narrator suggests that ‘however, the sunrise is beautiful’, while watching the sunrise and drinking canned coffee. The sunrise is a traditional signifier in Japan: The ‘land of the rising sun’, the flag bearing the rising sun, and the Emperor himself is mythologised as a descendant of the Sun God. By associating modern life with the *lack* of something, but turning to find beauty in the sunrise, we see an association of beauty with tradition, and tradition with canned coffee.

Furthermore, the advertisements seemed to construct the point of identification not with that of Alien Jones but in amorphous collectives. When strong identifying figures were presented, they symbolized a ‘lifestyle’ that varied from Akihabara cosplayers (‘Moe’) to traditional rice farmers (‘rice farm’) but all maintained unified ‘Japanese’ identities: In Moe, the ‘crowd’ is unified in its gestures and the television hosts describes Akihabara as ‘passionate’, casting an opposition to Jones’ foreignness – he does not join the crowd’s gestures, he stands out tall against the crowd with a blank expression. The ad constructs an association with the crowd, even in its self-aware, self-orientalising strangeness.

Each case also centres on a drama of inclusion or exclusion in which the product is associated with belonging to Japaneseness. Elsewhere (see Fig. 4) the ads construct associations of ‘belonging’ around generalities of ‘traditional’ Japaneseness such as hard work, knowing one’s place in the social order, or symbols of the nation, rather than orienting associations to individualised product ‘lifestyles’.

DISCUSSION

A close analysis of these two campaigns yielded a wealth of data supporting the thesis of ethos-nationalist ideology within Japanese advertising in both content and form.

This section will discuss the research findings of the project. I have divided the discussion according to the objectives of the research: First, I will discuss the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion along Japanese ethos-nationalist ideology. Second, I will discuss Japanese representations of otherness to Japanese representations of self. Finally, I discuss findings related to group orientation to the product as attempted by the advertisement, suggesting that ‘Japaneseness’ is the lifestyle being sold to the audience, in contrast to the individually stratified ‘lifestyles’ associated with products in Western advertising.

Ideological Boundaries of Inclusion/Exclusion

Ideological constructions of Japanese belonging were consistently bounded by a combined ethnic/racial, cultural and national belonging, contrasted against the presence of distant others (Alien Jones), hybrid others (Otosan) and close others (Kojiro). Japan was also self-Orientalized as unique and incomprehensible to foreigners, who were often depicted as violating social harmony or being '*kuuki yomenai*,' a stereotype suggesting an incapability of non-Japanese to adapt to Japanese ways.

Alien Jones, as a visitor trying to learn Japanese culture, was excluded from full participation in Japanese life, segregated to a peripheral acceptance only after acknowledging his difference. As a signifier of both 'Westerners' and 'Westernisation/Modernisation', this suggests an ideology of exclusion and careful integration of outsiders into 'traditional' Japan. Jones' superhuman hybridity between human and tractor in 'rice farm' is an example of the hybridity allowed by Japaneseness: foreigners who can adapt to Japanese traditions are portrayed as remarkable and inhuman. This hybridity is also reflected in Softbank's Otosan.

Otosan is ambiguously multicultural, clearly marked by difference and appearance as an 'outsider', but aware of his position in the social hierarchy. His acceptance suggests a connection to 'pure' Japanese bloodlines defining the Japanese, regardless of how one changes or how multicultural one becomes. Otosan shows us how Japaneseness integrates difference 'within the circle', regardless of how different and unnatural Otosan is, he is Japanese because he was born Japanese and carries on his Japaneseness as a dog. His dogness, in fact, continues his Japaneseness, as the Hokkaido-inu species is native to Japan. Otosan presents a distortion of Japanese identity presented by the hybridity of his dogness/humanness, but nonetheless maintains a consistent 'Japaneseness'.

Kojiro, who is ethnically, nationally and culturally Japanese, is nonetheless marked outside of the circle of inclusion owing to the appearance of non-Japanese ethnicity. Difference is marked by an *appearance* that goes against the social order. Following the logic of these advertisements, being black in Japan is inherently *kuuki yomenai* – an awkward display of one's inability to belong. While Kojiro and Aya are racially identical, Aya maintains her Japanese appearance and maintains her 'belonging'. Kojiro suggests that there is no space for the multiracial in Japan, or at least, that multiracial Japanese are not 'pure' Japanese, a representation of 'Japaneseness' drawing on ethos-nationalist ideology which conflates ethnic, cultural and racial belonging.

Representing Others/Selves in Japan

Otherness within the ads was frequently portrayed as a self-Orientalizing ontology in which the other is defined by his inability to become Japanese, often being punished for their attempts. For example, Alien Jones is ostracised from his film role for being unable to conform to the expectations of the other Japanese cast members. Kojiro is denied a free meal and chastised in almost every commercial based on his appearance.

Self, or Japaneseness, however, is portrayed by a collection of signifiers that construct a sense of how 'we Japanese' behave. Social order is a strong theme in each commercial, with Mother, the signifier of social order, active in the maintenance of boundaries throughout the Softbank series. For Alien Jones, who is a visitor, his position in the social order is always maintained as slightly outside – treated with hospitality, but not quite included. Japanese identity in the Boss advertisements is constructed through traditional signifiers (see Fig. 1) that the foreigner can't understand. These advertisements are similar to the self-Orientalizing books discussed in the literature review, which emphasise Japanese difference to foreigners. Difference is constantly affirmed by Alien Jones' inquiries, successes and failures into the exoticised Japanese 'lifestyle'.

Japaneseness as Lifestyle

Both advertisements revealed evidence of 'Japaneseness' as a homogenised replacement for the function of individualised, stratified 'lifestyles' in brand associations. This is consistent with Japanese ethos-nationalist ideology and suggests that, in these cases, Japanese advertising of products is paired with the circulation of ideology. This contains a certain irony: The use of advertising in promoting the consumption of products is based on an ideology of Western capitalism, and yet the same vessel is used to circulate an ideology rooted in preserving the traditional *from* the encroachment of Westernisation and Modernisation. The ideologies and their opposition are mutually distributed, reflecting and ensuring the perpetual circulation of allegedly 'opposed' ideologies. This was, nonetheless, the precise goal of ethos-nationalist ideology in the Meiji era: To invent a compatibility between traditional hegemony and modernisation in Japan.

This suggests a diversion of attention from tensions of 'Modernisation/Westernisation' toward an association of *product and tradition* in the Alien Jones ad, resolving tensions by masking modernisation *within* myths of 'tradition'. This explains how an industrialised product such as mass-produced coffee, served in aluminium cans and distributed through electronic vending machines, can be associated with the lost object of Japanese 'tradition'.

Meanwhile, another traditional myth, *social homogeneity*, allows a Japanese phone company selling an American phone product to rely upon models of inclusion and exclusion, which present a comforting myth of Japanese social control against the tensions of Westernisation and modernisation.

This 'choice' of identifying with an imaginary 'Japaneseness' is fundamentally no different from the 'choice' of associating with Williamson's 'Pepsi people' or any other imaginary lifestyle in Western advertisements. These Japanese advertisements seem to direct desire to the unformed, primordial self, relying on ideology to associate this 'primordial self' to pleasant feelings of harmony and belonging. If ethos-nationalism is a dominant ideology in Japan, the work of re-grouping society to mask social and political divisions has already been naturalised, constituting 'Japaneseness' as a useful myth for advertisements. Likewise, each signifier of 'difference' contributes to the naturalization of the ideology, supporting the imagined collective and individual identity within.

By constructing a latent, ideological 'Japaneseness', which can be preserved through consumption within the Westernised/Modernised system it claims to oppose, the myth of 'traditional Japaneseness' is perpetuated. 'Belonging' in these advertisements is carefully monitored and socially controlled, as we see with Otosan's commands to Kojiro/the other, or in Alien Jones' expulsion from the sea of peasants. These advertisements present an image of ideologically constructed desire; they suggest that the viewer is *already* part of the represented collective of Japan. Ethos-nationalist ideology is itself constructed of symbols of Japaneseness, which are exchanged for a belonging to this imagined community. By reconstructing and circulating these symbols, 'quilting' them, in Zizek's words (1989: 95), into the fabric of an ideology, advertising, regardless of intention, suggests that one can become part of the *nation* it describes if one purchases the product. The advertisements analysed in this paper suggest homogeneity, not individuation, drives the product's fetishistic association.

But as ethos-nationalist-influenced advertising still relies on representation, the ideal imagined community is always outside, in the realm of the symbolic. The ideal community is always symbolic, associated with naturalised social behaviours in ideology, and product consumption in advertising. Both seal an unsustainable symbolic bond, for once the behaviour is executed or the product consumed, one is left only with the continued desire to belong. In the difference between imagined belonging and symbolic exclusion grows a lack, and in that lack, desire grows, and in the psychoanalytic view, the subject moves toward an ideologically constructed and idealised identity that can never be fully realised. When any

symbol of this harmonious cultural behaviour is ‘consumed’ — be it a product, or a designated cultural display of ‘Japaneseness’ — the lack returns, fuelling greater desire for ‘Japaneseness’ enforced through a strict regimen of social control.

