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Look, Reorganizing Women's Images in Japanese
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Abstract

My research purpose is to make a critical examination of the gender image of ‘Hāfu’ female models in the Japanese fashion magazine industry, with linkage to its aesthetic domination on Caucasian beauty ideals, specifically in the perspective of post-feminism and colorism. Methodology approaches I used in this thesis are both qualitative content analysis and quantitative data collection on issues of *ViVi*, between 1983-2019, the most representative fashion magazines with wild circulation and high publishing rate.

Keywords: Japanese *Hāfu* female models, Japanese fashion magazine, *ViVi*, the female body, Feminism

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Nowadays Japanese society is preserving its tradition on paper-based media. When visiting the bookshops in Japan, the diversity of women-targeted publications is dazzling, from magazines of women's fashion to lifestyle. Based on the statistical report from JMPAⁱ, its annual Japanese magazine publication report suggested that there are 146 women-targeted magazines in Japan, and among which 62 of them are magazines designed for women's fashion and beautyⁱⁱ. Concrete to Japanese fashion magazines, it is noteworthy that *Hāfu* (mix-blood) female models with Caucasian skin are widely presented as the beauty ideals for cosmetic and fashion clothing promotion. However, contradicts to the hypervisibility of Caucasian *Hāfu* women being presented as Japanese beauty ideal in Japanese fashion magazine, Japanese women in real life are not as hyper-visible as fancy *Hāfu* women because they are often housewives who baby-cares children(*shufu*), working women in uniforms, and the elderly, who are some of the most frequently encountered women in public. They demurely maintain their images with good manners, following traditional gender norms of female virtue in Japan while minimizing their power in social performances.

If editorial media as a vanguard has evident influences on visualizing gender images, voicing the idea of liberalization innovatively, and prompting social shifts, Japanese fashion magazines can be seen as an outlet for Japanese women's long-term social resistance, which could encourage women's performance in female liberalization and achievement on self-realization.

Nevertheless, the integration of women's

liberalization in Japan with Japanese *Hāfu* models is puzzling. The welcome of *Hāfu* and Caucasian looking models in this industry indicates Japan's social aesthetic concerning women is shifting towards westernized preference, even with the possibility of colorism. Because the preference for *Hāfu* female models with Caucasian skin tone overshadowed traditional Asian looking models' editorial performances with non-Caucasian skins. Moreover, the styling in Japanese fashion magazine industry, from the physical use of women's body to textual design on fashion trend slogan, they are both demonstrating 'women's power', the use of *Hāfu* white model images and bodies still embodies women's subordinate status as the one to be judged and enjoyed visually.

Even though a good deal of former studies examined the relationship between women's body, gender role, and feminism presentations in Japanese popular culture, limited research had been conducted on the gender portrayal of Japanese *Hāfu* female models with relation to what effects this group could have on demonstrating female power and make social changes in Japan, whilst having problematized recognition on their Japanese identity. Thus, this research selects the popular Japanese fashion magazine *ViVi* as the research objective.

Concentrating on the examinations of potentially existing gender and race issues that potentially exist on Japanese *Hāfu* models' image portrayal. The designated goal of research questions is to resolve my research puzzle on whether to conceive Japanese *Hāfu* models' images as a representation of Japanese gender liberalization and female culture globalization within the frame of Japanese culture. In contrast, to recognize *Hāfu* female models' images as a manifestation of conformity on

gender fetishization within the globalized consuming culture during the Japanese economic downturn. Besides, each question's division of research objects is based on different publication time frame: *ViVi* before the 2000s and *ViVi* between 2008 to 2019.

Literature Review

In order to trace *Hāfu*'s formation and social-historical position in Japan, I start by reviewing writing about the emergence and boom of *Hāfu* in Japan between the 1950s-2000s. Followed by are reviews regarding feminism analysis of the female body, beauty ideal, and male gaze so as to reasoning the slather of female *Hāfu* images and Japan's existing cultural inconsistent embodiment between oppression and liberalization on women's body and femininity. Additionally, by referring to verbal analysis on *Hāfu* portrayal incorporated by westernizing Japanese fashion languages, I attempt to locate "*Hāfu* female model phenomenon" within the context of globalizing female culture and reorganizing social value towards women in Japan.

Japanese *Hāfu* in a Socio-historical Glance

Shimoji (2008:156-175) chronicles the socio-history of *Hāfu* in Japan, which tells that using *Hāfu* female image in the Japanese media industry saw its early emergence in the 1970s. With correspondence to the emergence of the *Hāfu* boom at that time, they were treated as the unfortunate legacy of American occupation during the postwar as well as social appealing towards Americanization. Moreover, the Japanese media industry in the early 1970s welcomed *Hāfu* women with exotic looks for their ability to attract audiences and consumers proliferates the invasion of Euro-

American ideology into Japanese society. Being sloganeered as the *Hāfu talents* and 'the offspring of pioneers who break Japanese pure-blood fancy tradition' by famous magazine Miojoⁱⁱⁱ, the attractiveness of *Hāfu* stalled for selling purpose but their recognitional identities as 'post-war products' of American soldiers and Japanese women suffered alienation. In 1970s^{iv} the economic and technological boom further accelerated commercialization of white *Hāfu* images in multiple areas including cosmetics, as polished beauty ideal with talent westernized looking that whet customers' appetites. Whereas by mere commodification on the appearance worship of *Hāfu*, the social alienation towards them maintained. In 1980s^v the agitation of covering and using female *Hāfu* in ancestor fashion magazines including *ViVi*, launched sexualization of *Hāfu* image that disassembling the definition of *Hāfu Japanese* into *Hāfu and Japanese* with distinguished gender meanings, the former embrace the images of beautiful female models whist 'Japanese' recall the masculine impression of men in working suits.^{vi}

It is clear that from Shimoji's indication, *Hāfu* partially appeared on the horizon of Japanese mass media with limited recognition as the beauty ideals endorsed by Caucasian imaginary, whist this welcome of *Hāfu* in the media industry reinforced their unsettled Japanese identity using fetishization to popularize them as the object of sexual otherness rather than Japanese itself, besides demonstrating white skin privilege excludes non-white *Hāfu* groups. Hence when initial public recognition of *Hāfu* encountering imaginary bias as beautiful looking people, it further heightened the threshold of being a *Hāfu*, leads a predicament to non-model *Hāfu* who live in Japanese society. Since Haefelin (2012:7-17) deconstructs the social gender prejudice and stereotype on half as

barely beautiful-looking women by setting up criteria in order to objectively see what could be an ideal *Hāfu*, by judging not only their looks but also considering their multilingual language abilities as well as wealth execution, from her criterion she reveals the living dilemma faced by *Hāfu* who fail to address the higher expectation as ‘privileged Japanese’ when showing mediocrity in working skills and wealth. However, in both works, there is no indication of classifying the skin privilege within the *Hāfu* female group regarding the dominant preference and hypervisibility of Caucasian-skin *Hāfu* and invisibility of non-Caucasian skin *Hāfu* in the Japanese fashion magazine industry.

Appealing Looks, Colorism and White Aesthetic Ideology

Former studies have concentrated on the issues of colorism, discrimination based on light skin color in opposition towards dark skin. Its deep penetration into our society stemmed from the dissemination of the slavery system on black people, in which the work allocation allowed lighter skin to perform indoor labor, whereas heavy farm works outside the houses were assigned to people with darker skin. (Russell, Wilson, & Hall, 1992). Moreover, the global beauty industry witnessed the propagation of colorism into aesthetic bias, feminism, and gender issues. By relocating colorism to globalization and nationalism, Jha (2016:52-54) argues that the normalization of light skin aesthetics, such as skin-whitening cream, is the key to maximize the profit of western capitalism by manipulating transnational media in Asian countries. Apart from the economic dynamic, this normalization of white skin privilege through culture permeation stereotyped the image of light skin with a positive value of purity and kindness as well as success and power while

stigmatizing non-white skin as unfeminine and fell. The psychological shame and trauma that had been added onto the non-white female group is striking their self-esteem. At the same time, research already indicates that skin color discrimination has become a social problem within the global context, which embedded the uprising anger towards unfair treatments based between white and non-white in multiple areas. (Glen, 2009)

Based on the former views, it is logical for the prevailing colorism ideology in the field of printed media, magazines to unite and globalize facial attractiveness in various races. There is a growing body of evidence about a high cross-cultural agreement in beauty ideals based on facial features in different ethnicities and races. The assimilation of beauty ideal attributes to the increasing agreement on facial attractiveness regardless of variability on people’s ethnic origins. (Eisenthal, Dror, and Ruppin, 2006: 122)

In order to rationalize how white privilege and model race could proliferating female attractiveness. Bordo (2003:247-253) suggests that our era has been suffused with normalization and homogenization of racial and gendered images. They are influencing cultural perceptions and practices on shaping the ideal female body. She reveals that media manipulated rhetoric on liberalizing bold expressions on women’s body images and triggered a vibe of gender equality in contemporary consuming culture. Nevertheless, this explicitness repositioned an indulgent bodied fantasy for women and further cultivated self-dissatisfaction and self-consumption on their own bodies. Ironically, gender equality was encouraged through make ‘free’ choice following media rhetoric of beauty trend, and the desire for beauty ideal that shield privilege of aesthetic hegemony, and unequal cost of money and time

satisfying that endless desire. Also, fashion's vicissitudes are continually pleasing women's desire and diminishing the meaning of gender and race; hence, women's pursuit of ideal 'self' becomes hollow and sexless, since 'self' turns into 'other,' and other would not be sexually and racially judged. Hill (2002) used female physical attractiveness rates in different skin-color groups. His results suggest that the perception of gender attractiveness for females remains toneless because of the strong light skin tone affection, the lighter skin women score higher than darker skin women. Russell (2003) revised the power of light skin privileges on women's looks that those who have white skin will be considered more beautiful and more feminine.

With specific linkage to Japanese fashion aesthetics and its transition, former viewpoints emphasized the extrinsic influence of western ideology. Through the perspective of Euro-American cultural assimilation, Morimoto and Chang (2009) examined the 'country-of-origin' effects between Japanese models and advertisements and find that the welcoming vibe on foreign-faced models in the Japanese fashion market in which models with Caucasian faces and tans are in great demand because they represent the beauty ideal to Japanese consumers. Still, controversy engendered while Okazaki and Mueller (2011) found the decline of Japan's economic myth during the post-bubble recession stagnates Japanese advertisements from being as hardcore-sell as American advertisements, in which "low-context" media culture was replaced by "high-context" with less explicit messages. Euphemistic advertising languages and implicit gender aesthetic with a hint of Japanese tradition which leave the space of imagination and fascination pleased the favor of domestic consumers in Japan. Yet opinion that seeks to neutralize disparity on

female attractiveness of traditional Japanese and Caucasian face was suggested by Isa and Kramer (2003), who disclosed the historical cause and cultural imperialism for high recognition on the Caucasian look in Japanese society and concluded that the undeniable role of beauty in society is to judge or being judged, albeit cultural factors could influence the definition on beauty. Specifically, the recent period from Showa period of 1926 has witnessed the westernization infusion on shaping Japan's female's physical beauty standard, alongside with the development of its cosmetic industry on a global scale, therefore being white appealing with light skin and gloss served as a creed for Japanese fashion system to package female models in high-end products' marketing plan. Hence in the process of cultural blending with the west, Japanese magazines bring about the inapproachable myth of fashion looks presented by both traditional Japanese as well as Caucasian looking models for Japanese readers. However, the female attractiveness of Japanese Caucasian *Hāfu*, with intermediated beauty looks fused with features of Japanese tradition and Caucasian appeals, was an important group ignorant by former gender research. Since the latest Japanese fashion trend and female consumer culture is refreshing, with dominant social value on fear of being ugly, Caucasian *Hāfu* provides a problematic face of debate for this research to address the new Japanese beauty value versus the face of being Japanese women, namely the reward use of white *Hāfu* images could be treated as a derivative that culturally sustain the white appealing values on its survival among the fast elapse of beauty and fashion.

