

How Older People are Represented in Japanese TV Commercials: A Content Analysis

by Michael PRIELER, Florian KOHLBACHER,
Shigeru HAGIWARA, Akie ARIMA*

Introduction

Japan has the highest life expectancy and, at 42 per cent in 2005, among the highest percentage of people over 50 in the world (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2005). In addition, this older age group has on average the highest monthly expenditure (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2007). Companies, and particularly advertising agencies, have taken notice of these statistics. As a result, the market for older consumers has become more and more important (see Coulmas 2007; Kohlbacher & Herstatt 2008). One way to target older consumers is to use their peers as models in advertising. This article presents the results of a content analysis on the representation of older people in Japanese television advertising.¹ Specifically, it examines if the increasing importance of older people² as consumers as well as part of society is reflected in advertising, particularly in terms of whether higher numbers of older people are being used in Japanese television advertising.

We have chosen television advertising as our research focus because it accounts for the largest percentage of the advertising budget in Japan (33.6%). While older people regard television as only the second most reliable/trusted advertising medium after newspapers, they agree that television features the most interesting advertisements of any media form (cf. Nikkei Kōkoku Kenkyūjo 2007: 47, 208). Television also clearly dominates when older people are asked about their everyday amusement, or provider of everyday information (Cabinet Office 2004). No other medium is consumed as frequently and by so many people as television. A TV set exists in nearly one hundred percent of Japanese households, and was viewed daily for an average of 3:43 hours in 2005. This time is even longer for older people, who watch more than any other age group in Japan. Women aged

* Michael PRIELER is Visiting Researcher at the German Institute for Japanese Studies (DIJ). Florian KOHLBACHER is Research Fellow at the German Institute for Japanese Studies (DIJ). Shigeru HAGIWARA is Professor and Deputy Director at the Institute for Media and Communications Research, Keio University. Akie ARIMA is Associate Professor in the Department of Communication, Tokyo Woman's Christian University.

50-59 years watch 4:06 hours daily (men in the same age segment watch only 3:23). Women over 60 watch even more at 5:00 hours, topped by men in the same age group at 5:21 hours (cf. Shiraishi 2008: 514). This difference is undoubtedly connected with the increasing retirement rate of Japanese males over 60.

Clearly, a large majority of the Japanese population, including older people, watches television commercials regularly. There is a substantial literature on the long-term effects of media exposure (e.g. Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli 1986). Some research also indicates that both media and the environment have a large influence on how older people regard themselves and are regarded by younger people (Passuth & Cook 1985; Gerbner, Gross, Signorielli, & Moran 1980; Mares & Cantor 1992; Harwood 1999). In other words, we may assume that the representation of older people in television commercials has effects both on consumers' buying decisions as well as on society's perception of older people.

This important topic has already gained some attention; there have been several studies on the representation of older people in television commercials around the world. Table 1 gives a systematic overview.

Table 1: Previous Research on the Representation of Older People in TV Commercials

Research: Authors; Year	Year of Recording	Country	Age	Sample Size (Commercials)
Francher & Jay 1973	Not stated	USA	Not stated	100
Harris & Feinberg 1977	1976	USA	50+	80
Hiemstra et al. 1983	1981	USA	50+	136
Moore & Cadeau 1985	1983	Canada	65+	1733
Swayne & Greco 1987	Not stated	USA	65+	814
Atkins, Jenkins, & Perkins 1990/91	1990	USA	50+	458
Langmeyer 1993	1989/1990	USA	60+	856
Tupper 1995	1994	USA	65+	278
Roy & Harwood 1997	1994	USA	60+	778
Peterson & Ross 1997	1991	USA	45+	1874
Davis & Carson 1998	Award Winning Commercials (1973-1997)	Canada	60+	1246
Robinson 1998	Not stated	USA	65+	1770
Yamanaka 2000	1998	Japan	50+	612
Zimmerman 2001	1998	USA	60+	383
Miller, Leyell, & Mazachek 2004	1950s-1990s (Archives)	USA	60+	1662
Simcock & Sudbury 2006	Not stated	Britain	50+	2058
Lee, Kim, & Han 2006	2002	USA/South Korea	Not stated	859/1436
Lee, Carpenter, & Meyers 2007	2003	USA	55+	1977
Prieler 2008	2004/2005	Japan	60+	1680/1672
Zhang, Song, & Carver 2008	2005	China	60+	1146