This process, while resulting in a fundamentally ‘unique’ reading of advertising, is only unique in where it directs desire; this moves from the individual desire to the collective. The form of advertising in these cases is (perhaps) distinctly Japanese, but nonetheless consistent with Western psychoanalytic models of *ideological* functions within advertising. Therefore, these case studies suggest that ethos-nationalist ideology influences the constructed meanings within the advertisements.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has mapped the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion as they are defined in two Japanese advertising campaigns, and discovered the presence of ethos-nationalist ideology in forming those boundaries. With these findings, we can answer the initial research question, *‘How does ethos-nationalist ideology circulate within representations of ‘self’ and ‘other’ in Japanese advertising?’*

First, in the cases studied, advertising sustained ideologies of a homogenous racial and cultural belonging along coterminous lines of ethnicity, nationality, culture and bloodline, and a reliance on ‘traditional’ Japan defined in opposition to ‘modernised’ or ‘Westernised’ influence. In their representations of others, the campaigns presented ethos-nationalist tropes such as ‘Japaneseness-less’ foreigners, the presentation of Japanese acculturation as ‘unnatural’ or ‘superhuman’, and matching ideological constructions of ‘alarming’ behaviour by foreigners that reflect the myth that Japaneseness is available only to the Japanese. The results also found evidence of social distance in inclusion and exclusion practices.

Finally, the results suggested that ideology has influenced the form of these Japanese television advertisements by replacing individualised ‘lifestyle’ groups found in Western advertising with belonging to a homogenous ‘Japanese’ group-identity. This suggests that these cases of advertising were ideologically consistent with the ethos-nationalist rejection of stratified identities, favouring instead the myth of a ‘homogenous’ Japan without social, political, economic or racial divisions.

These results suggest that the analysis of Japanese media cannot be complete if examined from a strictly post-colonial or Western lens. Though Japanese culture is ‘unique’, this ‘uniqueness’ is a localised *ideology* and must be recognised in any analysis of Japanese culture. This suggests a research frame for decoding Japanese cultural practices that acknowledges ‘uniqueness’ without indulging a naturalised nihonjinron myth of *innate* difference between Japanese and Western cultural practices.

Nihonjinron/ethos-nationalist ideology positions ‘Japaneseness’ as a (bounded) universal, naturalised trait emphasising extreme difference *from* the other *in totality*. With no immediate others to challenge this difference — that is, limited interactions with foreigners in daily life — others and self are constrained to representations within the Mediapolis. If further studies allow us to confidently expand the extent that these representations reflect the ethos-nationalist ideology, it suggests that the Japanese media promotes a culture of distance and differentiation, blocking the production of Ash’s ‘new sentiments’ of identity and belonging. This would suggest a self-fulfilling prophecy of uniqueness that denies acceptance of the ‘other’ based on that uniqueness. As we have seen in the case studies, this denial emphasises that which is ‘unique’ from other cultures, which is compatible with the perpetuation of other problematic myths of individual identities and national belonging according to a group orientation.

Furthermore, this research affirms the media’s responsibility in the process of ‘creating new sentiments’ through representational practices within the Mediapolis. Representation of others is not only crucial for the identities of those represented, but also for constructing the definitions and boundaries of selfhood and nation. The reinforcement of self-Orientalized ‘difference’ in Japanese culture becomes, to some extent, a master signifier for the remainder of the ethos-nationalist ideology; it is the central ontology to which all other myths are associated. By reinforcing this distorted sense of difference through the Mediapolis, such myths come to form the belonging on which ontological security of the ideology is derived, leaving ‘no reason for publics to question powerful national and state narratives of belonging’ (Amin, 2012: 135).

Additional Research

The results point to numerous additional opportunities for research. Adopting the results of this qualitative semiotic analysis as a coding basis for a broader quantitative analysis of advertising could produce data confirming the hypothesis of group orientations of identity and product associations in Japanese advertising. A comparative analysis to advertising in

which foreigners are *not* represented could provide insight into the defensive use of ideology — is this ideology a widespread component of Japanese advertising, or evoked only in the presence of foreigners? The association of Japaneseness with the feminine, as in the Mother/Aya axis in the Softbank commercials, is another representational practice worthy of further analysis. Likewise, as this paper has examined ideology in encoding practices, it raises a series of questions useful in conducting audience research within decoding practices of Japanese advertising, as in their value in forming interpretive frameworks of foreigners and ‘others’ as examined in British media (Hartmann, *et al.*: 1972).

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APPENDIX 1: SOFTBANK WHITE FAMILY CAMPAIGN

Ad 1: Girlfriend

Source: <http://youtu.be/feJgoCrrzM8>

Cut	Scene	Dialogue / Text	Notes	Constructed Associations/Denotations
1	Medium Shot, mother and sister, the two women are walking with Otosan, calls out. Then an abrupt stop.	Woman: おにいちゃん! (Older Brother!)		
2	Medium shot, waist up, young Japanese woman and black male (Kojiro) are on screen, looking surprised.			Kojiro (an Other) is paired with a Japanese woman (self). Mother and Aya are also 'Japanese.'
3	Long Shot, the four of them.	Sister: え? 恋人(こいびと)? (Eh? Your sweetheart?)		
4	Medium shot from behind the shoulder of mother. Girlfriend and Kojiro are smiling.	Kojiro: いや、まあ... ("Um yea...")		We have the camera position the audience within the group by including the body parts of non-speaking cast, in this case, shoulders.

		Girlfriend: タダの友達(ともだち)です。 (We are just friends!)		
5	CU, Mother reaction shot.	Mother: タダの ("Tada?")		
6	Group shot, sister is leaning in.	Sister: タダの、ってことは無料の友達? ("Tada, so you mean 'free' friends?"]	<i>Tadatomo</i> was the marketing portmanteau Softbank was promoting, free calls to 'friends' in the network. It plays with the word 'tada' meaning 'ordinary' or 'usual' but also 'free of charge.' She is asking, 'so you're 'just friends' but 'just' is a pun/homonym for 'free'.	
7	Girlfriend in CU, camera is over mother's shoulder.	GF: はい、 ただともです (Yes, we are <i>tadatomo</i> friends.)		Inside the group, framed by shoulders, again suggesting a presence by the audience.
8	CU mother, shot from shoulder of GF	Mother: ただとも ('Tadatomo')		

9	Mother's legs. Otosan is on a leash, barks at girlfriend.	Otosan: やたらとこ とばりやくすな! (Don't abbreviate words pointlessly!)	('Tomo' is a casual short form of 'tomodachi')	Otosan is a talking dog with rigid rules for speaking Japanese - a hybrid of Other/Us.
10	GF looks down at Otosan. Kojiro's shoulder is in frame.	GF: あっしゃべるんだ! かわいー! (Wow he speaks! Cute!)		Otosan speaking is normalized as 'cute' which should be patronizing, as he is also a grown man. This points to a particular form of reductive interaction with others who acquire 'Japaneseness'. We see this also in the 'moe' advertisement with Tommy Lee Jones.
11	Group shot, GF bends down to pat Otosan.			
12	CU, Otosan, looking happy.	Otosan: あ、そうですか。 (Oh, aren't I though?)		Otosan understands his difference, and embraces it.
13	Shot of family, Kojiro is off frame, we see sister and mother.	Mother: あなた! (Dear!)		The mother is enforcing a social norm : Her husband should not be enjoying the attention of this young woman. Thus the mother again comes to 'speak for Japan.'
14	Crane shot, family is sitting in a circle now, holding hands. Otosan is in the center, Kojiro is next to him, some people are seen in	On Screen text (read by announcer): [ただ とも] のワをひろげ よう.		The circle of friendship is depicted as a literal circle here, hands held marking connections which form an interior and exterior boundary - inside and outside of the circle. The advertising encourages us to 'widen the circle' by adding more people to our free-friends list. However, the pun is enforced

	the background.	("Let's widen the circle of tadatomo/casual friends")		in two ways: 'Just friends' suggests a boundary, as in 'only friends,' as well as 'free' as in no-cost. This is established in the advertisement on the connotative level. It is then associated with the ' circle of friendship ' as a <i>bounded circle</i> .
15	CU, sister.	Softbank logo. Announcer: "Softbank."		