Japanese Kawaii, the *Hāfu* Body and Japanese Feminism

On the other hand, standpoints that underlying *Kawaii* culture as the self-generating factor in contouring the kernel of Japanese female fashion contends the single highlight of westernized ideology in Japan. The term *Kawaii* was derived from Euro-American words: cute and playful. Exemplified by the western literal figure “Alice,” Monden (2014) argues that Japanese popular culture complexified *Kawaii* with denotation sexualization and desexualization of young female body. In Japanese fashion magazines, images of *Kawaii* women are faintly twisted and objectify such direct sweetness into sexual allures of either embracing delicate and ladylike European-like looking or matured female bodies. It has long-termly represented a fashion essence of Japan ever since the 1970s, and the Japanese fashion industry has been strived to globalize the interpretation of *Kawaii*. Such evolvement of *Kawaii* in Japan gradually subverts the traditional perception of young femininity. With relation to present *Kawaii* images using female *Hāfu*, Want (2017:166-168) further argues that Japanese Caucasian looking adoration and prevalence of white *Hāfu* images is more than just a single manifestation of western beauty ideal infusion but a joint influence from Japanese indigenous ideology: *Kawaii*. Japanese women long for vulnerable and innocent beauty that is represented by white and light skin-tone that resembles a baby, and this results in the hypervisibility of white-female *Hāfu* images in Japanese fashion magazines.

Monden (2014:108) points out women’s care and pursuit for fashion appearance derives from their inner desire of self-fetishization to catch the male attention. This further validates what Mulvey (1975) defined as “visual

pleasure” and Butler (1988) defined as “gender performativity.” The former perceives that the world of visual is controlled by a masculinized view in which women as the object of “to be look-at-ness” that represents sexuality for male pleasure. The latter indicates a process of enacting and re-enact received gender norms that make femininity and masculinity came into being by what we do in our everyday lived experience, and beauty rituals are one way of performing femininity in order to fulfill heteronormative gender and sexual roles.

Feminist scholar Ann Cahill (2003:118) discussed the power of women dressing up as a direct way against instead of undertaking the male gaze. The experience of dressing up is an experience of pleasure, female playfulness that created a space of feminist subjectivity that include aesthetic as well as sensual pleasure for women not for man. It could be true to reckon the hyper-visible portrayal of their Asian-Western looking and bold-cute dressing style in magazines as beauty imaginations, could be deemed as demonstrations on new Japanese femininity crossing Japan’s traditional modest female moral line, as well as fulfilling the imaginative releasing from social restraint on Japanese women’s sexuality and bodies.

Nonetheless, Dilemma keeps existing when adopting the power of women within the social context of Japan. Japanese feminist scholars Kano (2017:269-274) quoted Japanese feminist Ueno’s definition of *ribu* and *feminizumu*, attesting the landing of feminism in Japan had been encountered linguistical and cultural resistance. She also suggests that it was not until the 1990s that “gender-equality” finally launched in Japan as the national policy that rescued feminism from Japan’s territorial trap. The recent development of women’s femininity and gender norm in Japanese society was

proved to be influenced by the western third-wave feminism movement. Scholar Jha traces the development of the feminism movement and media on changing gender norms by culturally synthesizing women's social experience and their bodies. She suggests that 'cultural feminism' as one type of feminism developed by the Third-wave feminism movement during the 1990s has resulted in challenging the dualistic universality of gender norms and sexual identities. It also provides an analysis of capitalist consolidation of power in media and consumer culture, such as feminist media, there is language use shift from describing women as suffering and victim to the language of empowerment and resistance. Media started to focus on women's experience and practices of beautification as a site for pleasure and enjoyment. (2016: 20) She further argues that within the framework of cultural feminism, the realizing of 'femininity' should be detached from a set of learned norms about how to be a woman within a particular culture that socially constructed by sex and gender, so as to seek settlement of gender through the shifting social meanings.

Globalizing Media Images and Advertising Languages in and Japan

In the context of the globalization trend in the media market, the notion of utilizing advertising and editorial languages has been classified into the one following the international standardization, and the other obeys localization. Their executions take multiples factors such as culture, monetary, legalization, and conservancy into considerations. Persuaded by each measures' relative strengths, media workers who adopt universal standardization overhaul their works to be cost-effective, communicative, and consistent as well universal-appealed. In contrast, localization of works enhances cultural

independence and consumption nativism. Thus, the media's opposition is on whether to produce images of homogenized bandwagon or preserve indigenous style. (Morimoto and Chang, 2009:175)

Yet the specific circumstance in Japanese fashion editorial with pervasive of *Hāfu* images, it apparently bypasses the pattern of dichotomy suggested by former studies by merging elements of global standardization and localization into their editorial image portrayal of female *Hāfu* models, as a result of incorporating composite appetites of Japanese consumers in favor of white appealing looks. Since it could be deduced by the content analysis on magazine origin and models race in both Japanese magazines and global magazines published in 2005, the results show that the use of western models in Japan (55%) exceed global magazines (45%) by 10%; in addition, models of western races tend to appear more in fashion column of beauty, clothing, and jewelry in comparison with the greater use of Japanese models in lifestyle section food, travel, and sports. (Morimoto and Chang, 2009:182-183)

Apart from the suggested empirical evidence, the psychological factors also account for the Japanese consumptions of westernized look. Since La Ferle and Morimoto (2004:112) examined how Asian-American images as Japanese advertising variables generate the construction of self-esteem and social identity for Asian consumers, they specifically argue that Japanese consumers are becoming more and more global standardized in adapting the use of Caucasian models and foreign languages in Japanese media which mirrored the cosmopolitanism Japanese culture. Also, for Japanese consumers, the western values packaged under Caucasian faces and bodies embody hierarchy indication

of the high-end, elite, and success. Moreover, as a country with growing foreign marriages couples whose offspring lives in Japan as local residences, Amerasians for instance, their sense of ethnic identification was proved to be strengthened through Caucasian-skewed media communication including works of literature with bilingual textual information (English and Japanese), because bilingualism is the unique traits of their self-identification. (La Ferle, C. and Morimoto, M, 2009: 160)

From the perspective that magazine images could affect gender, former studies proved that gender role stereotypes in magazine advertising are universal. Controversies have been raised regarding the causal relation of manipulating stereotypical gender portrayals of the female beauty ideal using media, in which women as a specific group of victims, undertaking traditional values of gender by exhibiting bodies for sexualizing femininity while suffered strike on self-realization as oppose to stringent specification on beauty aesthetic. (John B. Ford, Patricia Kramer Voli, Earl D. Honeycutt, Jr., and Susan L. Casey, 1998:113) To the concrete, their studies also prove the hybrid situation of gender role portrayal in Japanese fashion magazines, which combines the feature of traditional Japanese gender hierarchy and western feminism ideology on gender liberalization. Their analysis categorized models' age and the literary languages used on gender traits depiction, and they found the change that the gendered images showed in Japanese magazines imitate western gender-themed literature in which women are restrained by domesticity while being figured younger than men for achieving sexualized attractiveness. (114)

If adopting foreign terms that functioned in the liberalization of gender portrayal, it could be doubtful because in Japan, using foreign

languages has become normalcy in media. Specifically, in Japanese fashion magazines, the integration of foreign linguistics with Japanese into Japanized fashion languages has been proved to be a noted feature. The linguistic analysis on the verbal strategy used by Japanese mass media from Haarmann (1986:107) already suggested that not limited to English, Japanized media language that used in multiple fields demonstrates its unstinted penetration into European languages including French, Italian, and Germany, and Japanese fashion periodicals as one of the biggest users, their combined use of Japanese and foreign terms are not bound by the subject of the nation, with applicability in describing both Euro- American design as well as embellishing Japanese traditional costume. Further, examination concentrates on the analysis of the multilingual essence of Japanese and how its recognition functions in constructing modern social language environment by native Japanese speakers.

Since it is indicated that followed by the 'Kokusaika trend in the 1970s', adopting western ideas by the combination of Japanese with foreign languages renders the multilingual panorama of editorial text culture in Japan. Yet western languages lost their essence through being monolingually Japanized as 'home-made foreign languages,' with an embodiment of its ethnical value and identity. (Haarmann's, 1986:109) racialization lies in the hypothesis of monolingual maintenance on the Japanese language in Japan where western languages are reckoned with prestigious imaginary and serve not for oral or cultural communication, but as sentimental appealing for Japanese readers concerning their necessities for certain languages, especially in the fashion realm. Hence this multilingual vibe with Japanese (communication basis) and western symbolic

(emotional simulation of Japanese readership) co-shapes the cognition on the national identity of Japan as well as cosmopolitanism of Japanese globalization. (Haarmann's, 1986:110)

In terms of achieving ideal feminism through utilizing Japanese katakana and western fashion terms, Tanaka (1994:108) examined the way of advertising languages communicate with social values and posed three key ideologies that have been commonly used in female-targeted advertisements all over the world: Individualism, Intelligence, and Feminism. Nevertheless, her research also questioned the Western language phenomenon of Japanese female fashion magazines: *ViVi*, *JJ*, *CanCam*, their exposure of western languages (English or French) in their magazine titles, texts, and advertising, yet do not mean the globalization of Japanese female fashion language but Japanized western linguistic by extending and transforming words' meanings while defining Japanese femininity, for the purpose of rescuing Japanese cultural clash.

Yet the former studies highlight on using research objectives, either pure Western or Caucasian models or fashion magazines own by global publishers such as *Vogue* and *Marie Claire* while ignore examining the situation of developing westernization in indigenous Japanese magazine brands, as well as adapting white-appealing aesthetic using Japanese *Hāfu* models as Caucasian-Esque beauty ideals. However, in the light of global standardized images and languages, the use of *Hāfu* models that features the westernized status appeal of Japan further left a question when analyzing images of *Hāfu* female models, concerning how they demonstrate the subtle relationship between westernization and maintaining Japanese tradition. Since the apparent lift on the issues of women's liberalization influenced by western ideology has been witnessed in Japanese

society during the recent decade, while little transformation could be seen in the magazine industry regarding their way of incorporating white *Hāfu* images and body with westernized magazine languages. Such combination not only mystified the gender role portrayal of *Hāfu* as exotic appeals but also hinder recognizing their national identity as Japanese otherness.