We will compare the results of previous research with our results in the discussion section. It is important to note, though, that a direct comparison involves various problems, since many variables differ: different countries, different sampling methods (recording times, geographical area, channels, etc.), different sample sizes, different terminology (“mature models,” “elderly,” “elderly persons,” “older adults,” “older people”), and different categorizations of how old “older people” are (45+, 50+, 55+, 60+, 65+). In contrast to most previous research, we have divided older people into the age groups 50-64 and 65+, since we expect major quantitative and qualitative differences between these groups.

Methodology

We have chosen a content analysis approach, because it “can tell us a great deal about ads that we would not normally discover by impressionistic or cursory readings” (Dyer 1982: 111). Content analysis seeks to be objective (other researchers using the same data should arrive at the same or similar results), and the same criteria are applied to the whole data set (which makes comparisons possible). The frequency of appearances of codes and categories can be stated explicitly in percentages. *Surface content* is measured to produce reliable data. There is no reading between the lines; only what is apparent to everyone is coded. In short, content analysis allows us to treat qualitative data in quantitative terms, thus helping us to ground our analysis of images and words in something more solid than individual and impressionistic interpretation.

Our research sample was based on a commercial database that includes all advertisements broadcast in the Greater Tokyo Area since 1996. In other words, in this database one can find all commercials that were broadcast for the first time on any given day. In order to produce a valid sample, a systematic sample of 28 days with an equal distribution of weekdays over two full years (1997 and 2007) was established.

This led to a sample of 1,503 commercials in 1997 and a sample of 1,481 commercials in 2007: 2,984 commercials in total. 12 commercials could not be accessed in the commercial database. As a result, the final sample analyzed consisted of 1,495 commercials in 1997 and 1,477 commercials in 2007: 2,972 commercials in total. Out of these commercials, 1,236 of the 1997 commercials included people; in 2007, 1,220 commercials included people.

The coding was undertaken by one of the authors and one doctoral student.³ Both coders undertook a coding pretest on 200 commercials, which were not included in the sample. Once this test had established sufficient consistency between the coders, they began the coding of the 2,972 commercials. Both coders were coding all commercials independently and compared results after they both finished their task. The coefficient of reliability for all presented codes in this article

was above 0.9, a sufficient number according to the content analysis literature (Neuendorf 2002; Krippendorff 2004). To establish a final data set, codes that were coded differently were discussed between the coders to reach a final decision.

Results

In this section we present a part of our content analysis results on older people. We found that: Older people are underrepresented in Japanese commercials; older females are even more underrepresented than older males; the number of older people has greatly increased from 1997 to 2007; and the major product category using older people is foods/beverages.

Age Distribution

A significant finding of our content analysis was an unequal age distribution within commercials featuring people (see Figure 1). The 15-34 age group clearly dominates (66.3%/n=820 for 1997, 64.2%/n=783 for 2007), followed by the 35-49 age group (37.9%/n=469 for 1997, 39.3%/n=480 for 2007). Age groups 50-64 (13.7%/n=169 for 1997, 21.4%/n=261 for 2007) and 65+ (4.6%/n=57 for 1997, 6.1%/n=74 for 2007) are only minimally present in Japanese commercials. The same is true for the age group 0-14 (19.3%/n=238 for 1997, 19.8%/n=242 for 2007).