Ad 2: Wedding

Source: <http://youtu.be/feJgoCrrzM8?t=1m59s>

Cut	Scene	Dialogue / Text	Notes	Constructed Associations/Denotations
1	CU of smiling young girl (niece) in fancy dining hall. Mother is in left of frame.	Sister: 春はるから高校?はやいなあ. (High school this Spring? Time passes quickly).		Tables are round, suggesting a 'circle' of family.
2	Medium shot. Kojiro and Sister are wearing a tuxedo and nice dress/necklace. Kojiro is in the middle of eating (with a fork). Other diners can be seen in the background.			
3	MS, A wedding scene in background, cake to the right. Mother is speaking to niece.	Mother: この間(あいだ)までおむつしてたのに. (You were in diapers not so long ago).		The niece's presence as an insider is affirmed here, mother is acknowledging her status in the family.
4	Niece is shown from side, mother dominates right of frame with other Japanese woman (aunt?). She is confused, looking away from table.	Niece: このあいだまでにんげんでしたよね、おじさん? ("Uncle... was a human recently, wasn't he?")		The niece positions herself slightly outside of the family, acknowledging a difference in Otosan that nobody else seems to acknowledge.
5	Long shot, Otosan is on a small stage with a microphone, speaking.	Otosan: 本日はお日柄もよく (Today is lucky...)		We establish the aunt as enforcing the Japanese social order of polite conversation. Otosan is outside of the circle of the dinner table.

		Aunt (off camera) だめよ、そのはなしは。 (“You don’t want to talk about that.”)		
6	Group shot of family at table from behind mother/sister. Aunt responds to niece.			
7	CU mother, niece to the side of the frame.	Mother: オトナにはきいちゃいけないことがあるの。 (“Adults don’t talk about that kind of thing.”)		Mother is again brought in to verify the social order of ‘Japaneseness’ by controlling the question of the niece (see the first ad in the series). It also suggests that the transformation of Otosan is taboo .
8	Medium shot, Kojiro and Sister. Kojiro is still eating. Sister looks at cell-phone.	Sister: あ、メールだ (Oh, an e-mail).		
9	Wide shot of mother, niece and aunt with wedding party behind. Niece turns to aunt.	Niece: ねえ、ケータイ持っていい? (Mom, can I have a cellphone?)		
10	MS, mom and niece.	Aunt: そうね。 (No, really? [annoyed])		
11	CU, sister.	Sister: 学割だと家族の基本料も490円になりますよ。 (With a student discount, the family plan is 490 yen).		
12	Medium shot, niece and aunt,			

	listening.			
13	CU mother, looking wistful.	Mother: 学生かあ. (Student...)		Longing for student life is a frequent trope of Japanese culture, often associated with the sense of youthful freedom.
14	CU aunt	Aunt: 戻りたいわ、学生に (I'd like to be a student [again]...)		
15	CU, Kojiro	Kojiro: まだおわかいです よ. (You're still young.)		Kojiro speaks, but only to flatter the women who signify Japaneseness. The women allow it, but...
16	CU, Aunt (embarrassed)	Aunt: あらやだ (Oh no!)		
17	CU, Kojiro (smiling)			
18	CU, Aunt (smiling)	Group laughter.		
19	CU, Mother laughing			
20	CU, Sister laughing			
21	CU, Ootosan barking	Ootosan: こら! スピーチをき け! (Hey! Listen to my speech!)		Ootosan interrupts the reaction to Kojiro, enforcing a dominant position over him; 'hybrid trumps foreign.'
22	Wide shot, family turns to look at Ootosan. Kojiro is not visible in frame.			Kojiro is deleted from the family in this shot, even though he was the source of noise. Likewise, Ootosan will be 'put in his place,' both difficult to talk about and to listen to.
23	CU Ootosan, microphone stand beside him.			

24	Wide shot of family. A mother speaks.	Mother: あらしゃべってたの。(I didn't know you were speaking!)		Mother, as the social order of Japaneseness, denies the talking dog / hybrid's speech . She also enforces a Japanese maxim that 'the nail that sticks up gets hammered down,' by punishing Otosan for attention-seeking.
25	White screen, blue text	Announcer: 学生も家族も基本料490円。ホワイト学割with家族。(A basic plan 490 yen for both students and their family. White student discount with family.)		

Ad 3: The Frenchman

Source: <http://youtu.be/feJgoCrrzM8?t=5m59s>

Cut	Scene	Dialogue / Text	Notes	Constructed Associations/Denotations
1	CU. mother in hat, blowing bubbles from a wand.			
2	Wide Shot, family on park bench, surrounded by flowers. Mother in blue is blowing bubbles. Kojiro is reading a pamphlet. Sister is speaking on the phone. Otosan is seated on the ground near mother.	Sister: うん。はい、. ("Mhm, yeah...")		
3	CU, sister with pink phone, puts phone away.	Sister: じゃあね (Bye!)		
4	From behind a tree, a French man enters.	Accordion music playing softbank theme. Text appears on screen, translating his words into Japanese: French man: "Oh lalala,	<i>'Grandmother' is a polite form of addressing women older than one's self and would not be considered rude in this context.</i>	The French outsider is clearly defined by stereotypes of 'Frenchness.' Accordion music, the 'oooh lala' address, both create the foreigner as a compilation of immediately recognizable French associations. He even wears the Breton shirt which has its origins in the French navy. Thus, otherness is presented as a set of signifiers of one's nation. The Frenchman 'speaks for France.'

		mademoiselle.... (French).” [On screen translation: Sumimasen, obaachan! [Excuse me, grandmother]		
5	Medium shot of family on bench. French man enters from the right. Family rises to greet him, except for mother. Frenchman bows slightly, points to sister.	[Unintelligible French]	Pointing in such a way would be a slightly impolite gesture.	<p>The pointing, weak bow and bombardment of a foreign language (and expectation of understanding) suggests the inability of foreigners to adapt to ‘Japanese’ social protocols - the <i>kuukiyomenai</i> (<i>‘can’t read the air’</i>) concept is thus drawn from and circulated.</p> <p>When Aya and Kojiro face the Frenchmen, they form a ‘circle’ of the family, each at the periphery and mother at the core, ignoring the foreigner. Thus the inner ‘circle’ is Mother, the only purely Japanese character, and the outer periphery is the family. The Frenchman, who has no Japanese traits, is strictly outside.</p>
6	Medium Shot from behind Frenchman. Sister links arms with Kojiro. Mother, still seated, is framed between them. Sister smiles nervously, Kojiro seems suspicious.			<p>The image relies upon an unease with foreigners to be understood. The sister, as a representative of Japaneseness, smiles politely, while Kojiro is visibly flustered, suggesting a contrast in responses between ‘Japanese’ and ‘other.’</p>

				Mother, who has come to be associated with Japanese social order, does nothing in response to the foreigner, remaining aloof and unmoved in the background.
7	CU, sister touching Kojiro on arm while laughing nervously	Sister: なんていってんの? (What's he saying?)		Aya assumes Kojiro, her brother, will understand the foreigner, even though Aya and Kojiro are related and come from the same family.
8	CU, smiling Frenchman, framed by shoulders of Kojiro and Sister.			
9	Medium shot (same as #6)	Kojiro: 英語に合点. (My English is no good)	(Kojiro can't recognize that the foreign language is French, not English).	Kojiro doesn't speak English - he is Japanese, after all, as 'Japanese' as Aya.
10	CU Sister, looking dismayed at Kojiro.	Sister: Eh?		Apparently, Kojiro <i>should</i> speak English because he is black-- suggesting Aya assumes his ethnicity is explicitly linked to culture , despite that they are supposedly blood relatives.
11	CU Ootosan	(Speaks French)		Ootosan illustrates a cultural hybridity .
12	Frenchman, shot from below. Eyes light up.	(Speaks French)		
13	Wide shot. Frenchman walks toward Ootosan, eclipsing sister and Kojiro. Bows down to			They are eclipsed by the Frenchman, suggesting that the circle of inclusion/exclusion is now narrowed down to the tourist and Ootosan, who can speak to each other. The rest are 'outside'.

	<p> speak to Otosan. </p>			
14	<p> Shot of Frenchman in lower left frame, sister in center, Kojiro in top right frame (obscured). </p>	<p> Sister: おとうさん、英語しゃべれるんだ! (Dad, you speak English?) </p>		<p> Aya and Kojiro both can't determine the language being spoken, assuming that all foreigners speak English. </p>
15	<p> Mother is in center of frame, between shoulders of sister and Kojiro. Turns to sister drolly. </p>	<p> Mother: フランス語でしょ (It's French!) </p>		<p> Mother is largely silent in this advertisement. She doesn't rise to the Frenchman, and doesn't speak directly to him. Aya is the individual, nervous and shy around foreign 'others,' while mother remains aloof and isolated. </p>
16	<p> CU Otosan, mother's hand is in left of frame. </p>	<p> Otosan: Oui! </p>		
17	<p> CU, Frenchman, shot from Otosan's perspective. </p>	<p> Frenchman speaks French </p>		
18	<p> CU Otosan. </p>	<p> Speaking French </p>		
19	<p> Group shot, Frenchman leans back upright, camera seems hand-held </p>	<p> Otosan and Frenchman speak French. </p>		
20	<p> Medium shot Kojiro and Sister from Kojiro's waist up. </p>	<p> Sister: おとうさん、すごい! (Cool, Otosan!) </p>		
21	<p> MS mother, looking at </p>	<p> Mother: The </p>		

	Otosan, we are behind Otosan but at his level.	Sorbonne isn't it?		
22	CU sister	Sister: Eh?		
23	CU mother	Mother: 留学がいきたわね. (Your study abroad helped you a lot!)		
24	CU Otosan, breaking eye contact with mother to look away.	Otosan: ふん、昔の話だ. (It was a long time ago).		Otosan again displays a multi-culturalism which is lauded by the women who represent 'Japaneseness' but, tellingly, has rendered him into something 'unnatural' and not precisely 'Japanese.'
25	Zooming camera to Frenchman	Frenchman: Speaks French.		
26	Close on white screen, softbank logo	On-Screen text: 'Tadatomo' and logo. Announcer (in 'French' accent: Tres bien, Softbank.		This is part of the tadatomo campaign which works on concepts of inner/outer circles (see 'Girlfriend' analysis).