Ground the literature review, in a nutshell, exploring the history and current situation, understanding the transition of Japanese *Hāfu* identity from previous Japanese socio-historical studies is proved to be comparatively gloomy and negative. Owing to the fact that in Japanese society, the image portrayal of Japanese *Hāfu* had favored white female *Hāfu* and overemphasized their distinguished appealing looks. This brings about dilemmas that confine their image recognition to be sexualized and gendered as not 'Japanese.' Still, beautiful otherness yet neglects *Hāfu* people who own features that were not presented by media. In the meantime, the negativity on manipulating women's bodies and sexuality in the global media culture is evident, with both visual and commercial consuming needs of female sexuality fetishization had been adapted to localized culture including Japan. Many feminist studies also indicate an appeal on renewal of reading women's bodies to break resistance on the female body and achieve gender liberalization.

Concrete to the study on Japanese fashion magazine, former studies on have presented solid reading on Japanese women's image as either demure or *Kawaii* in the late *Showa* period^{vii}, a bubble era that witnessed Japan's leap in economy and culture. Yet, limited research was found to examine the change during the Heisei period of collapse on Japanese myth and connect gender study of the body with the image of Japanese female *Hāfu* models

concerning how visual treatment could generate their recognition on their identity of gender and belongs. Therefore, this research explores the gender representation of female *Hāfu* in Japanese fashion and explains their effect on the renewal of the embedded value of gender and Japanese women's social identity. I argue that *Hāfu* models as the beauty ideal of Japanese women, they still have an inevitable gendered presentation of being *Kawaii*, demure, or sexy to conform to. Hence their images cannot serve as feminism rescue, but rather a reinforcement on constraining women's gender images as the object of consumption. Moreover, even though the images of *Hāfu* models are ideal representations of globalized Japanese femininity, the hypervisibility of white *Hāfu* could result in bias on social acceptance against traditional Asian looking Japanese women.

Chapter 2. Viewing *ViVi* and *Hāfu* Model Historically: Japanese Female Fashion and Westernization; Femininity and Feminist Consciousness

Research question 1: What are the historical background and transition of *ViVi* and its model images? How *ViVi*'s popularity has contributed to making nowadays prevalence of Japanese female *Hāfu* in the Japanese fashion industry?

Methodology Approach: Qualitative Content Analysis

In this chapter, to examine *ViVi*'s came into being as a popular women-targeted magazine and the transition of its models' images within the socio-historical context of fashion trend in Japan, the summative and interpretive content analysis was selected as the research approach. Elo *et al.* (2014:1) suggest that through the processes of preparing and organizing samples

of research content and describing the findings, the content analysis could be conducted both inductively and deductively. In the summative part, followed by the inductive time course between the 1890s-2010s, my data collections included the past periodicals of *ViVi* and other related Japanese women-targeted publications. For the interpretive part, my approach involved the deductive analysis of specific editorial figures of *ViVi* models and key textual information that appeared on the selected pages of research samples through the ways of comparisons and interpretations.

Sample Selection

The issue of *ViVi* involved in this chapter was confined to the period between January 1983 to December 2007. Considering the comprehensiveness, convenience, and reliability of the qualitative analysis of *ViVi* and relative materials before the 2010s, the acquisition of relative research samples refers to materials of different types. Firstly, the Magazine Data (2020) descriptive data was published by the Japanese Magazine Publication Association (JMPA), the only organization for magazine publishing companies in Japan. They include statistics on categorizations of Japanese women-targeted magazines, the years, and total amounts of recent publications. Following its statistics, seven other Japanese women-targeted were selected together with *ViVi* as the supporting analytical objects. The imagery data of old magazines were from auctions: yahoo, online archive, and *ViVi*.tv. The criteria for selecting sample magazine pages is that they must have a clear portrayal of models, either for the whole body or facial features. Moreover, the textual information must be identified in sufficient sizes.

Before ViVi's First Issue, Building up the Vibe for Japanese Women-targeted Magazine

In modern Japanese society, the representative role of women-targeted magazines in the paper media market is undeniable. Regardless of a book shop, convenient store, or in subways and trains, the visible existence of the physical prints, release announcement, or advertisement of women-targeted magazines is remarkably possessing these Japanese public domains. Yet concerning the came into being of

ViVi and its Hāfu beauty style, it is still closely referable to early Japanese women's magazine that emerged in the past decade before.

Although the lack of editorial technology in photography and textual design, it was evident that as the early consciousness innovators in *Daisho*, Japan, these feminism magazines made full advantages of media languages in painting and texts as a means of expression. For example, the portrait paintings of a blonde woman and a traditional Japanese the first issue covers of



Fujin Gaho *Fujin Koron* *Shufu no Tomo* *Fujin Club*

Figure1^{viii}: The first issue of the main earliest women magazines before the 1910s



Figure2^{ix}: Inner advertisement page of Fujin Club (1941.02)

Fujin Gaho (1905) and *shufu no Tomo* (1917) denoted their feminism initiative of incorporating foreign liberalized female images and affirming the identity of Japanese women. Regarding the flower paintings in both *Fujin Koron* (1916) and *Fujin Club* (1920), as the abstract form of female images, they aesthetically praise women's liberation and independence. In the advertisement page in 1941's *Fujin Club*, the replenished textual information in traditional fonts provided varieties of guidance in fashion clothing, cooking, maternal life, and recommended feminist literature for Japanese women. Since they had offered new access to targeted further information for Japanese women, it created a monochrome world of propaganda values and ideas that provided relief from traditional Japanese gender roles. It established an ideological system in Japanese feminism that led to the concept of women's self-consumption. Eventually, they brought the foundation of early consumer groups for women's magazines in Japanese society.

Nevertheless, according to Furuda (2008: 62), the origin of Japanese women-targeted magazines, including today's *ViVi* and the maintenance of their prosperity, could be dated back to the 1970s. For the reason that not only the key definitions for Japanese women, such as wife (*Okusan*), housewife (*Shuufu*), and lifestyle (*Gurashi*) had their early appearance in these 1970s' magazines, they also played the role of educating women and providing guidelines for what an ideal woman should be like and how they could live their lives.

Moreover, concerning the name of '*ViVi*,' the alphabet name of western style could be retrieved from another 1970s context on women magazine boom. Since Furuda (2008:64) also points out that the heavy use of nowadays' alphabet names in Japanese fashion magazine

corresponds with the success of the Japanese edition of Western magazines and reflected the intense admiration for Western culture on feminism in women's independence on material and mental lives at that time. In addition, western cultural civilization was overflowing throughout the Japanese magazine, and most of the female model appeared in women targeted magazines were Caucasian models. Even Japanese models were asked to wear western fashions that would make them look different from the typical Japanese women. At that time, the social vibe that renewed by women's cultural activities, including the 1910s' 'the establishment of Japanese women's magazines,' and the 1970s' 'the Japanese fever of western culture in gender, fashion and linguistic' and 1960s 'the wide fever of Caucasian model images' Japanese women. Alongside the arrival of the Japanese economic boom and consumer society, they contributed to the birth of the first issue of *ViVi* in 1983.

Notably, after the 1970s, Japan began to step into a consumer society. Unlike the advancement of digital media nowadays, as one paper media genre, fashion magazines played a vital role in directing Japanese women's consuming behavior at that time. In particular, according to female consumers' needs, fashion magazines diversified verities of information into forms of specific segments in advertisements, cataloged pages of cosmetics, and clothing. Such specified information satisfied and reinforced women's consuming desires to realize their physical and ideal self and sensitize women's consuming interests to be more targeted. Therefore, as the primary trigger of boosting women's consumption behavior that responded to Euro-American ideology's admiration, the turnover to new women targeted magazines positively emerged since the 1980s, and *ViVi* was one of them.



Figure 3^{xii}: The first issue of Japanese *Akamoji* magazines

As suggested by Furuda (2008:69), there used to be a so called ‘first issue rush’ in the early 1980s that grouped into the four major magazines in “red letters”^x genre, (*Akamoji*) including *JJ*, *CanCam*, *Ray* and *ViVi*^{xi}.

Followed by the above illustrations, it is evident that these new forms of *Akamoji* magazines technically differentiate their 1910s women’s magazines predecessors in clear portrait photography of real female models. Also, the ideology representation of Euro-American appreciation became more pronounced. Since apart from the use of foreign look models in the first issues of *JJ* and *ViVi*, *CanCam* and *Ray* visibly embodied the foreign fashion styling on their cover models by wearing an oversized fur coat, sleeveless tops, or displaying unbound hair. Also, these four earliest *Akamoji* strongly implied such appreciation in the content arrangements on their cover-texts. For instance, in *CanCam*’s first issue, many foreign terms were being used, including “英国調のチェック,” (British style Check) “イタリア物語の靴,” (Shoes of Italian story) an “American Campus 20校のライフ・ファッション” (The life fashion in 20 American campuses).

In *ViVi*, apart from its English-written subtitle “for Roman Casual life” at the top left corner, the titles of “ミニを着こなし新展開, すぐ欲しいカジュアルシャツ, ポロシャツはヨー

ロピアン,” (A new start by wearing mini, the immediately desired causal and polo shirts are from the European) “ロス&シスコ. ウェストコースト青春譜” (LA and St Francisco, the core of youth) suggested its aesthetic appreciation to Euro-American countries. Besides, the idea of gender liberalization, such as ‘self’ and ‘freedom,’ were incorporated into different terms. For example, the ‘self’ initiation is presented when *JJ* and *CanCam* demonstrated their editorial attributes using the Japanese language as “女性自身” (women themselves) and “SELF誌” (the magazine for self). Regarding the slogans “流行色を自由着こなす” (Wearing the fashion color freely), “甘ったれファッションを捨てよう” (Let’s throw away the sweetheart fashion) “ライフスタイル研究, フリー・キャスターで転職” (Research on lifestyle, Change jobs in free caster) that used in *ViVi*, *JJ*, and *Ray* respectively, the advocacy for women’s freedom in dressing styles and careers were strongly expressed by their cover page texts.

Ever since the first publication of *ViVi* in 1983, the transitions on its female model images, fashion, and aesthetic idea from now on subtly reflected the changes in the values of expressing the gender role and racial identity of Japanese female beauty ideal. Therefore, by concentrating on the idea ‘transition on *ViVi* female models,’ this section conducts content analysis on the

selected old magazine pages from *ViVi* (from the 1990s to the 2010s). Specifically, by examining how its female models distinguish from each other in Japanese, *Hāfu*, and foreigner racial identities, and their fashion images represented by different historical eras of Japan. From *ViVi*'s past trajectory, I aim to discover the reason for *Hāfu* models' nowadays prevalence in the Japanese fashion industry.