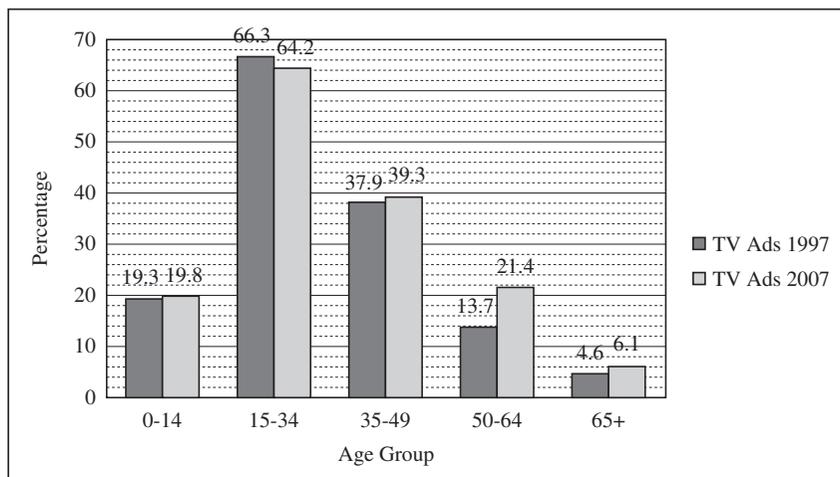


Figure 1: Age Distribution in Japanese Commercials

(Percentage of commercials featuring people of a specific age group within all commercials featuring people - different age groups in one commercial possible)

It is striking that the distribution in 1997 and 2007 (see Figure 1) is overall very similar. However, there is one major exception, namely the age group 50-64, which increased strongly from 13.7% to 21.4%. Also, though it is not obvious at first sight, the 65+ age group increased by more than 30%.

These results already tell us a great deal about what age groups are preferred in Japanese commercials. However, it is still not clear what these numbers actually mean, if they are not compared with the age distribution of Japanese society overall. Figure 2 shows the comparison between the percentage of older people in TV commercials and older people as a percentage of the actual population, since this might give better insight into a possible under- or overrepresentation of age groups.

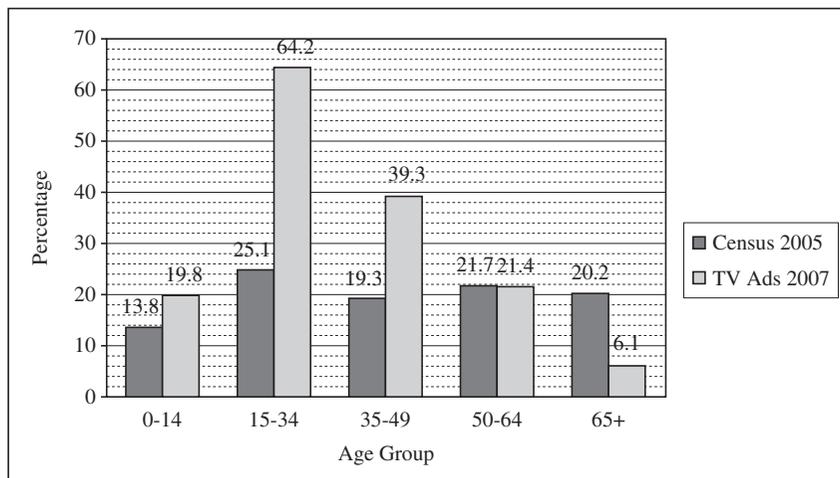


Figure 2: Age Distribution in Japanese TV Commercials versus Japanese Society Overall

(Percentage of commercials featuring people of a specific age group within all commercials featuring people - different age groups in one commercial possible. Percentages of the census are based on Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2005)

The age distribution in the 2005 census and the 2007 TV commercials are not perfectly comparable since the TV ads amount to more than 100 percent (due to the fact that different age groups can coexist in one commercial). Nevertheless, there are some clearly visible findings, as shown in Figure 2. The two most obvious are that the age groups 15-34 and 35-49 are clearly overrepresented, and that the age group 65+ is clearly underrepresented in Japanese TV advertisements.