Ad 4: Hot

Source: <http://youtu.be/feJgoCrrzM8?t=7m44s>

Cut	Scene	Dialogue / Text	Notes	Constructed Associations/Denotations
1	A traditional guesthouse in the Japanese countryside	Text: Ichijoo Dani Off screen: Sister: It's hot! Kojiro: It's hot isn't it?	Ichijoo Dani is in rural Fukui and is a historical site, the family is on holiday.	This is a 'traditional' historical site in Japan.
2	Long shot. Kojiro and sister are framed in traditional Japanese tatami room. Screen doors are open. They are fanning themselves.			Tatami room is more 'traditional' than the home where the Shiratas actually live (which is highly Westernized).
3	Sister is fanning herself, camera is front left, Kojiro visible in side of frame, from behind.	Sister: 'We shouldn't be too proud for an air conditioner.' Kojiro: 'It's energy-saving.'		

		Sister: 'Brother, fan me more.'		
4	Medium Shot, Kojiro fanning, defensive.	Kojiro: 'You too, please!'		
5	Med. Shot, sister, fanning	Sister: 'I am! That makes me feel hotter.'		
6	From outside, the two are seen fanning each other.			
7	Med Shot, Kojiro looking annoyed.	Kojiro: Hot! Hot!	This is a common thing to exclaim in the summertime.	
8	Med Shot, Sister fanning	Sister: Look, don't be lazy.		Aya and Kojiro are the same, but Aya is remarking on Kojiro's difference. Aya keeps insisting on Kojiro's difference (in this case, laziness).
9	Med Shot, Kojiro, defensive	Kojiro: I'm not lazy!		
10	Med Shot, Sister	Sister: You are lazy!		
11	Med Shot, Kojiro (fanning harder)	Kojiro: Look I'm NOT lazy!		
12	Shot from outside.	Grandmother: Oh		

	Mother and grandmother enter room with trays, place them on table.	my. Mother: You two look hot.		
13	Med Shot, Ootosan is standing in front of a fan by the window. The fan looks like Ootosan. Ootosan turns to look at us.	Ootosan: This is indeed an 'uchiwa' fight.	'Uchiwa' means both 'paper fan' and 'close family' or 'insiders'	<p>This pun relies on the word 'uchiwa' as a pun, highlighting its double-meaning as 'family' but also suggesting a third connotation of 'insider.' Thus the argument over the fan is symbolic of the struggle over the family / insider status of Kojiro. Kojiro is working just as hard at the <i>uchiwa</i> ('insider') as Aya and insists that the difference is imagined, but by suggesting that he is not fanning enough Aya also suggests he is not 'inside' enough. (This situation could have been Kojiro claiming Aya wasn't waving hard enough -- why isn't it?)</p> <p>Aya and Kojiro are relatives marked by difference. Aya and Kojiro are fighting about difference, but Aya is the one who decides the social order. The pun is useful for subtly guiding this interpretation, but is <i>not</i> the denotative argument.</p>
14	Medium shot. The people at the table are unimpressed with Ootosan's pun and stop fanning to give annoyed looks. We also see the uchiwa have Ootosan's face on them.	Sister/Kojiro in unison: 'Dad!'	By revealing the pun, Ootosan reveals the real dispute.	It seems that once the argument is changed from being over the fan to being over the family, it stops.
15	Closer shot of Ootosan in	Ootosan: If you		Ootosan, a hybrid figure, stands in front of an electric

	front of fan.	think like it's not hot, it's not hot.		<p>fan, while his two children argue over a paper fan / family status. Otosan's status is easily assumed - the fan, in fact, looks like him. Otosan doesn't have a dispute over what he is, he is outside and within the family in all his complicated multiculturalism. His position, especially regarding his children, is clear and automatic.</p> <p>His statement comes from a double position of heat as the pressure that forces the conflict of insiderness (his children would not be arguing about the fan/insiderness if it weren't for the heat). If you don't think about expectations, there are no expectations.</p>
16	Med shot, sister with mother in background.	Sister: You're a cheater.		Avoiding the pressure to conform is impossible for Aya, but easy for a talking dog: His expectations are not the same as Aya's, he 'cheats.'
17	Shot to Otosan, same framing, leaning into fan and opening his mouth.	Otosan: Ahhhhhh!		
18	Close up of grandmother.	Grandmother: 'Do 'the space alien!'.	The 'space alien' is a kind of routine Otosan does by speaking into the electric fan, making him sound like an alien.	Grandmother and Mother together represent 'Japanese social order,' and again interfere to place Otosan into alignment with his proper position. Here they reassert that he should do something that asserts his foreignness, which is signified by his voice.
19	Close up of Otosan from side.	Otosan: Waaaaaaah.....		

20	Full shot of room, Otosan is front right.	Otosan: (his voice made to sound like an alien) 'WE ARE ALIENS...' Family chuckles.		Otosan IS an alien, and this brings a relief to the arguments about who 'belongs' in the family: 'We are aliens.'
21	Blue Screen	Announcer: 'Save energy easily with this electric fan'		

Ad 5: Katsu-don

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zl6Ult3Eutc>

Cut	Scene	Dialogue / Text	Notes	Constructed Associations/Denotations
1	Kojiro and sister seen from the back of a chef in a lunchtime Japanese restaurant.	Kojiro: 'Katsu-don' Chef: '980 yen'	Katsu-don is a pork cutlet.	
2	Cut to side of chef, a student (in uniform) stands up and asks for a meal.	Student: 'I'll have katsu-don too!'		
3	From behind student, we see chef turn to face him. Some patrons are visible to his left.	Chef: 'Student discount, everyone is free!' (学生さんは只!)	This ad is part of a series that establishes 'free' (of charge) as part of a pun referencing Softbank friends-free plans, which itself depends on the homonyms of 'free of charge' and 'ordinary'. These advertisements have been based on a campaign called 'tadatomo' in which 'tada' (只) carries many meanings: Including 'free of charge' but also 'ordinary' and 'expected.'	Using 'tada' has already been established as having multiple meanings such as in 'girlfriend' ad and 'the Frenchman' ad, both of which reference 'inner/outer circles' of friendship. The chef is declaring the students are 'free' but also 'ordinary'. Kojiro is thus marked as <i>not</i> -ordinary.
4	Side shot, salary man and chef. Chef points to each person at bar.	Chef: Free! (points to next person) Free!	The chef is saying 'Free! Free! Free!' to each student, using a homonym for 'Ordinary! Ordinary! Ordinary!'	The association is made between the students (all Japanese) and 'free', 'inclusive,' and 'ordinary' - the word he says while pointing to each of them means

		(gestures to all) Free!		all three of these things.
5	Side shot, back of chef, patrons bow and express delight	Crowd: Wow! Thanks so much!		The students are delighted by the perks of their inclusion.
6	Zoom in to Kojiro, looking angry. Sister is distracted by something out of frame.	Kojiro: That's unfair! Sister: Eh!?! 		Kojiro is frustrated by his exclusion. His sister, who is tacitly included, is unconcerned, distracted by the sight of her parents.
7	Med. Shot, Mother is framed between two women patrons, eating an ice cream sundae. Otosan is revealed when girl leans forward.	Sister: Huh?! Mother?! Kojiro: And father, too.	Mother is in a school girl's outfit, making her part of the 'student' group. Otosan is dressed in a full (slightly outdated) male student uniform.	This makes them stand out but also makes them 'ordinary,' once again Otosan is inexplicably 'in the circle' based on his once-upon-a-time human Japaneseness. Again, a talking dog is treated by those in the ad as more 'ordinary' than a black Japanese man.
8	Med shot, side view of table. Kojiro and Aya approach Mother and Otosan.	Sister: Just a minute, why are you in those clothes? (ちょっと 何、その格好?)		
9	Close up from Aya's height, looking at Otosan	Otosan: You found us.		
10	Wide shot, mother and Otosan. Both are	Kojiro: (off camera): Are you		Kojiro sees Otosan and Mother trying to be part of the 'circle' he is unfairly excluded from; those with