***ViVi* Models in the 1990s: Caucasian Beauty Ideal and Westernized Japanese Women**

The Japanese bubble period during the 1990s was known as an era when Japan experienced high economic growth. The unwonted economic boom stimulated consumption desire and eventually increased domestic consumption demand in multiple areas. In terms of fashion, the show-off consumption of western luxury brands suffused the Japanese consumer society at that time. Yet inside Japan's economic bubble, the representation of the intimate relationship between that financial abundance and Japanese women's luxurious style of consumption behavior was retrievable following Berggreen's depiction of Japanese artwork *Elder Sister*^{xiii} (1991)

“She is dressed in a Louis Vuitton suit and matching high-heeled shoes, and she wears multiple and excessive pearl necklaces and gold chains around her neck. She has a Gucci handbag on one shoulder, and is holding a Louis Vuitton umbrella, while the corner of a Hermès scarf flows from her handbag, flashing a glimpse of some of the most famous luxury fashion brands known to Japanese women in the late 1980s.” (Berggreen:2018:180)

Such precise observation on a Japanese woman's image in the 1990s, with crucial depictions in Gucci, Louis Vuitton, and Hermès,

to 'brand' her body from up and down had already become a representative dress up style for Japanese women at that time. In other words, before the emergence of the Japanese economic bubble, the western luxury brands had already possessed a large group of consumers who praise such brand consumption concepts highly and ensure it could carry forward in the 1990s generation of wealth. Eventually, the luxurious consumption atmosphere in Japanese society brought about the editorial value of consuming Caucasian appealing looks and luxurious western brand culture in Japanese fashion media. Reflected in *ViVi* before the 2000s, the styling of its female models also reinforced a mood of westernized fanaticism on a fever towards British Royal Princess Dianna.

As one historical phenomenon that corresponded to the considerable rise of Westernized trend in the Japanese fashion industry, the “Dianna fever” in the 1990s is one historical phenomenon that corresponded to the considerable rise of Westernized trend in the Japanese fashion industry.

“The British couple, in Japan for a six-day visit, have brought with them two qualities alien to the Japanese monarchy: movie-star glamour and a bit of the common touch.” (Chira, 1986)

At that time, the attraction of Princess Diana was not only about her British royal nobility, since her appealing white look also recalled the western admiration complex of Japanese people. Short-loose hair, skirt suits with shoulder pads as the basis typicalized her dressing code as the ideal Caucasian woman of iconic fancy and elegance. It eventually prompted *ViVi* to incorporate her fashion looks fully into the editorial looks of its female models during the 1990s.

With noticing aspect that as a western icon

of feminine elegance, the image of *ViVi* model demonstrated less emphasis on gender eroticism in the form of women's physical incorporation sexuality when incorporating in Dianna's look. Instead, the style in western urban sophisticate women took place on representing Japanese female edgy fashion. In particular, regarding the fashion titles inside these 1990s *ViVi*, the shared points on initiating such sophisticated style were remarkable:

“リセ^{xiv}てお嬢さん！パリトラッドの研究”

Be the young lycéenne lady! A research for Paris Tradition

“おとなのリセヌスタイルになりたい”

Anticipating for the matured lycéenne style.

The textual information is directional on promoting the western urban style in the group of young ladies. Since the advocacy on expressing Japanese young women-hood *O-jo-san* relied on the wording of the French term lycéenne alongside the term “urban” “Paris,” *ViVi* barely served as a propaganda media for mystifying the urban fashion culture in Paris in

front of its targeted Japanese readers. Although a visual form of liberalizing traditional gender image, the packaging on “the becoming Paris girl fantasy” reinforced the consciousness inculcation on Japanese beauty aesthetic to be delocalized oriented that branded with deep admiration towards western countries.

Concerning *ViVi*'s early use on *Hāfu* in 1990s, a visible styling with Dianna short that represented by a *Hāfu* model, the central positioning on this *Hāfu* model in an enlarged size also distinguished her from the other three Japanese models.

At the same time, plenty of other *ViVi*'s editorial trending in the 1990s was designed to emphasize suit skirt as the going Japanese female fashion alongside with textual information that reinforced similar cultural indigenization on “Dianna suits.”

“スーツの上手なきまわしには、スカーフ、ベルトは必需品”

Scarf and belt are the necessary items for a good-look suit styling.



Figure 4^{xv}: Early fashion look in 1990s *ViVi*.

“スーツ上手の個性術を盗む！”
Steal the personality of a good suit
“山口美江さんのラグジュアリー着こなし”
To dress up in the luxury style of Mie Yamaguchi.

The titles above suggest how liberalized femininity ideas were emphasized by introducing suit as a female dressing up routine. Since accords with the Japanese female consumption needs on western liberalized consciousness, *ViVi* resourcefully initiates the idea of “self” and “personality” as the packaging for women to wear suits. As the core of suit trending, the extension on Dianna’s celebrity charm was further incorporated by Japanese female celebrities who owned an elite and talented image. Including *Hāfu* female celebrity Mie Yamaguchi, with their suit fashion in luxury accessory, their high-end femininity also enabled wearing suit as the echo with booming luxury designer brand consumption in 1990s Japan.

***Hāfu* Models, Japanese Models & “Tool Women”**

Concerning the 1990s as a whole, it was oblivious that both the Japanese bubble economy’s consumption behavior and western icon admiration of Princess Dianna were the predominant trigger of *ViVi*’s fashion idea. Even though the very first *ViVi* issue that covered *Hāfu* declared its initial orientation on model casting, the trajectory of *Hāfu* models in the 1990s *ViVi* was not as conspicuous as Japanese-looking models. With the potential embodiment of orientalism, the bubble consumption vibe had emphasized transforming traditional Japanese female image into the edgy look from the west. Hence *Hāfu* model as the intermediate female identity, their images were insufficient in inducing the belief on traditional Japanese women’s full transformation. Consequently,

ViVi’s *Hāfu* models appeared on the bubble fashion horizon and distanced without further escalation.

Yet Regardless of Japanese *Hāfu* model or *non-Hāfu* models, their fashion lacked individuality because their images were so normalized in serving as the fitting tools for the exhibition on advanced fashion styles from the west. Since neither *Hāfu* nor *non-Hāfu* models were able to create another new definition of what beauty ideal, new era femininity, or liberalized gender roles were for Japanese women.

***ViVi* from the 2000s: the Post Bubble Production on Individualism**

If the *ViVi* model’s images during the 1990s period had emphasized a femininity unification in maturity and vanity rather than youth and diversity, since the early 2000s, the burst of the economic bubble generated decreasing purchasing power in expensive luxury brands, Japanese people’s enthusiasm for conspicuous consumption behavior was replaced by purchasing products that responded to personal needs and tastes. As a response, the 2000s fashion culture in *ViVi* shifted its highlight towards emerging creative street fashion that featured in individualism and subcultures, obtaining huge popularity among the younger generation of Japanese women. When examining *Hāfu* models’ images in the 2000s *ViVi*.

It is obvious that their images demonstrate the status of being bold and unconstrained that differentiated the one in 1990s. Concerning their dressing style in particular, the use of black leather elements such as jackets and heavy boots, the visual presentation of *Hāfu* models in such items narrates the idea of women becoming rugged, strong, and masculinized. On the other hand, by using see-through blouses,



Figure 5^{xvi}: The styling of *Hāfu* models in 2000s *ViVi*

bikini, and model's long legs in a short skirt, the stereotypical appeals of female sexuality were emphasized using the body of *Hāfu*. Hence the image of *Hāfu* in 2000s *ViVi* enables the dual relationship between their bodies and its audience gazes, accommodating fetishization both actively and passively. At the same time, the literal titles alongside the *Hāfu* models' images:

“理沙さんが気になっているのは、NY系の古着みたいなスタイリング。”

Risa is interested in the styling of Vintage New York clothing.

The narrations on American vintage styles as the favor of the *Hāfu* model, as well as the necessary items for achieving that vintage style, had differentiated the 1990s suit portrait of Japanese models in terms of image westernization. As the promotion of foreign fashion styles, without shedding orientalism light on the issue of “transformation from the east towards the upgraded west,” using *Hāfu* models on American vintage relied on the inherence of their mixed national faces that were close to the designated images of western looks.

For the perspective of *ViVi*'s targeted readers in the post-bubble 2000s, seeing the increasing appearances of *Hāfu* models in the magazine

look books who were stood for American Vintage fashion, it served as another alternative for Japanese women to admire foreign female beauty ideal. Because their images rejuvenated the public accepting foreign look rhetoric in a refreshing and approachable way. At the same time, their low-cost vintage styling resonated with the public mood of separating Japanese society from the inflating bubble consumption and allowing the come into being of individual personality.

ViVi* after the 2000s: Building up her Foreign Image, Becoming Today's *Hāfu* Model in *ViVi

For most Asian countries, including Japan, the US's national image and the idea of American could be deemed the metaphors of liberalization and expressive individuality.

In *ViVi* after the 2000s Japan, the female beauty ideal's perceptions had been directly projected through an intensified aesthetic intertextuality between Japanese and American popular culture. With the uprising popularity of American pop culture in Japan at that time, *ViVi* began to invite American female celebrities as its cover persons. Instead of juxtaposing their images into the indigenous Japanese fashion culture, the appearances of American female

stars on *ViVi* manifested distinct individuality of their own. Even though only limited magazine pages were occupied by American female stars' image, herself in a single publication, her original image radiated into the best part of the magazine contents as the objective of trending reference. Hence, I argue that including the design of *ViVi* models' looks and fashion columns, the images of both *Hāfu* and Japanese looking models were manipulated as the styling simulacra derived from the original styling of those American pop star. At the same time, such reference gave rise to another bandwagon on the foreign female look, resulting in a “*Hāfu* boom” on the *ViVi* aesthetic that continues today.

Regarding the examination of the transformations and consolidation of the *Hāfu* model aesthetic in *ViVi*, it could be approached through the elaborated comparisons between the visual portrait of American female celebrities and *Hāfu* models. As exemplified by the figure above, three American female stars: Jennifer

Lopez, Beyonce, and Britney, were invited as the cover persons. For their image, by applying a similar proportion of upper body portrayals, the photography emphasized the facial characteristics that identified themselves as female beauty icons from the US. Without incorporating indigenous Japanese elements, their styles initially featured in the long hair of blonde or brown and revealing attires. Hence not only represented themselves as the prototypes of appealing American women of the day, but their presence also provided an updated reference on expressing female individuality through Americanized ideology.

The magazine covers at the right side notably illustrated how the images of *Hāfu* models during the same period were influenced by *ViVi*'s reference on American pop stars. Apart from their de-Japanese facial features and the similar glossy long hairstyles, through the clothing styles on V-neckline, mini skirt, tights, the ways of expressing *Hāfu* models' gender



Figure 6^{xvii}: American celebrities and *Hāfu* models in *ViVi* after the 2000s.



Figure 7^{xviii}: *ViVi* models in foreign emblems.

appeal resembles American female celebrities in the unconstrained ways of exposed female sexuality.

Moreover, echoed with the idea of Americanization or westernization, occasions existed when blurred nationalism of Japan was visualized through the images of both *Hāfu* and *non-Hāfu* models. Followed by the above illustration particular, by having a *Hāfu* model dressing up in a tight dress of colors in white, blue, and red in the first figure, she physically accommodated symbolics of the American national flag. Moreover, her body curve in a prideful and seductive posture embodied the aesthetic value of unconstrained female sexuality that distinguished Japanese traditional manner of gender performance. Moreover, its unconventional layout design that was rendering the “Red *ViVi*” into a blue one, with a pure white background set off, by contrast, the image of the *Hāfu* model was symbolically fetishized as the beauty ideal embracing Japan and the America.

In other issues of *ViVi* during the 2010s, similar scenarios exemplified how the model's identity as the beauty ideal was complexified through signifying their bodies as the accommodation of visually for foreign national marks. To be specific, in the next two *ViVi* covers, the background setting made the national flags of the UK, and the US became clearly identifiable. Regarding the looks of the Japanese female stars Amuro Naomi in the middle, her outfit defeminized her body by hiding her sexual appeal. It empowered her image with a visual resistance to normalizing the femininity of Japanese women. Nevertheless, the presentation of British union Jack could be perceived as another large, powerful hierarchical symbol that enclosed her body and overwhelmed her identity as an ideal Japanese beautiful woman who was expressing her powerful gender image.