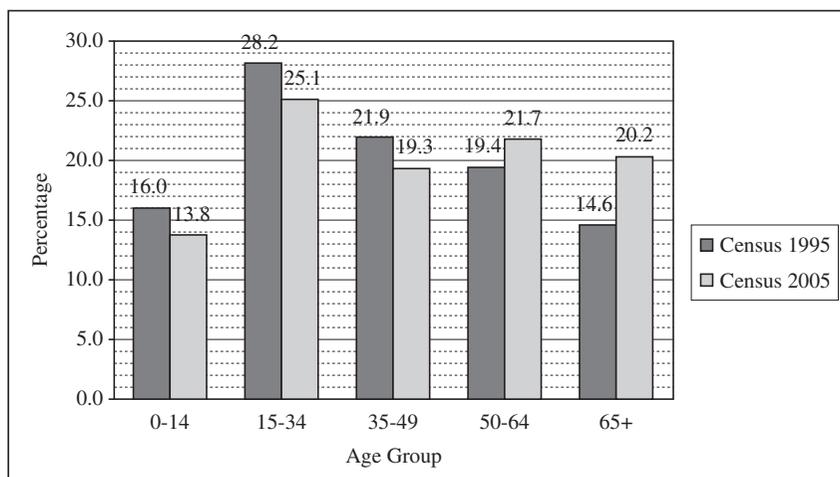


Figure 3: Age Distribution in Japanese Society Overall
(Based on Census Counts in 1995 and 2005)

(Source of Census: Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 1995, 2005)

Looking at our results and the two censuses from 1995 and 2005, one can clearly see that the number of older people is increasing. The age group 50-64 increased from 13.7% to 21.4% (+56.2%) in commercials, and from 19.4% to 21.7% (+11.9%) in the census. The age group 65+ increased from 4.6% to 6.1% (+32.6%) in commercials, and from 14.6% to 20.2% (+38.4%) in the census. What this comparison shows is that the increase in the 65+ age group was slightly stronger in the population census than in commercials, whereas the increase of the 50-64 age group was clearly stronger in commercials than in the census.

Male vs. Female Ratio

There are proportional differences between males and females within different age groups (see Figure 4). Whereas for the 1-14 age group there are only slightly more females (13.2%, n=161) than males (12.2%, n=149) in the 2007 TV commercials⁴, in the 15-34 age group females (50.6%, n=617) clearly outnumber males (30.3%, n=370). The situation, however, changes drastically after the age of 35, when males (27.8%, n=339) start dominating Japanese commercials and females (21.3%, n=260) become subordinate. This is especially pronounced in the age group 50-64, where males are featured (16.3%, n=199) twice as often as females (7.9%, n=96). The same is true for the age group 65+, where males (4.4%, n=54) again clearly outnumber females (2.4%, n=29). This is even more noteworthy, since in Japanese society it is actually older females who outnumber

older males. This is also the case with the 50+ age group, where females outnumber males at a ratio of 1.18:1; as well as with the 65+ age group, where females outnumber males at a ratio of 1.36:1 (based on Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2005).

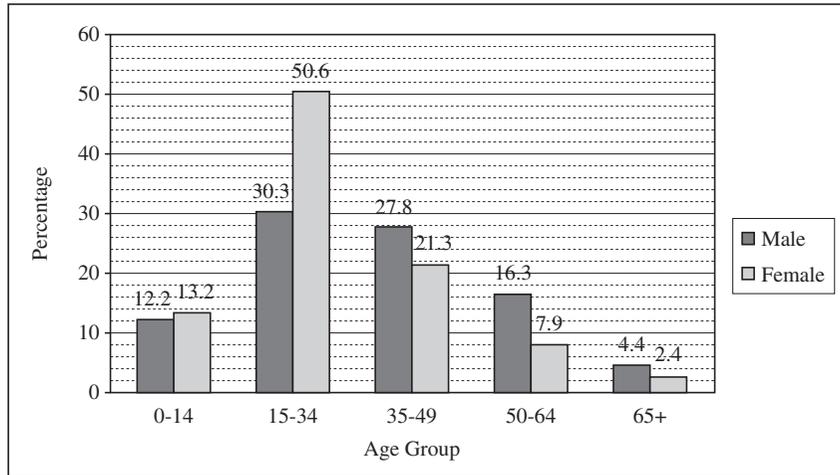


Figure 4: Age and Sex Distribution in Japanese Commercials, 2007

(Percentage of commercials featuring males and females within all commercials featuring people - male and female and different age groups together in one commercial possible)⁵