	looking away from the camera, mother at ice cream, Ootosan off frame.	trying to get the student discount? (学割でただになろうとしてますね?)		the 'student discount' which has been associated with an 'insider discount' for displaying the 'usual, expected' traits of Japanese belonging which Kojiro cannot display on account of his skin color.
11	Med. Shot, sister, looking annoyed.			
12	Med shot, mother looking up and to the right (at Aya, not at Kojiro)	Mother: We're in the springtime of life (looks at Ootosan) in unison: aren't we?	This is a 'cutesy' gesture and 'springtime of life' 青春してる suggests 'to express young love', literally, 'doing the springtime of life'	Mother <i>doesn't direct her answer to Kojiro's question to Kojiro</i> , she answers it to Aya. The women are again on an axis of 'Japaneseness' which operates independently of Ootosan and Kojiro. Aya is then framed in response, with Kojiro half in-frame, his face not visible. Once ignored by mother, he is also ignored by the camera.
13	MS Aya, Kojiro is half in-frame, half-out.	Aya: Stop it!	Aya doesn't like seeing her parents behave in a 'cutesy' way.	
14	Long shot, Chef from behind counter leans forward to speak to them across restaurant	Chef: There's nothing wrong with youth.		The chef officially sanctions Ootosan and Mother as 'ordinary' Japanese by extending the discount to them: 'There's nothing wrong with <i>you</i> .'
15	Close up of chef gesturing to mother/Ootosan with hand	Chef: You guys are free too!	This same gesture is given when speaking to the students.	
16	Mother feeds Ootosan some cherries	Mother and Ootosan (Sharing Cherries): Ahhhhhh.....		

17	MS, Kojiro	Kojiro: What is 'seishun'?	Though this could be interpreted as a rhetorical: 'what do you mean, 'springtime of youth?', as in a refusal to accept that they are young, it is nonetheless precisely the Japanese phrase used to inquire about the linguistic properties of foreign words ('what is [word]?').	Kojiro struggles with Japanese, by inquiring about the word 'seishun,' as if he doesn't know the meaning. Thus Kojiro, ostensibly Japanese, is again presented to have aspects of a foreigner associated with his skin rather than his national/cultural origins, connecting ethnicity and culture.
18	CU, with zoom, on Otosan	Otosan: (青春? 青春はあ〜んだ!)	Otosan barks that 'Seishun means being in love!'	Tellingly, when Kojiro doesn't understand English, Aya is surprised, but when Kojiro doesn't understand Japanese, Otosan is surprised/angry.
19	CU, chef, leaning over counter	Chef: That's right!		
20	White card	Third anniversary of Softbank		

1.1. Ad 6: Original Softbank Ad

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7cwNNrp5-60>

Cut	Scene	Dialogue / Text	Notes	Constructed Associations/Denotations
1	CU businessman in grey suit at service counter holding white phone. Framed from behind service clerk.	Customer: 'What is 'White Family 24?'		Our camera is behind Aya's shoulder, looking at the customer whose question she answers - positioning Aya as our frame of reference on an individual level and associating Aya with Softbank, as an employee.
2	Medium shot, zooming in, daughter is standing in SoftBank store, behind counter, in uniform.	Daughter: 'Yes, your calls to your family are free for 24 hours.'		
3	Medium shot, doorway of a home, daughter walking through doorway in blue dress, presumably returning from work, looking tired.	Daughter: 'Phew!'		
4	CU, tracking shot of mother, sitting down at table. Sound of glass placed on table.	Mother: Hey, Aya-chan		We are introduced to the mother, who is an 'ordinary' Japanese woman. This establishes a base of Japaneseness.
5	CU Aya, drinking water,	Aya: Hm?		

	swallowing.			
6	Medium shot, from below table. Family home. We see Aya and Mother across from one another. Kojiro enters from left of frame and sits.	Mother: What is white family 24?		
7	CU Aya, looking annoyed.	Aya: Ugh, do I have to do sales talk at home?		
8	Two-shot, Mother and Kojiro.	Kojiro: I'd like to know, too.		
9	CU, Aya. Mothers shoulder is visible in frame.	Aya: Older brother, you too?	(She refers to him in the casual sense)	The 'traditional' Japanese base of the family is now skewed by the presence of an African-American, who is casually referred to as Aya's brother.
10	Med shot, table, the three visible	Aya: You said you'd be out tonight!		Aya is asserting, in a sense, that Kojiro shouldn't be there - he was supposed to be 'outside'.
11	CU, Kojiro (mother still half in frame to left)	Kojiro: Nobody told me anything...	(This is a reference to Carver's previous ad work)	This catchphrase was from Carver's previous appearance in a Vodaphone commercial; it is grammatically incorrect Japanese; it also marks Carver as 'outside' the circle of communication.
12	CU, Aya (mother's should in left of frame)	Aya: What are you talking about? So...		Aya cuts off Kojiro in the middle of his statement.
13	Top shot, a white dog, Otosan, near a plant, zooms	Otosan: I want to know, too.	The camera zoom seems to highlight	The two 'ordinary' Japanese women are paired together in association after Aya is given the perspective of the audience,

	in slightly at end.		the strangeness of the talking dog.	then the two 'different' Japanese men are associated as unusual / different 'from' Aya and mother.
14	MS, Aya looking down at us, Kojiro in background.	Aya: Dad, you too?!		
15	MS, Mother and Kojiro, Aya's shoulder in frame	Mother: You don't have to know.		The mother is now serving as a kind of social order - establishing who gets to know and who doesn't. Kojiro asks but is told he isn't supposed to be there, Otosan asks and mother says he doesn't need to know. The women are enforcing a social order of 'Japaneseness.'
16	Top shot, Otosan	Otosan: Why not?		
17	CU, Kojiro, laughing	Kojiro: (laughter)		
18	Top shot, Otosan is standing up	Otosan: What's so funny?		
19	CU, Kojiro, zooming out slightly	Kojiro: Excuse me, father.		<p>The camera moves us away from Kojiro at this point, mirroring a pushing away aligned with Otosan's anger. Kojiro is thus established as being pushed further outside, and subservient to the talking dog.</p> <p>Furthermore, Otosan is given an association with foreignness through Kojiro, and Kojiro is given an association with animalness through being the son of Otosan. That both women are associated with 'Japaneseness' (and the preservation of 'Japaneseness') speaks to a bizarre conception of matriarchal lineage and thus a kind of intrinsic passing-on of Japaneseness among gender and 'difference' marked by Otosan's genes passed to Kojiro.</p>

20	CU, Mother. Aya is still in frame, blurred, looking at Otosan.	Mother: 'Well, what is White family 24?'		
21	CU, Aya turning to look at us.	Aya: Eh?		The final shot is not from Aya's perspective, as in the beginning, but Aya turning to mother to answer mother's question. The audience is thus invited to perceive the ad as Aya, but the audience, too, is positioned in a hierarchy that rotates around mother. Given mother's association with 'pure Japaneseness,' mother is the one who organizes the advertisement, posing the question first, determining who has the right to know, and asserting her question again at the end, in a way that the advertisement itself comes to answer. She is the one who asks the final question and is answered. Therefore we see two forms of identification, in keeping with our thesis: The association with Aya as ourselves, and the association of mother with the central authority determining who gets to speak and who is included. That central authority is closely, symbolically associated with Japaneseness.
22	White card	Announcer: 24-hour free calls to your family		When mother asks, Aya doesn't answer, but the title card and announcer come in to answer her question: Mother is the one who gets the 'answer' for the audience, establishing her authority. She is also the social enforcer, and so the association between social enforcement and authority is suggested.
23	White card, Softbank logo	Softbank Logo		Therefore we see two forms of identification, in keeping with our thesis: The association with Aya as ourselves, and the association of mother with the central authority. And then the central authority comes to be symbolically associated with Japaneseness.