Additionally, concerning the coverage of the grey headline titles upon the waist of the model:

“今、時代はL.A.ガール!!”

Now, it is the era for LA girls!

Detached from the cover person's designated image portrayal, the editorial function of this title could be argued as a puzzling message. By textually locating the appeal to young women in LA, within the inconsistency between the content of this title, the image portrayal of the model as well as the background design, the overloading expression purports to three different nations eventually caused the representation of the model's femininity encountered otherization amongst the divergence of editorial discourses.

As for the same scenario shown by the last figure, unlike the Japanese models, the image of the *Hāfu* models was not prevailed over by the editorial design of *ViVi*.

“カジュアルなのに女っほい、進化した
“セクシー”がやってきた!!

Girls to be “sexy!”

Casual but feminine, the evolution of “sexy” has arrived!! Girls to be sexy!

Accompanied by the title, the *Hāfu* model named Anna Tsuchiya was styled in the blonde curly hair and denim tube top, which typically represented the western pop fashion of sexy women at the time. Instead of being enringed by the background, her holding the American flag was in a relatively leading manner, indicating her ability to ‘control over’ the national symbol of America and obtain its power as a woman. However, with the editorial title on “the evolution of sexy girl,” the consistency between editorial design and the image of the *Hāfu* was portrayed as an othering female beauty within non-traditional Japanese discourse. Because editorially combining the American-oriented concept with her non-Japanese facial feature

onto the cover merely empowered her liberalized expression on female sexuality. From Japanese readers' perspective, the settlement of her "look-at-ness" lies in the inevitable recognitions on her *Hāfu* looking could otherize her image identity as a belonging of the discourse of non-Japanese. It subsequently diminished her viability in performing liberalized gender expression for Japanese women. Therefore, joining the bandwagon of popular Western female fashion style through the symbolic embedment of the foreign national sign was a way of othering the image of *Hāfu* models.

Towards the Aesthetic of Sexualization and Fetishization

Another influence from such a foreign trend, it escalated *ViVi's* foreignized fashion expression and *Hāfu* preference to become increasingly open, featuring the explicit portrait of models' bodies.

In the wake of the cultural effect on western female icons after the 2010s, the emphasis on *ViVi's* fashion culture had transformed its elegant femininity explicitly as exemplified by the figures above, plenty of image portrayals on *Hāfu* models that characterized in exposing their bodies. Moreover, despite the facial features

of *Hāfu* models and their womanly shape had distinguished traditional Japanese models, an assimilated tendency could be identified through their casting criteria. For getting close to Japanese readers, the images of *Hāfu* models embraced both the appeals of cuteness and sexiness for getting close to the catering for Japanese popular culture on admiring *Kawaii*. Eventually, it implied the tendencies towards *Hāfu* female fetishization reinforcement.

As exemplified by the two figures above, the similarity between two female images: American celebrity Britney Spears and *Hāfu* models, could be clearly identified. Not merely to the fact that their uncovered-midriff outfits had exposed their body in the same manner, through which the shining navel studs were adorned within the cover frames. In this situation, regarding another fashion culture, the explicit portrayal of *Hāfu* models had already evaded the prevailing perception of 'elegant femininity.' On the other hand, through the textual design, the gender idea represented by two female images were subtly interconnected. When covering Britney, the magazine titled "真夏可愛い激安服," which means the cute but super cheap coat during the mid-summer, in contrast, alongside the metropolitan skyscraper, the title design in



Figures 8^{xix}: Adapting western iconic female images on to the explicit portrait of *Hāfu* (1).

the *Hāfu* model cover claimed “L.A. celebrities styles! この夏L.A.ガール大旋風!” point directly at L.A. trending whirlwind into Japan. The former theme *Kawaii*-nized on Britney’s sexy image, while the latter one packaged the *Hāfu* image with female sexuality appeal based upon Americanization. Thus, westernization could be deemed a prototyped fetishization that generated the reinforcing gender sexualization of the *Hāfu* image.

Furthermore, based on a particular style of western female celebrity, there were also situations in which *Hāfu* model fetishization was generated using more direct ways. As exemplified by the its look books which introduced two fashion styles represented by Paris Hilton and Kate Moss respectively. Divided the single header into pink and blue, these two western female celebrities were

compared under the editorial narration that articulated their appeals of female sexuality in “パリスSEXY VS. ケイトCOOL” (Paris Sexy Vs. Kate Cool.) Through examining the magazine layout, although guidance looks had been inconspicuously provided at the page corners using Japanese looking models, its center placements of two *Hāfu* models featured their body prominently using the largest image size. Mapping with two themed fashion personals that given by the original figures above, along with the smaller textual descriptions at each side:

“パリスはエロ可愛い、お嬢さんスタイル”

Paris’s style is erotic, cute, and lady.

“ケイトはこれぞモデルなカジュアル”

A Kate style is this is model’s casual.

Hence given the targeted styling to be fulfilled, the *Hāfu* models reproduced the targeted celebrity’s equivalent wearing items.



Figure 9^{xx}: Adapting western iconic female images on to the explicit portrait of *Hāfu* (2)

However, the disparities between the original and the “*Hāfu* version” could merely be identified through their facial features. For the reason that “erotic” “cute” and “casual” already reinforced the labeling fetishizations on female bodies, with the coverage on the inherent beauty and identity as *Hāfu* models, through reproducing the original looks, the image of *Hāfu* also undertook duplicated fetishizations: to be fetishized as the simulacra version of sexy western celebrities, as well as to be fetishized through labeling self-image as *Hāfu*.

Moreover, if regarding the figures at the second line, the ill-concealing trend of *Hāfu* fetishization could be even more accessible through viewing the transition of models’ look and magazine languages in *ViVi*. Not limited to the use of explicit terms “Bust” and “Hip,” the repeating use on the erotic rhetoric “セクシー” (sexy), and “devilish” in “セクシー下着で小悪魔な女になる” (Become a devilish woman in sexy underwear) enclosed *Hāfu* in a sexualized linguistic vibe. The juxtaposition of models and numerous items on each page reinforced the fetishized positioning of *Hāfu* models as the object to be consumed that parallel the function of fashion goods.

Chapter 3. *ViVi* between 2008 to 2019: *Hāfu* Models vs. *Non-Hāfu* Models, Cover Girls and Solidification of Caucasian-appealing Aesthetics

Women’s fashion magazines have played the role of being the tastemakers who are able to direct the trends of an era. Nevertheless, for readers, an eye-catching magazine cover could add an extra layer to a fashion magazine’s attractiveness. The idea of ‘cover girls’ appeared in the early 20th century when images and paintings of women were widely used in

American press and media in line with its development of advertisement and fashion industries. Its influence and function from the perspective of feminism were analyzed by Kitch, whose arguments indicate that the image of cover girls is the mirror that reflects the reception, disposition, and recreation of images of women through mass media. (Kitch, 2001:4)

Regarding cover girl culture in Japan, its dynamic is diversified through the combination of Asian-looking Japanese models, *Hāfu* models, and foreign origin models, which makes what is Japanese beauty ideal a sophisticated term to interpret. On the one hand, Japanese readers’ perception of beautiful women could be directed by cover girls. In the case of *ViVi*, the use of *Hāfu* women as cover girls, their images influence readers’ perceptions of what is Japanese beauty ideal. By offering a utopian vision of something that is distinguished as exotic-looking and a model whose image is worth emulating for domestic readers. On the other hand, an unconscious glimpse of *ViVi* covers with *Hāfu* images on the magazine displayed on shelves at random bookshops could passively shape a certain sense of identity recognition on both readers and non-readers of the female. The display of *Hāfu* images as a type of good for visual consumption evidently accords with women belongs to the ‘to be looked-at-ness’ argument (Mulvey, 1997). In contrast, the presentation of *Hāfu* further shifts the gaze from male-based visual pleasure to being looked at as a template for a beauty ideal for female consumers themselves. The solidification within women’s consciousness by modeling themselves on *Hāfu* looking models and holding the eagerness and endeavor to be looked at by others in the same way the *Hāfu* cover girls have been enjoyed intensifies the uneven hierarchy of gender in Japanese fashion magazine culture.

Methodology: Contextual Data Analysis

In the research of this chapter, I used content analysis to analyze how *Hāfu* images are used as cover girls in *ViVi*. The approach is achieved through four processes, including sample selection, data category construction, data collection, and statistical analysis.

Sample Selection & Data Category Construction

This study selects overall 144 volumes of *ViVi* covers which circulated from January 2008 to December 2019 was selected as research samples.

Based on the thinking angles of media presentation on *Hāfu* models' images and identity of gender and nation, the analysis in this chapter focus on the question of 'who is the model?' and 'how the model has been presented?' by conducting comparative examination on *ViVi*'s use of *Hāfu* models, Japanese models as well as foreign models as cover girls. The specific construction of the data category is:

First: Who are the models in *ViVi*'s cover?

Model's name and age

Model's Identity: Japanese *Hāfu* model, Japanese celebrity, foreign celebrity

Model's origin: Japanese, American Japanese, French Japanese, Bengalis- Japanese, New Zealander-Japanese, British-Japanese.

Second: How the model has been presented?

Data Collection and Reliability

The maintenance of the data collection's stability in this study is achieved by constantly referencing the Corresponding coding and explanations 1&2 above. In order to adjust conciseness onto the final presentation of my data statistics, the variable of each coding is directedly quantified as individual numbers

without involving further mathematical calculation. As advised by (Rothmans 2007:438), the assessment of data quality through reliability could be examined through three aspects: providing an open and transparent process of coding manual, maximize focus on checking the reliability of data description and make attempts to unify measurement of selected datasets due to their possible variability on different subjects. Therefore, my coding manual is defined with clear constructions on coding categories of cover models, presented into a prototypical table chart designed by Excel. The measurement of the data collection strictly referenced to corresponding patterns that developed with reference to the original cover images of research object *ViVi*.

Statistical Analysis

The statistical analysis on the result of coded data is presented in the form of a pie chart and histogram, which was accomplished by Microsoft Excel 2010. In order to answer the research question 2 (Is the way that *Hāfu* is used in *ViVi* more westernized or indigenous, in terms of casting and styling? Any selection bias indicated on *Hāfu* model's looking and any change has happened?), the corresponding depictive statistics have been completed and presented using the form of frequencies for each cover models including *ViVi* Cover Models' Country Origin, Model's age, Skin Color, Hair Color, Eye Color, Cheek Color, Makeup as well as Clothing Style. Similarly, frequencies analysis was also implemented for answering research question 3, modesty comparing with Asian-looking and Caucasian female models in *ViVi*?) by comparing depictive statistics on the use of *Hāfu* and *non-Hāfu* models' bodies, including Facial expressions, Proportion of model's facial portrayal, Proportion of model's body portrayal, Model's Posing. In addition, the depictive

statistics on models' exposed body parts in *ViVi*'s covers, including legs, breast, arms, and back, will be directly compared based on their exposed frequencies. The answering to research question 4 (Does the use of *Hāfu* demonstrate feminism info on gender liberalization or vice versa, reinforcing consuming culture of erotized women's body in Japanese society?) will interpret the result of statistical analysis on research question 3 and 4 and incorporate with the relative academic review on the issue of feminism, color, and gender identity.