The overall percentages between 1997 and 2007 are rather similar, so the results from 1997 will not be displayed here. In terms of older people, however, it is worth mentioning that the number of males strongly increased, whereas the number of females decreased. The number of females in the 50-64 bracket increased slightly (from 5.8%/n=72 to 7.9%/n=96), which does not match the growth of appearances by males of the same age (from 9.0%/n=111 to 16.3%/n=199). The number of females 65 and over decreased (from 2.8%/n=35 to 2.4%/n=29), whereas the number of their male counterparts increased (from 2.9%/n=36 to 4.4%/n=54). This led to a clearly lower number of females in all commercials featuring older people. The finding that the number of older females decreased from 1997 to 2007 clearly runs against the overall trend of more older people appearing in Japanese TV commercials, and should be further examined in the future.

Product Categories

Out of 16 coded product categories, there are some that clearly dominate commercials including older people. The product category that outnumbers all

others is foods/beverages. Other strong product categories in commercials including older people are services/leisure, cosmetics/toiletries, and distribution/retailing, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Product Categories in Commercials Featuring Older People

1997		2007	
CMs featuring 50-64 Age Group	CMs featuring 65+ Age Group	CMs featuring 50-64 Age Group	CMs featuring 65+ Age Group
Foods / Beverages (19.5%; n=33)	Foods / Beverages (33.3%; n=19)	Foods / Beverages (25.7%; n=67)	Foods / Beverages (28.4%; n=21)
Services / Leisure (12.4%; n=21)	Distribution / Retailing (17.5%; n=10)	Cosmetics / Toiletries (11.1%; n=29)	Distribution / Retailing (8.1%; n=6)
Cosmetics / Toiletries (9.5%; n=16)	Household Products (8.8%; n=5)	Services / Leisure (10.3%; n=27)	Apparel / Fashion, Accessories / Personal Items (8.1%; n=6)
Others (58.6%; n=99)	Others (40.4%; n=23)	Others (52.9%; n=138)	Others (55.4%; n=41)

Table 2 tells us only about the percentages of product categories advertised in commercials featuring older people. This is in accordance with previous literature, which has generally coded only commercials *featuring* older people for product categories, and has neglected commercials that do not feature older people. This is a major shortcoming, since it does not tell us whether this percentage is high or low relative to the percentage of product categories advertised in all commercials. For example, the product category foods/beverages is frequently advertised in all commercials: 19.8% of commercials in 1997 and 18.8% of commercials in 2007 advertised foods/beverages.

As a result, it is also important to examine the percentage of older people represented within each product category. For example, in the product category foods/beverages, the percentage was 11.1% (n=33) for the 50-64 age group and 6.4% (n=19) for the 65+ age group in 1997; in 2007, it was 24.1% (n=67) for the 50-64 age group and 7.6% (n=21) for the 65+ age group. An especially high percentage of older people appear in the context of four particular product categories. These are real estate/housing; distribution/retailing; finance/insurance; and apparel/fashion or accessories/personal items, though there are substantial differences between the two years as well as the age groups.