Ad 7: 'Obama'

Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wcGuFUSh_o

Cut	Scene	Dialogue / Text	Notes	Constructed Associations/Denotations
1	Shot from behind mother, opening newspaper. Kojiro is in front of her, watching TV.	Announcer (off-screen): SoftBank is number one this year.		Aya is reading the news and so her mind is on current events.
2	CU mother reading paper. Looks quizzically at Kojiro, his head out of focus in bottom right of frame.	Mother: Hm?		
3	Same shot as Cut 1, Kojiro looks away from TV to look at Mother, quizzically.	Kojiro: Hm?		
4	Mother shot, reading newspaper. Looking at newspaper, not Kojiro.	Mother: You look like Obama.		Kojiro does <i>not</i> look like Obama, aside from his skin color. We are seeing an example of 'all foreigners look alike.' Kojiro's difference is thus asserted by being foreign to his own mother, seen only as a 'black man' rather than her son.
5	Kojiro reaction shot	Kojiro: Eh?		
6	Mother shot, folds newspaper and rises up			

7	Kojiro shot, mother leans into table to pick a banana from a basket of fruit as Kojiro looks on. Mother puts Banana in Kojiro hand. We see Otosan is also watching TV. Mother also reveals she is wearing a traditional Yukata.	Mother: Use this to pretend like you're talking on the cell phone.	Yukata are a traditional casual version of a kimono, often worn in summer in Japan.	<p>Two symbolic representations occur here. The first is the unusual association with Obama as holding a cell phone - this is the denotative reason for Aya to ask Kojiro to hold the banana. There's no specific reason for this association.</p> <p>There is also no reason why Aya needs to use a banana - a symbol associated with monkeys in Japan, just as black people are associated with the Western racist trope of being ape-like. Monkey/Black representations have a history in Japan which have been covered in various texts on race in Japan and are too detailed for the space of this paper (Russell, 1991). Monkeys are associated with bananas on the label of Meiji's banana-choco cookies, for example. Therefore, the banana-monkey association is inherent to Japan, as is the monkey-black association.</p>
8	CU, Kojiro holds banana up to his ear, as a cell phone.	Kojiro: 'Moshi-Moshi!'	(Standard Japanese greeting for answering the phone)	
9	Mother (now kneeling by table, instead of couch, at Kojiro's level)	Mother: Ah, you look nothing like him.		This suggests to me that Aya imagines Obama with a banana held up to his ear, and can only see Kojiro as different from Obama when both hold bananas; this suggests a casual (or overt) racism.
10	CU, Kojiro puts banana down, looking disappointed.			
11	Otosan, framed between Mother and Kojiro.	Otosan (harshly): Why		Otosan is the multicultural translator (as we have seen when he interacts with the Frenchman and

		are you talking to a banana?		<p>explains Japanese to his fluent, native Japanese son), and seems upset that Kojiro is behaving strangely, but also suggests that Ootosan is aware of the animal association between black skin and bananas. Ootosan, an animal himself, and Kojiro, being associated with an animal, is a naturalized association within these advertisements anyway.</p> <p>Interestingly, the monkey reference is elided but alluded to in this ad, in that the Japanese version of 'cats and dogs' as adversaries is 'dogs and monkeys.' Since Ootosan and Kojiro's relationship is largely adversarial, this suggests a more blatantly racist association of Kojiro's position.</p>
12	White screen with text	Thanks! For making us No. 1		
13	White screen, Softbank logo			

APPENDIX 2: BOSS COFFEE 'ALIEN JONES' CAMPAIGN.

Alien Mission #1: Sunrise

Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lWYtrF1z5mc>

Cut	Scene	Dialogue / Text	Notes	
1	Nighttime. Long Shot of an all-night diner, cars pass. Men talk off-camera.	Man 1: 'Did you hear the story of the alien living with humans?'		The alien among humans is a denotative 'other'
2	Side shot, two men in profile eating ramen, the bowl to their face.		Bringing the bowl to your mouth is a normal expectation of ramen-eating, as are slurping sounds	Ramen is a traditional Japanese food.
3	Front side shot, a different man eating ramen. Man 1 is off-camera.	Man 1: 'Yeah. They are investigating the Earth.'		
4	Side shot of man 1 and 2 talking, move heads back. See Alien Jones in profile behind them, drinking water.			
5	Shot of couple seeming to sleep at counter. We see the back of another man eating.	Man 1: 'I heard it watched a movie and now disguises itself as like Tommy Lee Jones.'		Alien Jones as a hyperreal signifier of himself; he is the actor Tommy Lee Jones playing the role of an alien who saw Tommy Lee Jones in a film. Jones is thus an alien, represented by the form of Tommy Lee Jones, leaving the commercials room

				to work with Tommy Lee Jones as an actor and as a fictional character. We are invited to join the alien in his investigation by slipping into alien skin; the Alien Jones is thus associated with being from elsewhere on two levels of signification. The Japanese spectator would not be invited to slip into this skin - instead, he receives the promise of being seen by the alien, constructed in this ad by depicting Japanese symbols such as ramen and public sleeping, then revealing that they are also being seen by a foreigner:
6	Side shot, another man sleeping at the counter while a woman cleans.		All this sleeping is not so unusual, it is common for Japanese travelers to take catnaps in such a place/manner. It implies the lateness of the evening more than a 'weird' atmosphere.	
7	Men rise to leave, revealing full profile of AJ, his head turned to look at them. He is eating with chopsticks but his bowl is on the tray.	Text: 'Outer Space Man Jones, Earth Investigator.' Narrator (AJ in voice-over): 'The inhabitants of this planet have a lack....'		Establishes that the Japanese are missing something, and immediately associated not with the product, but as we will see, with the sunrise. This connects to a naturism trope of Japanese ethos-nationalism; it is surely meant to be associated with Japan as 'the land of the rising sun'.
8	MS, AJ leaving ramen shop, looking toward horizon	Narrator: However... sunrise on this planet...		

9	Sun rises on horizon.	<p>Narrator: Is beautiful. (美しい)</p> <p>Text on Screen: Above coffee, “このろくでもないすばらしき世界” (“For this worthless, wonderful world”)</p> <p>Announcer: “Boss Coffee.”</p>	<p>When Jones establishes that the Japanese are missing something, but that the sunrise is beautiful, he suggests an association of lacking with ‘Japaneseness,’ mirrored in the slogan ‘for this worthless, wonderful world.’ The world is missing something, but has something: In this case, the sunrise, an image associated with the Emperor (said to be descended from the sun god), the flag (a red disc on white background, intended to evoke the rising sun) and love of nature (the local religion, Shinto, is deeply animist and nature-loving).</p>
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Alien Mission #2, 'Tired'

Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8UiP8Tkr_A4&list=PLCE4C56511A3E37FA

Cut	Scene	Dialogue / Text	Notes	Associations/Denotations
1	A morning meeting is taking place. Five workers are looking at Alien Jones (AJ) and boss, we see the back of their heads framing AJ and Boss. All are dressed in white. Walls are also white. Boss is positioned to be isolated by darkness of doorway.	Boss (middle of speaking): "... introduce you to Mr. Jones..."	Boss's function is limited to introducing AJ.	Keeping workers' heads in frame positions audience 'inside' the crowd of workers, not as detached observers, thus inviting an association to the group.
2	Jones in profile. Boss is seen speaking in lower left frame.	Boss: He starts today. Text: Outer Space Man Jones, Earth Investigator (Examiner) Jones (VO): Residents of this planet...	AJ's 'mission' is re-introduced at the start of each advertisement.	Text re-asserts Jones's identity as outsider by reiterating 'alienness' each time he is presented.
3	Four workers engage in work activities. A machine is in the left frame, two pallets on the ground, a forklift is on the right side of the frame. The workers are mostly facing away from us aside from one man, pointing across frame.	Jones (VO): seem to be addicted to an activity called 'work' Engines, sirens.		Workers are faceless, creating a sense of their shared social role and communal ethic, while AJ is singled out in the group meeting and the boss is singled out by his framing in scene 1.

4	Tight frame, full body of man in yellow forklift backing up. Fade to Black.			
5	Medium Shot inside warehouse. Forklift moves in distance. AJ is standing just to right of center frame wearing khakis. Co-Worker (Japanese) is struggling to lift a heavy box while AJ watches. Lifts box to his shoulders, then drops it to the ground.		Co-worker has blue gloves, AJ has yellow. Co-worker's function is to reveal that something is difficult to do, and to encourage AJ to attempt it.	Blue gloves associated with anonymity of worker, which the audience has been associated with at start of the ad by camera position.
6	Long shot. More boxes in the background. Co-Worker places one hand on the box.	Co-Worker: OK, try this.		
7	Medium Shot. Co-Worker is to left of frame. AJ leans over box. Forklift is seen in background. Jones lifts box, bends backwards in super heroically flexible fashion - he has exerted too much strength. Co-worker reacts with startled expression.		.	AJ has fulfilled a secondary function: On top of collecting data for his report, he also fulfills his role as a showcase for his 'difference' as an alien.
8	Close up, AJ springing into frame holding box. Same stoic expression.		Lack of expression is a common function of AJ's roles in these commercials.	
9	Close up, co-worker folds	Co-Worker: ひよいねえ? /	CW is using	

	arms and nods in approval.	Hyo! ne? (“You’re graceful/agile, aren’t you?”)	understatement, a ‘Japanese’ trait	
10	Close up, AJ, framed as 8, reaction shot, blank expression.	AJ (VO): Moreover...		
11	Four coworkers leaving warehouse dressed in beige. Background dark.	Bells Chime. Co-Workers, Chorus: おつかれさま! (otsukare-sama!) Literally, “You are tired (from your hard work!)” Traditional end-of-day farewell among co-workers to imply a job well done.	The co-workers were earlier depicted in bright lighting which made their uniforms appear to be white. By the end of the day, they are dark brown.	Uniforms darken to suggest they have worked hard and have become darkened from sweat/grime of a hard day. All co-workers have same blue gloves.
12	Side shot of workers leaving.			
13	Man taking off gloves. Camera pans up, it’s AJ.		AJ has yellow gloves, everyone else has yellow.	AJ’s hands are different. Removal of the glove is a removal of difference..
14	With his gloves off, a can of Boss Rainbow Mountain blend is placed into AJ’s hand by co-worker.			Difference has been ‘removed’ so that AJ can hold the can of coffee. The can is handed to him by a worker who we saw earlier, no blue gloves. This suggests a removal of difference.
15	Medium shot, co-worker to left, AJ right of center, coworkers are on the other side of them, leaving. Co-Worker speaks, then exits. A man is seen drying sweat off	Co-worker: チビ, おつかれ. (chibi, otsukare). You worked hard, kid. (exits)	AJ doesn’t bow or say thank you. He also does not appear to be sweating.	By being told ‘otsukare,’ a traditional goodbye among workers, and handed a coffee, AJ is welcomed inside the world of the workers. The can of coffee symbolizes the gift of ‘inclusion.’ However, AJ’s demeanor does not match that of the workers, maintaining his cultural difference.