The maintenance of the data collection's stability in this study is achieved by constantly referencing the Corresponding coding and explanations 1&2 above. In order to adjust conciseness onto the final presentation of my data statistics, the variable of each coding is directedly quantified as individual numbers without involving further mathematical calculation. As advised by (Rothmans 2007:438), the assessment of data quality through reliability could be examined through three aspects: providing an open and transparent process of coding manual, maximize focus on checking the reliability of data description and make attempts to unify measurement of selected datasets due to their possible variability on different subjects.

Therefore, my coding manual is defined with clear constructions on coding categories of cover models, presented into a prototypical table chart designed by Excel. The measurement of the data collection strictly referenced to corresponding patterns,

Findings and Results

Research Question 2: Is the way that *Hāfu* are used in *ViVi* more westernized or indigenous, in terms of casting and styling? Any selection bias indicated on *Hāfu* model's looking and any change has happened?

In all, 144 *ViVi* covers were analyzed, and among which there have been thirty people who were chose to be used as cover models. Concerning the models' types, there were twelve Japanese female celebrities and one Male celebrities^{xxi}, twelve Japanese *Hāfu* models, one female western celebrity^{xxii}, one male western celebrity^{xxiii} and three K-pop stars.^{xxiv}

Hence, based on the result illustrated by **Figure 10**, even though the numbers of *Hāfu* Models equal Japanese celebrities in 12, they possessed the highest frequency of occurrence in *ViVi*'s cover for 81 times between the period of 2008-2019. Moreover, defining models based on the origin of countries was suggested by

Table1: Statistic of Model' s type and frequencies of occurrence in *ViVi*'s cover (2008-2019)

Model type	Quantities of models	Count of frequency in cover
Hāfu Models	12	81
Japanese Celebrity	12	57
K-pop Stars	3	4
Western Celebrity	2	2
Total	30	144

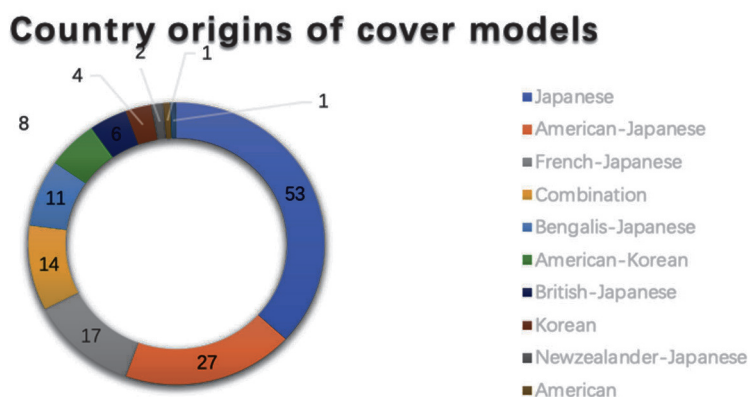


Figure 10: Country of origin of cover models (2008-2019)

Table 2: Hāfu Models' ages, blood lineage and frequencies as ViVi's cover girls.

Hāfu Model Name	Age of Debut in ViVi	Mix Origin	Frequencies as Cover models	Years Active in ViVi
Rinka ^{xxv}	34	French Japanese	3	3 (2007-2009)
Sawajiri Erika	24	French Japanese	1	1 (2010-2011)
Mizuhara Kiko	23	American Korean	11	16 (2013-2019)
Fujii Rena	20	American Japanese	18	10 (2004-2014)
Emma	20	British Japanese	7	5 (2014-2019)
Hasegawa Jun	19	American Japanese	5	5 (2005-2010)
Triendl Reina	19	German Japanese	16	8 (2011-2019)
Fujita Nicole	19	New Zealander Japanese	2	11 (2008-2019)
Rola	18	Bengalis Japanese	13	11 (2008-2019)

Maggi Nagatsuki	18	Canadian Japanese	3	6 (2010-2016)
Yagi Elisa	16	French Japanese	4	9 (2011-2019)
Tamashiro Tina	15	American Japanese	9	8 (2012-2019)

Table 3:

Name of Japanese Celebrities	Age of debut in ViVi	Career	Frequencies as Cover models	Years active in <i>Vivi</i>
Amuro Namie	25	Singer/ Model	17	16 (2002-2018)
Hamasaki Ayumi	21	Singer/Model	11	20 (1999-2019)
Koda Kumi	26	Singer/ Model	6	6 (2006-2012)
Kato Miliyah	26	Singer/ Model	3	5 (2012-2017)
Nishino Kana	21	Singer/Model	3	8 (2010-2018)
Itano Tomomi	20	Singer/Idol	2	2 (2011-2012)
Yoshizawa Ryo	25	Actor/Model	1	1 (2019)
Komatsu Nana	19	Actress/ Model	3	4 (2015-2019)
Imada Mio	21	Actress/Model	2	2 (2018-2019)
Hashimoto Kana	20	Actress/ Model	1	1 (2019)
Koki	16	Model	1	1 (2019)

Table 2&3, excluding the models of pure Japanese-origin, Korean stars, American celebrities, as well as the situation when models from each category are combined on covers,

then regarding the distribution on *Hāfu* Models it is evident that for both Japanese *Hāfu* models and *non-Hāfu* models there exists a propensity that is indicated by casting system on *ViVi*'s

covers. For 12 Japanese *Hāfu* models, 11 of them have Euro-American racial lineages, among which 3 of them have French and American blood, and one each for German, British, New Zealander, and Canada, respectively. Moreover, despite the frequency of cover models from 2008-2019 that indicates that the *Hāfu* cover girl with the highest frequency of appearances is American Japanese Fujii Rena (18) when combining their years of activity, the data suggest that *ViVi*'s casting on *Hāfu* models has been more diversified within its Caucasian-aesthetic because younger *Hāfu* models who became active after 2010 as, except for German Japanese Triendl Reina, (16) others shared similar frequencies of occurrence in *ViVi* Covers. Whereas the two exceptions are Rola (13) and Mizuhara Kiko (11), *ViVi*'s frequent use of them might be a triumph in unsterotypicalizing of the population of Caucasian *Hāfu* models in Japan.

Unlike *Hāfu* models whose debut as cover person generally starts between the age of 18-23 with a trend of lowering ages, when analyzing Japanese celebrities, the evident difference is that ever since the early 2000s, *ViVi*'s casting criteria on indigenous Japanese models as cover girls, the covers emphasized more heavily on whether the model has a successful career and a high level of popularity. For instance, the top three frequencies on covers were monopolized by three female celebrities, Amuro Namie (16), Hamasaki Ayumi (11) and Koda Kumi (6), who had been precisely those with the highest prestige as the contemporary queens of Japanese pop music during the late Heisei period in the 2000s. However, the attempt in altering such image monopoly on adopting celebrity charms from experienced Japanese female singers was clarified after the year 2010, with a rejuvenation on the age of Japanese cover female celebrities, as well as their careers involving in the field of

actress.

Similar to the casting on *Hāfu* Models, inviting younger Japanese female celebrities having their magazine cover debut at a younger age around 20 does suggest the diversified market needs on seeing younger women in Japanese society, yet relative to the potential trend of the consumption on younger female Japanese models for both types, I argue that such media promotion of younger beauty ideal in the combination use on Japanese look and *Hāfu* look is a dual representation both for the identification as well as the individualization of Japanese female identity.

Defining the Looks of *ViVi*'s Cover Girls: Color, Style and Racial Identification

ViVi as one young women-targeted magazines in Japan, its fashion technique in the aspect of color choices on hair, skin make up as well as contactless lens could be deemed as the potential reflection on the racial factors on deciding what is the popular looks of cover girl, should a she show more indigenous Japanese features of Black straight hair, dark eyes and natural skin-make up or covering all these natural-born features with a lightened artificial color. Followed elaborated data analysis of Comparison 1 and Comparison 2.1, 2.2&2.3 are categorizations on fashion styling techniques on use on color which had been applied onto *ViVi*'s cover models, both Japanese and Japanese *Hāfu*. The purpose of this is to examine the frequency appearance on the indigenous look and non-indigenous looks for both types of cover girls and found out the potential bias on colorism and race that represented by their fashion looks.

Based on **Figure 11**, between 2008 to 2009, the visible difference in the visual treatment of color on models suggests the distinguished standard of being an attractive cover girl in *ViVi*.

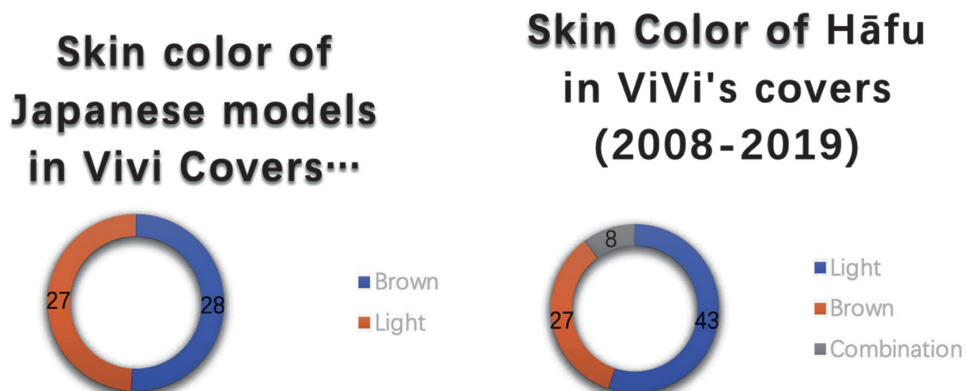


Figure 11: Frequencies of skin colors of *Hāfu* and *non-Hāfu* in *ViVi* covers (2008-2009).

Table 4: Statistics of totality for different hair styles.

Categories of Hairstyle	Hāfu	Non- Hāfu models	Totality
Long Curly	27	25	52
Short Curly	9	11	20
Totality of curly hair	36	36	72
Long Straight	15	6	21
Short Straight	12	6	18
Totality of straight hair	27	12	39
Bun	5	7	12

To be specific, Japanese models' skin color saw a balanced distribution between brown and light skin in frequencies of 27 and 28. By comparison, apart from the combination situation that different types of models are included in one cover, when presenting *Hāfu* models, the appearance of light skin (43) exceeded brown skin (27) 16 times. As for the distribution of hair colors for both types of models, similarly, the main proportion was taken by brown and blonde hair and left fewer frequencies in the appearance of traditional black hair. Furthermore, regarding

their hairstyling, the tendencies in the two graphs are alike. Even though long-curly hair is the most preferred hair styling for both types of *ViVi* models, the hairstyle differences are still evident. According to **Table 4**, concerning the situations when *ViVi* covers gave models with long hair designs, and with each statistic on frequencies between *Hāfu* and Japanese *non-Hāfu* models that shows in curly, straight and bun are 27,15,5 times versus 25,6,7 times respectively, and this means that *Hāfu* has more opportunities to be presented in long hair.