	of his head, then bowing to his co-worker.	AJ: They seem to like being tired.		The coffee is thus associated with belonging, while the alien is not included on the inside.
16	Close-up, AJ drinks can of coffee. with blue sky behind him, roof of warehouse in the distance.	Text on screen (roughly translated) Today's Report: On this planet, people customarily find happiness in work.		A self-Orientalizing generalization.
17	Cut to black screen with can of Rainbow Coffee Blend in center.	Text on Screen: Above coffee, “このろくでもないすばらしき世界” (“For this worthless, wonderful world”) Announcer: “Boss Coffee.”		

Alien Mission #12, 'Moe'

Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G_yMkBttqo0&list=PLCE4C56511A3E37FA&index=12

Cut	Scene	Dialogue / Text	Notes	Associations/Denotations
1	Crowd in city is circled around a dancing woman in pink (facing crowd) and a man half-facing the crowd and the viewer. A microphone breaks into the top of the frame, we are watching a television program being filmed.		Portions of this advert have been translated by Asuka Kageura, a native Japanese speaker.	
2	AJ is shown holding two floodlights next to a camera man. He is taller than the rest of the crowd, and seems to be standing on his toes.	On Screen text, 'Outer Space Man Jones, Earth Investigator.'		Taller than crowd emphasizes difference.
3	Long shot of cityscape, buildings on left, bridge on right, train is seen leaving the screen.	AJ: 'Akihabara of this planet...'	Akihabara is a 'geek culture' center of Tokyo and often includes dressing up.	
4	Dancing girl and crowd. The crowd is behind her now but screen includes the crowd to left and right of the in frame, as if viewer is within the crowd. Girl has cat ears and holds a microphone.			

5	Same shot seen from side, showing crowd cheering and moving hands in a unified dance motion			The unity of the hand-dancing suggests sameness.
6	Jones, centered in crowd, holding lamps again. Occupies full frame. Stoic expression.	'is a strange (atmosphere)'		Height as difference.
7	TV host holds microphone to Japanese girl with straight pink hair in black dress. She smiles and holds her head against her hands in a 'kawaii' ('cute') gesture. Next to her another friend in blonde wig and red dress looks on.	<p>Announcer: "So, now I am in this Akihabara-dori (road). Though it is chilly, these people are very passionate (exact Japanese word says 'hot')."</p> <p>Pink haired girl: 'Jenny (or Cherry?) desu!' (It's Cherry/Jenny!)</p> <p>Blonde Girl: 'アリス です!' (It's Alice!)</p>		<p>'Kawaii' (cute) gesture is my own name for this action, prevalent among anime girl characters and fans/cosplayers; it is a 'cute' form of body language used as physical punctuation to indicate shyness/meekness, meant to endear the person to the viewer. Also, the girls have taken on 'Western' names, Alice and Cherry/Jenny (difficult to hear in audio), reflecting their cosplay personas.</p> <p>Difference within Japan is presented as both 'meek' through the hand-sign, and 'passionate' through the television announcer, these differences are 'excused' through meekness/humility of the girls ('cuteness') and through the announcer's recognition of Akihabara as a special place, both outside and within Japanese society. (See next scene)</p>
8	Closer shot of Jones holding up lights.			
9	Announcer turns to camera	Announcer: "well, this		'This is Akihabara' refers to Cherry and Alice,

	and girls smile.	seems like what Akihabara is..."		strangeness is tolerated as a result of being in a proper position, i.e., Akihabara is 'outside but in'.
10	A close-up of omurice, a Japanese style of omelette with rice inside (popular with teenagers). The character '萌' (moe) enclosed in a heart, with a heart on each side of it, are written in ketchup.			* 'Moe' is a Japanese word which literally means 'budding' or 'burning' but has, through anime and manga circles, been used as a shorthand for a yearning affection for someone or thing, as in 'a crush,' specifically of fictional characters or those beyond the physical possibility of a relationship.
11	CU, girl in pink maid costume is cheering with her hands, speaking in high-pitched voice.	Narrator: 'But,' Girl: '萌え! 萌え!' (Moe! Moe!) [untranslatable] and 'じゃんけん! じゃんけん!' ('Janken! Janken!')	The high-pitched voice is a common signifier of extreme femininity in Japan. Janken is the name for 'Rock Paper Scissors' in Japan and is a common way for school children to settle minor disputes harmoniously, it is also a pastime. Japanese audiences should recognize the setting as a maid cafe, popular in	The girl is using a word to declare an unobtainable yearning to a real person; Alien Jones is being othered through his placement as 'beyond the possibility of a relationship.' The ad doesn't say why she considers to use 'moe' for him, a real person, but it suggests a quality of difference from the real.

			Akihabara, where men can go and sit with a young 'maid' who serves and dotes on them as part of the service of the meal.	
12	CU, AJ looking stoic but sheepishly at maid, off-camera.			
13	Extremely fast medium shot framing AJ and Maid, AJ throws scissors, maid throws paper, AJ wins.	Maid: 'Go!'		
14	CU, maid shaking head and putting hands to face	Maid: 'I lost the game!'		
15	Medium shot, AJ and maid. Maid is feeding AJ the omelette rice.	Maid: Say Ahhhh! Narrator: Omelette rice is...		
16	CU, AJ is being fed the omelette rice from off-frame.	Maid: 'Kew kew' ('Chew Chew! Cutie-kew!')		
17	CU, Maid motioning with her hands again, looking at AJ.			
18	CU, AJ is stoic, but blushing.	Narrator: Moe! ('it makes me feel')		If AJ is moe toward omurice, this is appropriate use of the word moe, as the omurice cannot

				return his affection. But the maid girl's declaration of moe to an animate person is not appropriate unless she considered him fictional or otherwise unreal.
19	Shot from below, AJ is drinking BOSS coffee in Akihabara street.	Text on Screen:, “このろくでもないすばらしき世界” (“For this worthless, wonderful world”) Announcer: “Announcing....”		
20	Shot of coffee with spinning Earth in the background.	Announcer: Suntory Boss Rainbow Mountain.		

* ‘Moe’ is a Japanese verb (moeru) which literally means ‘to sprout’ but has a homonym meaning ‘to burn.’ Moe is a kind of noun form of Moeru which has, through anime and manga, been used as shorthand for a non-sexual yearning to love or nurture someone or thing which is purely imaginary, as in ‘a crush’ but notably the object inspiring the crush is what possesses moe.

Alien Mission #14, 'Extra'

Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v_qHj25RaU&index=14&list=PLCE4C56511A3E37FA

Cut	Scene	Dialogue / Text	Notes	Constructed Associations/Denotations
1	Long crane shot, above, a bridge, peasants and a samurai are racing through a traditional village.	Narrator: There are two types of people on this planet...		The ad begins with a generalization centered on exclusion and inclusion, the distinction between 'stars' and 'extras' from the beginning, associated with the traditional samurai/peasant dynamic. The 'star' is clearly the samurai (he is shown when the word 'star' is spoken), while those fighting him are the 'peasants' or 'extras'. Thus, this advertisement establishes an identification with groups within the commercial. Williamson might say that Lacan's ego ideal is being conjured in the samurai boldly fighting the group of peasants.
2	A samurai warrior in traditional hair style in front of a traditional wooden home, a sword off of the screen; he holds a sword himself, staring steely-eyed slightly off camera; camera pans around him subtly to the right as he moves left	Narrator: the stars, and...		'Traditional' samurai village.
3	Peasants move backward, frightened, holding swords.	Narrator: the extras...		
4	Close-up, Tommy Lee Jones in traditional haircut and robe, among the frightened peasants.	On Screen text, 'Outer Space Man Jones, Earth Investigator.'		When Alien Jones is on screen, embedded, as he was within the peasants, he becomes a kind of star, taking on the center of the screen and, also, being embodied by a famous Hollywood actor. This association of Alien Jones and actor Jones is made particularly

				relevant by the commercial's setting, which is a film set. There is some irony in Jones playing an 'extra.' This irony suggests his position as an outsider as well: Just as Tommy Lee Jones should not be the 'extra' in the commercial, he also should not be 'a peasant.' The irony draws upon his double occupation of incorrect places.
5	Very quick sequence: Side shot of samurai doing sword work			
6	Samurai seen from behind shoulder of peasant, blocking action of swords. SFX of sword whipping through air; peasant reels back, looking at camera.	Peasant: Grunts in agony		
7	Side shot, AJ holding sword over head, storming off screen to right; behind him other men carry swords.	Narrator: Needless to say...		
8	AJ lunges sword at samurai, whose hands moves quickly to the left, obscuring action of his sword but implying a cut to AJ, who keels forward. Instantly, another sword comes over AJ to reach the samurai; the samurai deflects it.	Narrator: the majority are extras.		
9	Samurai strikes sword			
10	Peasant falls to ground			
11	The samurai is in the center of a circle of peasants, surrounded. The ruckus goes on around him, we hear a man gagging from	Narrator: On this planet...	AJ displaces the camera's view of the	Because AJ was placed incorrectly - not made a star, but trying to become part of the peasantry - he is 'outed' as grotesque.