Similarly, when altering curly and straight hair as the contrastive parameters to be analyzed in comparison 2.2, the result between two types of models shows a subtle indication that while curly hair possesses an equal dominance of 36 times in totality for both types of models, the totality of *Hāfu* outnumbers *non-Hāfu* models in these two hairstyle categories.

Suppose black straight hair and brown skin were deemed as the traditional notion on the natural looks of Japanese women, when comparatively referring to *ViVi*'s cover model's statistic on skin color and hairstyles. In that case, it is evident that as one of the famous Japanese editorial media that functioned in directing the fashion looks of Japanese women at the younger generation, by strategically covered lightened color looks that have been deviated from the traditional notion, *ViVi* demonstrates it applied value on promoting fashion styling of white-appealing looks as the beauty ideal for Japanese women in younger generations. With most of its covers between 2008-2019 displaying models in lightened skin make-up, westernized curly hair in brightened hair color of brown and blonde, it also reveals the fact that the market conditions of a Japanese fashion magazine in the young-women segment, the whitening, and polished women image is in active demand in

the latest period as a response to their readers' consumption needs.

Research Question 3: Does the use of *Hāfu* female model images indicate a more suggestive sexuality or modesty comparing with Asian-looking female models in *ViVi*?

Since apart from the model's styling, which could be deemed the accessorial visual messages carried by *ViVi*'s cover models, there are other direct visual elements that constitute the image of the models per se. Thus, based on the information integration that followed by the stated coding category, I further classified the image elements of selected *ViVi*'s covers into the proportion of body portrayal and Facial portrayal, Models' posing as well as Clothing styles, and their statistical illustration are presented by following figures.

Regarding the data description on models' body portrayal between 2008-2019 in **Figure 12**, it is evident that for both *Hāfu* and *non-Hāfu* models, the above chest close-up is the most commonly used way on their body portrait in covers, and which accounts for 24 times and 26 times respectively. It might because *ViVi*'s marketing positioning is not adult or male-oriented for satisfying a visual interest in carnal desire on the body. Female readers between 18 and 30 are more interested in appreciating the

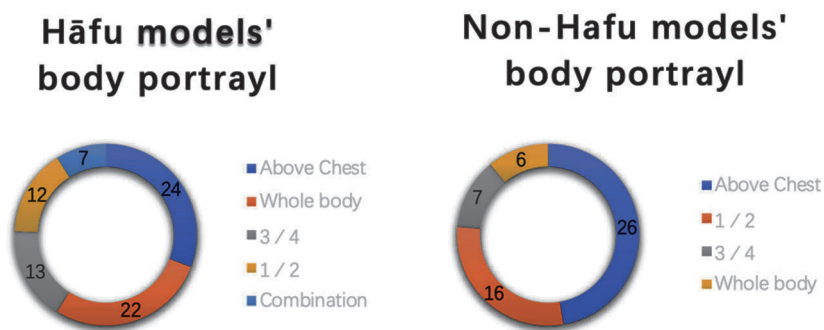


Figure 12: Proportion of body portrayal of *Hāfu* and *non-Hāfu* models in *ViVi*'s covers (2008-2019)

beauty of models' facial features.

Nonetheless, in terms of the differences between two types of model, the result is also visible that compared to *non-Hāfu* models who had more than 1/2 body portrait in 16 times that second to the Above chest portrait, their least frequency shows in the whole bodies portrait in 6 times of appearance, as a contrast to *Hāfu* models with their second-highest frequencies in showing their whole bodies in 22 times. One objective reason for different design emphasis on the body proportions for these two types of models is because of the different consideration on the sales potential of their physical appearance in covers. Since based on the former analysis on the types of cover models, it is clear that most of the *non-Hāfu* models as *ViVi's* cover girls were Japanese celebrities whose face are the most recognizable trademark, and as exemplified in **Figure 13** when the Japanese national female pop singer Amuro Naomi as the cover model, the way of clear facial portrait at the above chest level was often used on her images. Thus, it is reasonable that the statistics on *non-Hāfu* showed the highest frequency appeared on the photographic portrait level of the above chest in 26 times than either 16 times in 1/2 portrait, seven times in 3/4 portrait, or six times in the whole-body portrait. Because with

less reliance on her body, the emphasis on her facial identity suggests the fact that a Japanese female celebrity who compared with female *Hāfu* models, there is a greater level of close emphasis on her identity without distancing her own facial feature as the most significant symbolic to recognize who she is as a famous star.

By comparison to *Hāfu* models, their body portrait diversified in average emphasis on the whole body for 22 times and the above chest for 24 times and in body proportion of 1/2 and 3/4 with frequencies in 12 and 13 times respectively. Hence from the differentiation on the physical portrait proportion, it implies that apart from the face, the functional use on the bodies of *ViVi's Hāfu* models in editorial clothing display is also important. As illustrated by **Figure 13** on the multiple portraits in the body proportion of whole and 3/4 on *ViVi's* popular *Hāfu* model Fujii Rena, it is clear that differentiated from Japanese celebrity Amuro Naomi, the facial feature as the essential symbol of Fujii's identity as a *Hāfu* model, and it were diminished by pressed photographic composition on her body figure. With editorial photography that highlights the fashion styling on clothing and posing which had been applied on her body, the expression on her visual identity needs accompaniments more than just her face. Furthermore, by bearing the



Figure 13: (Left) Above chest portrait on Japanese female celebrities (Right) Whole body and 3/4 of the body portrait on *Hāfu* model.^{xxvi}

physical presentation on fashion materiality that applied into all sorts of angles and proportion on the body, it also means that as cover girls, the fetishization on the body of *Hāfu* exceeded above the body of Japanese celebrities to a certain extent because there are more situations when *Hāfu* have their body displayed to the readers.

Body Exposure and Female Fetishization

For the reason that the model images of *ViVi* are expressed through the magazine's editorial arrangement on models' bodies and their clothing, and it also serves as the most direct visual communication between *ViVi*'s fashion message and idea and its readers. Their bodies were selected to present traditional modest fashion of elegant and casual, explicit sexy styles with an inevitable extent exposure on the body, or edgy boyish fashion that renders female sexuality. To make a comparative examination on the specific extent of gender image sexualization for both types of models (*Hāfu* and *non-Hāfu*), further categorizations on the textual image data were elaborated into calculating the frequencies of their body exposures in legs, arms, back, and breast.

In **Figure 14**, it is evident that in terms of direct body exposure in overall four categorizations, *Hāfu* models had more often

revealed their body than *non-Hāfu* models in *ViVi* covers. Specifically, the most contrasting discrepancy was shown on the body exposure category of legs. With frequency numbers of 32 versus 8, *Hāfu* models, to a more considerable extent, were fettered by the conventional way of fetishizing their female body using legs as a contrast to *non-Hāfu* models.

What is more, similar contrast could be seen in the charts about models wearing backless clothing, and in which *Hāfu* models surpass *non-Hāfu* models in revealing their skin with the style of backless top fashion.

On the portrait of models' back the difference is also visible. Since in front of the camera, *Hāfu* has a more expansive 'mobility' in displaying their backs in different angles and proportions while the posing of showing the back from the Japanese model was comparatively budded and modest. Thus, the visual effects in such case result in different spaces for sexualized imagination on models' body, because *Hāfu* models serve as the typical cover girl with clear-seen sexy bodies. Although *Hāfu* models had widened a visible gap between the category of exposing models' arms with *non-Hāfu* models, the only statistical parallelism is illustrated in the category of wearing bare breast fashion, when frequencies numbers on both types of models are close with each other. (17:15)

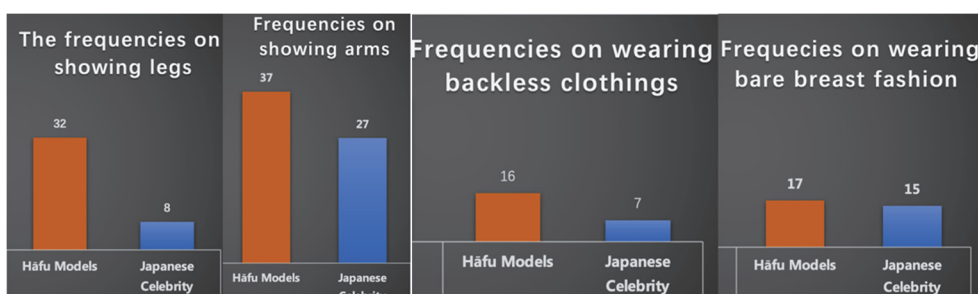


Figure 14: Comparative Frequency Statistics on the models' body exposure: Legs, Arms, Breast & Back in the covers of *ViVi* (2008-2019)



Figure 15^{xxvii}: Different leg portrait for *Hāfu* and *non-Hāfu*.



Figure 16^{xxviii}: Different back portrait on *Hāfu* and *non-Hāfu*.

Throughout all the statistical categorizations, there is no situation showed when either type of model is completely covered by clothing without any part of her body being exposed or vice versa, incomplete nudity when the presentation of the model’s body is in a

state of nature and without covering of clothing. Since both *Hāfu* and *non-Hāfu* model were presented in either “nudity at a general level”, with a certain part of the bodies such as her arms or lower legs were exposed in the covers. Or in “nudity at a sexualized level” when explicit

exposure on models' body emphasized female sexuality. Visible nudity is shown either in her shoulders, legs, chest, or back. Combining all the degrees on models' body exposure and followed the four categorizations of exposed arms, legs, back, and breast, it is obvious that *ViVi*'s use on the images of *Hāfu* is much explicitly sexualized than *non-Hāfu* with a greater extent of body exposure.

Chapter 4. Conclusion

In conclusion, this research examined the image of female *Hāfu* models based on the chronicle of *ViVi*, from the first issue in June 1983 to the last issue in December 2019. Through historically tracing its trending transition and the formation of the “*Hāfu* aesthetic” of *ViVi*, I suggest that the image transformation of *ViVi*'s *Hāfu* models' has been in correspondence with the socio-historical discourse of Japanese economy's development and decline between the 1990s to 2010s. With its editorial advocacy from the “Female suit trending” driven by “Dianna fever” to the “street fashion”, “western female icon styling”. The evident shift on its model images manifested in preferencing *non-Hāfu* with traditional Japanese looks and diminishing *Hāfu* when articulating in transformation of “Japanese femininity” in high-end suit culture before 2000s. By comparison, *Hāfu* models image in *ViVi* after 2000s served as the beauty ideal in advocating for female image liberalization through the diversified look that grounded in cheap street fashion, as well as fulfilling styling reproductions on western female icon fashion. Nonetheless, differentiated from the former “suit trending” within the discourse of gender image regulations, in which the initiative on preferencing female models with traditional Japanese looks was to enable the transformation

of “Traditional Japanese femininity into high end westernized elegance.” In the case of editorial references on western female celebrities, the exoticized features on the *Hāfu* models' face and body harmonized with those western female images in the emphasized expressions on female individuality and spreading American aesthetic value on liberalizing the female body. Using *Hāfu* models allowed Japanese female readers to envision the imaged self that closely comforts their desired beauty expectation without detaching from Japanese women's shared identity.