	the ground. AJ re-enters frame from below, staggering and obscuring the view of action behind him. He comes directly at the camera, his face grotesque, making exaggerated sounds of gasping and grunting.		samurai warrior.	
12	We see a director from the side, in a director's chair holding a bullhorn. He sits in front of a camera with an assistant beside him.	Director: 'Cut! Cut!		
13	Camera crew on left, AJ in center, other extras walking off frame to right.	Director: Replace him. Too much.		The director ends the scene, and Jones is taken out of the shot of 'traditional' Japan so that the filming can continue with the actors carrying on their 'natural' roles as peasants.
14	Extras mulling about, AJ led off frame by man in modern clothing	Narrator: If you can't 'read' ('the air') -- 空気読めない.		‘空気読めない’ means one is unable to read the air of the conversation, often associated with a foreigner's lack of subtlety. Jones reflects on his expulsion and isolation from the ‘peasants’ using the phrase ‘kuuki yomenai,’ which means ‘can't read the air,’ a phrase often associated with the inability of foreigners to adapt to the social conditions of Japanese subtlety. Here, it applies to his inability to know what is called for by the scene - but the joke is clear.
15	AJ is surrounded by accoutrements of a film set, looking sad.	Narrator: It's unpleasant / crude. Actor (off camera):		AJ is removed from 'traditional' setting of film and placed into 'modern' world of film set, associating his exclusion from the film with a banishment to an ugly modern space. He is removed from participating in the peasantry, indicated by his framing by a bulletin board and ladder when he is off-stage. Jones thus

		Hey, you!		becomes associated with the 'modern' world (and the modern world of filmmaking - thus, his rightful position).
16	Wide shot, AJ looks up to see the actor enter from right. AJ is framed by bulletin board, actor is framed by traditional Japanese village. Actor places a can of BOSS coffee in AJ's hand.	Actor: 'Hey, you've got guts.'		Coffee is again being associated with inclusion, but paired with a difference ('guts' as opposed to 'reading the air'). When the samurai approaches him, the samurai/actor is framed by the remnants of the set which are still 'traditional.' Thus, the actor, already symbolic of the traditional past, is crossing boundaries of tradition and modernization when he hands Jones a can of coffee. This process inscribes 'acceptance' into Boss Coffee again, as we have seen 'Alien Mission #2, Tired'.
17	Close up of actor putting sword back into sheath.			The ad explains why Jones was expelled - for his <i>kuuki yomenai</i> . And so Japanese understanding of social behaviors is thus reinforced: We belong with the peasants of this commercial, and if we try to be the star/samurai, we will be punished. This is an intuitive understanding of position that places the site of exchange not with either 'star' of the commercial but within the group of peasants whose membership defines the two main actors. Here, the imaginary is within the peasantry, and the audience is asked to identify with this mass; the two actors are rendered symbolic by their separation from this default 'primordial' mass of faceless peasantry. Within the advertisement, the samurai, though the 'star,' knows his position in the crowd. Thus identifying with the samurai is identifying with the awareness of the social. Though he stands alone, he 'knows his role.'

18	Medium shot of both men drinking coffee, looking to right of frame.	Text on Screen:, “このろくでもないすばらしき世界” (“For this worthless, wonderful world”) Announcer: Canned Coffee, BOSS Rainbow Mountain		The extension of the ‘Japaneseness’ inscribed in BOSS coffee comes not from a character who is heroic and bold -- those are the traits which Jones was exiled for, and can only be praised for once he is no longer uchi, inside, but soto. The samurai/actor acts from the position of ‘Japaneseness,’ a socially aware star extending hospitality-at-a-distance to a socially oblivious one. Thus Japaneseness is reinforced as a position which can be maintained through canned coffee.
19	Black screen, CU of coffee can.			

Alien Mission #13 Rice Farm

Source: <http://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL5359B3CoF69DB654>

Cut	Scene	Dialogue / Text	Notes	Constructed Associations/Denotations
1	Long shot of rice farms in a flooded rice paddy, planting rice in a line.	Narrator: 'The inhabitants of this planet...'		Rice is a symbol of Japan across many contexts. This farming method has long historical roots, as does rice as a symbol of traditional Japanese culture. As we clearly see in the advertisement, doing this by hand is unnecessary. Yet, the farmers do it out of an obligation to tradition.
2	CU, AJ in blue poncho and rice-farming hat, standing and rising from paddy, looking in distance.	Narrator: 'create food by...' Text: 'Outer Space Man Jones, Earth Investigator.'		The blue poncho is contrasted with the other traditional farmers, a separation. Blue is worn only by AJ and the driver of the tractor, suggesting a relationship between AJ and modernization.
3	We see a tractor accomplishing the task of the men, but much faster.	Narrator: 'a traditional method called 'Taue''	Taue is a method in which rice seedlings are cultivated in a greenhouse and planted in the paddy only when conditions are appropriate.	A denotative calling out for 'tradition.' This farm employs a hybrid method, however: The traditional farmers share a paddy with the modern tractor version, displaying a flexibility and hybridity between modernization and tradition. Blue poncho on tractor driver - blue as 'modernization'
4	Close up of the tractor planter in mud, rapidly placing seeds			

	in a straight line (the goal of taue).			
5	Long shot of farmers			
6	MS of AJ, bending down and planting seeds with superhuman speed, as if he were a tractor.	Narrator: 'It's extremely hard work.'		Jones' presence here is that of an outside observer, but his superhuman abilities reveal him to be a hybrid of tradition and modernized methods of farming. Thus, Alien Jones becomes a symbol of successful hybridization between tradition and modernization. He is therefore successfully reconciling 'Japanese' anxieties about modernization.
7	Another farmer in red hat stands to watch AJ, stunned.			Through association of blue with AJ and tractor (modernization, foreigner), red hat is shared by 'tradition' and 'Japaneseness'
8	CU of red plate with canned coffee on it. A woman's knees are seen to the left, sitting seiza-style on a tatami mat. A hand comes from the right of the screen to drink it.	Narrator: 'This planet's farm village...' (このわくせいの農村わ...)		Red plate carries over from previous association to that of 'Japaneseness'- removing can from red plate is extending Japaneseness to AJ, as we will see.
9	Medium shot frames traditional Japanese farm house. AJ, in blue poncho, is framed right, elderly farmer to left, daughter is in between. Blue crates are to either side of the veranda.	Narrator: 'penetrates.' (染みる...)[shimiru] Farmer, pained: 'Won't you be my heir?'		This is a traditional position to take - a rural home in Japan is often part of a lineage maintained over generations. Jones is still in blue. He is still 'different'. Blue crates surround the family, suggesting a 'surrounding' by the modern. The shot appears on the word,

				<p>‘penetrate,’ signalling a penetration of tradition signified by home, by modernity, signified by blue ponchos, i.e., tractor + foreign = modern.</p> <p>The farmer’s invitation, coming after AJ’s drinking of coffee from the red circle, suggests he occupies a hybrid position between modernity and tradition., Nonetheless, the father is pained to extend the offer.</p>
10	CU of Jones, looking away to the distance.	Music swells.		
11	CU of daughter, looking away.			
12	CU of old man, looking away, pained by emotion.			
13	ECU, AJ. In a thought bubble, a small asteroid, labeled ‘調査,’ (‘investigation’) is knocked away by a larger asteroid, marked ‘後継ぎ’ (‘successor’)	Text on Screen:, “このろくでもないすばらしき世界” (“For this worthless, wonderful world”)		<p>This replacement shifts two signifiers of AJ’s hybridity: The modern world of his investigation is replaced by the larger ‘asteroid’ of successor. In other words, the modern has been displaced by the traditional.</p> <p>AJ is finally ‘allowed’ an expression of his Japaneseness, once again expressed through the offer of canned coffee. Japaneseness is therefore reinforced as something which can be offered to outsiders, encouraging an intrinsic sense of belonging which can be extended to others, or not..</p>

14	Black background, canned coffee center of frame.	Announcer: Canned Coffee. BOSS.		
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APPENDIX SOURCES

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