Concerning race and colorism on admiring white-appealing looks, I found out it was not the permeated ideology of aesthetic in the *ViVi* issues before 2008. For instance, except for Caucasian European and white American models, who had natural Caucasian skin tones, both Japanese *Hāfu* models and *non-Hāfu* models were presented in a natural yellow skin tone representing typical Asian. In addition to this, when making styling references to the western female celebrities with dark skin tones, both *Hāfu* models and *non-Hāfu* models were adjusted into the styling of darker skin colors of tanned or wheat. At the same time, of note that the *Hāfu* models used during that period all had racial lineages with Caucasian countries from Europe and America, but the result and findings demonstrate that all of them were naturally represented in non-whitened skin colors. Therefore, when referring to how the images of *Hāfu* female models were presented in *ViVi* before 2008, it proved that my initial hypothesis on “Caucasian-appealing aesthetic” as a permanent characteristic was not valid.

However, when progressing my quantitative examination into the different time period between 2008 to 2019 that based on the same hypothesis of “white-appealing” as the core

aesthetic in *ViVi*, following models' individual imagery patterns, and in which the frequent occurrences of the model races, their colors of skin, hair, and nudity exposure rate of body, Eventually, according to the findings in each section, the result proved the validity of my “white-appealing” argument in *ViVi* between 2008 to 2019.

To be specific, in contrast to Japanese *non-Hāfu* models whose casting criteria emphasized their popularities as indigenous female celebrities, *Hāfu* models that appeared during the examined period, among which 11 out of 12 they have Caucasian racial lineages in Euro-American countries. Moreover, when relating to the color treatments on each type of model, the lightened colors of brown and blonde surpassed black in frequencies of hair colors and eye colors. Similarly, whitened skin tones and curled hairstyles appeared more often than brown and straight hair of traditional Asian. In this sense, it proved that *ViVi*'s beauty aesthetic had been visibly shifted into a Caucasianized appealing one featuring both lightened skin color, and the coverage of Asian features using fashion stylings for both Japanese *Hāfu* and *non-Hāfu* models.

Furthermore, from the findings on body exposure frequencies, the extent of being fetishized differentiate *Hāfu* models distinguished *non-Hāfu* models in the extent of being fetishized. Not only because the higher exposing frequencies were owned by *Hāfu* models in all four coding categorizations of the leg, arm, breast, and back. Also, for the editorial portrait of these body categorizations, the image of *Hāfu* models has a more ‘mobility’ on sufficiently showing their bodies in multiple photographic proportions and angles. In this respect, *ViVi* sufficiently reinforces its *Hāfu* female model aesthetic from 2008 to 2019. Apart from the dominant casting on Caucasian-origin *Hāfu* as

cover girls, apparent changes in lightened color were used in each styling sections of both *Hāfu* and *non-Hāfu* models, crystallizing “white-appealing” as a sufficiently applied female beauty aesthetics in its cover content. At the same time, as a response to the primary puzzle on how *Hāfu* female models differentiated *non-Hāfu* in terms of gender image fetishization, verified coding comparisons prove *Hāfu* female model aesthetic as a more sexually oriented one than *non-Hāfu* by occupying higher frequencies in each coding comparisons sections of the explicit portrayal of their clothing and bodies.

To sum up, the conclusion of this research lies in answering how the *Hāfu* model functioned in feminism messages of feminism in *ViVi*. Based on the analyzing their images in different time slots, despite product positioning as “Japanese women-targeted magazines,” under the disguise of aesthetic standards that are satisfying the Japanese female readers who had expectations to reshape their self-images, their face and body were editorially conformed to a masculine vision of traditional female beauty ideal. Therefore, abide by the patriarchal pleasure of viewing women, not limited to Japanese *Hāfu* models. In the process of “seeing and being seen,” the reinforcement of masculine vision durably relays to female readers when shaping their ideal self-based on images of *Hāfu* models. In addition, it is visible that *Hāfu* models in *ViVi* were mostly placed on a column of fashion look books and make-up pages. Hence, they have been functioned on teaching Japanese women how to dress up to obtain a more fashionable and attractive appearance. With fewer editorial sections designed exclusively for *Hāfu* as a special group of female models and show their life experiences as beautiful *Hāfu* women to Japanese readers, the social reflection maintains when recognizing *Hāfu* models as the otherized

that not ground to Japanese real life. Eventually, the combination of mystified recognition and visual fetishization on female *Hāfu* models in *ViVi* weakened their power of persuasiveness in spreading feminism consciousness relating to “girls’ power,” or “female liberalization.”

Research Limitation

This research shows limitations in several aspects. The first issue is that only female *Hāfu* models in *ViVi* were analyzed. In spite of its high publication amounts, there is a wider range of Japanese magazines media targeted different audiences that use female *Hāfu* models, and which may provide different historical and aesthetical trajectories and broaden the view of the “female *Hāfu* models phenomena” in Japanese fashion magazine industry. Secondly, the quantitative analysis is limited to the selections of the research period between 2008-2020, as well as on the codings that only described the element of “beauty” of female models. Including the data for a longer period can add comprehensiveness to the analysis on a change of female *Hāfu* models on the statistical base, while designing other coding sections refines the image analysis.

Also, for limited access, my qualitative content analysis does not include questionnaire research targeting Japanese readers, how they view the prevalence of female *Hāfu* models’ images adds objectivity to this research. Participant study and interview on *Hāfu* models and people who involved in the Japanese fashion magazine industry could bring the self- viewpoint of *Hāfu* into focus, elaborating analysis that takes how “being *Hāfu*” matters in their model career, as well as influences their

living experiences in Japan.

Improvement for Future Research

In my future research, several improvements could be involved. For the content analysis approach, not restricted to examining *Hāfu* female models *ViVi*, homogeneous comparisons could be applied to multiple types of magazines which have *Hāfu* female models, including magazines of the *Akamoji* genre, cosmetics, the housewife-targeted lifestyle, and the male-targeted. Apart from magazines circulations inside the Japanese domestic market, future case studies could relocate “*Hāfu* female model phenomena” into the global sphere, involving different outlooks on how “*Hāfu* and white appealing aesthetic” have penetrated and cause impact in different fashion media magazine industries and readership perspectives in China, South Korea, and Thailand. Additionally, on the basis of expanded case studies, relevant research objects could be added to future participant studies and survey analysis.

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I would also like to express my special thanks to Prof. Miayashita Akitoshi and Prof. Takeishi Reiji, for their insightful comments, as well as for offering the golden opportunity to publish this paper.

Notes

- i Japan Magazine Publishers Association (JMPA), the organization for magazine companies in Japan that in charge of their publication and market report.
- ii Statistics from *Magazine Data 2020*, (マガジンデータ 2020) published by JMPA on 2019.12.24.
- iii *Myojo* (In Japanese 週刊明星), It is a weekly magazine for women that published by Shueisha since 1958.
- iv 当時の日本社会における「白人」もしくは「ハーフ」の商品化について…「ハーフ」はあくまでも日本社会で「他者化」されながら、「白人崇拝」の対象として積極的に「ハーフ」の表象は商品化された。(159-160頁)
- v 特にファッション界では、一九七〇年～一九八〇年代にかけてファッションシーンの先駆けとなった女性雑誌が次々と発刊されるが、これらの雑誌においてもハーフの女性イメージが非常に多く用いられている。(163頁)
- vi 日本人論において男性化された「日本人」イメージがほぼ同時期に活発に消費されていた点である。「日本人」イメージはしばしば男性像として再生産され、男性化された日本人イメージが出版界や知識人の間で牽引され、大衆文化と化していた…日本人論の主体としての「日本人」イメージは消費された。その一方で、「ハーフ」表象は女性化され、消費社会における商品化の論理によって「消費の対象」として客体化されつつ再生産された。(163-164頁)
- vii Known as the Modern Showa era, (昭和) it started from the year 1926 and ended at 1989. It was an era that witness the transition of Japan from an Empire to a Nation State.
- viii Between the early 1890s-1910s, there were four main early magazines that were launched for promoting women consciousness, including “*Fujin Koron* by *Chuokoron*, 1916” (婦人公論) “*shufu no Tomo*, by *shufu no Tomo*. Co. Ltd. 1917” (主婦之友) “*Fujin Gaho* by *Fujin Gaho* co.Ltd. 1905” (婦人画報) and “*Fujin Club*, by *Kodansha*, 1920” (婦人倶楽部) Images source: dマガジン
- ix The main content in this advertisement page (from left to right) are: Complete spring collection of fabrications; Useful Tips for pregnancy and parenting; the dories and skirt for young girl; Novel named *Produce Make-up*; the country of cherry blossom; the work ability of beauty. Image source: tokyowanyosai.com
- x Japanese pronunciation *Akamoji* magazine refers to Japanese fashion magazines that specifically targeted young women who aged 20 to 25. Including female college students and young office workers. Normally, their titles on the magazine covers are all in red.
- xi Together with the first issue of *ViVi* in 1983, *JJ*, published by *Konbusha* since 1975; *CanCam*, published by *SHOGAKUKAN* in 1981; *Ray*, published by *Shuufu No Tomo* since 1988 (source: dマガジン)
- xii Images: ヤクオフ
- xiii A Chromogenic print that created by Japanese contemporary artist Morimura Yasumasa in 1991
- xiv “リセ” is the shorten form of *リセヌ*, a French borrowed word that originally written in lycéenne and means French girl in the Middle school.
- xv *ViVi* 1983.07, page 42, *ViVi* 1988.11, page 51, *ViVi* 1989.05, page 44-45. Source: ヤクオフ.
- xvi Figures: *ViVi* 1996.11, Source: ヤクオフ.
- xvii Figures: *ViVi* 2003.01, 2004.04, 2001.06, 2006.11, 2007.02. 2006.02 Source: *ViVi*.tv
- xviii Figures from left to right 2001.04, 2008.03, 2009.04 Source: *ViVi*.tv
- xix Figures: *ViVi* 2007.01, 2002.06, 2002.06. 2004.07 2005.11 (first line), 2005.11, 2006.05 (third line) Source: ヤクオフ.
- xx Figures: 2006.10, Source: ヤクオフ.
- xxi Male Japanese actor Yoshizawa Ryo covered *ViVi* in October 2019.
- xxii American female celebrity Nichole Rich covered *ViVi* in October 2009.
- xxiii British male pop singer group One Direction, who were *ViVi*'s cover persons in March 2015. The whole group with 5 male members is counted as one person in the data.
- xxiv Male K-pop Groups: TOHOSHINKI was the cover persons of *ViVi* in April 2013 and January 2018. Both EXO and Female K-pop

- group TWICE covered *ViVi* in January 2017 and August 2017 respectively.
- xxv Unlike other *ViVi*'s exclusive *Hāfu* models, Linka covered *ViVi* for three times for her popularity as one of the originators of Caucasian-looking *Hāfu* model in Japanese fashion industry, her career began in 1993 as still model for another famous Japanese fashion magazine *JJ* in 1993.
- xxvi The *ViVi* volumes on the right side: 2014.03, 2012.11, 2012.10, 2010.06, 2013.05, 2014.09, 2011.06, 2011.11
- xxvii The *ViVi* volumes on the upper line: 2019.09, 2015.04, 2008.01, 2008.07. The second line: 2009.02, 2013.03, 2014.04, 2011.12
- xxviii The *ViVi* volumes on the upper line: 2016.08, 2015.09, 2012.05. The second line: 2011.03, 2009.01, 2019.08.
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