Table 3: Percentage of Older People Represented within each Product Category

1997		2007	
CMs featuring 50-64 Age Group	CMs featuring 65+ Age Group	CMs featuring 50-64 Age Group	CMs featuring 65+ Age Group
<i>Total</i> (11.3%; n=169)	<i>Total</i> (3.8%; n=57)	<i>Total</i> (17.7%; n=261)	<i>Total</i> (5.0%; n=74)
Real Estate / Housing (35.1%; n=13)	Distribution / Retailing (13.7%; n=10)	Finance / Insurance (41.7%; n=20)	Apparel / Fashion, Accessories / Personal Items (15.8%; n=6)
Apparel / Fashion, Accessories / Personal Items (21.2%; n=7)	Real Estate / Housing (10.8%; n=4)	Distribution / Retailing (38.8%; n=26)	Materials (11.1%; n=1)
Finance / Insurance (19.0%; n=12)	Foods / Beverages (6.4%; n=19)	Real Estate / Housing (31.3%; n=15)	Precision Instruments / Office Supplies (9.8%; n=4)

(The percentage of commercials featuring an older age group for a product category among all commercials for that product category – for comparative reasons the percentages of the commercials featuring the respective age groups within all commercials are also stated)

Table 3 demonstrates that the foods/beverages product category is no longer dominant. For example, the age group 50-64 appeared, on average, in 11.3% of commercials in 1997. This is not so different within the product category foods/beverages, where the percentage was 11.1%. However, there is a large discrepancy in the real estate/housing product category, where older people appeared on average more than three times as often.

In contrast, commercials for the following product categories use relatively few or no older people: materials, machinery, household products, publications, and automobiles.

Discussion

The overall results of this research are similar to previous research, which found a general underrepresentation of older people, especially older females, and an emphasis on the foods/beverages product category. The new result not found in previous research is the gradual increase of older people featured in advertising.

Nearly all previous research reports an underrepresentation of older people in television commercials. However, the degree of underrepresentation varies greatly. Francher (1973) found that only 2% of commercials featured older people. Hiemstra et al. (1983) noted that 3.1% of people in ads appeared to be older than 60, though this age group comprised 15.7 percent of the US population at the time. Roy & Harwood (1997) reported 6.9% of the characters in commercials to be over 60, whereas the elderly were at the time 16.4% of the population. Lee, Carpenter & Meyers (2007) found that 15% of commercials included people older than 55, whereas the actual percentage of this age group in the region where the commercials were recorded was 18%. According to Prieler (2008) older people are clearly underrepresented in Japanese commercials. He noted that 13.6% of commercials featured people over 60, though this age group accounted for 24.4% of the Japanese population. While Yamanaka (2000) also showed an underrepresentation of the 65+ age group in his research, there was, interestingly, a clear overrepresentation of models between 50-64 years (38.8%), an age group that comprised 20.2% of the population. Lee, Kim & Han (2006) also found an underrepresentation in Korean ads, where 8.0% of ads featured people over 60, an age group that accounted for 12% of the Korean population. In contrast, they reported that 15.4% of US ads include at least one person over 60, which is nearly the same as the percentage within the population (which they cite as 16%). Similarly, Simcock & Sudbury (2006) showed that 31% of the commercials they recorded in Britain included older people, a figure close to the actual demographic situation. However, they also emphasize that this was true for only a few product categories; in most product categories older people are clearly underrepresented.

At first glance, the underrepresentation of older people in a country traditionally regarded as having respect for the elderly seems like a contradiction. However, even if Japanese society still holds special respect for the elderly, this may have no connection with the number of older people appearing in Japanese commercials. Respect for the elderly is not the same thing as regarding older people as ideals of beauty (and commercials are a world of “beautiful” people). Nevertheless, it could create a more positive representation of older people. Indeed, the supposed respect for the elderly in Japanese society is actually a highly disputed issue. Formanek (2008) shows that while there are traditional concepts of respect for the elderly, there is also a history of negative views of old age in Japan (331-333). In modern Japan, several surveys have revealed very negative views of older people, where Japanese agreed with prejudiced statements about older people to a much higher degree than did British or Americans (cf. Formanek 2008: 340).

Another reason for the underrepresentation of older people in advertising might be that older people identify with people who are actually 5 to 10 years younger than themselves (Stephens 1991; Yamasaki 2005). This leads to a use of younger models in advertising, even when targeting older people. Additionally,

some research shows that advertising agencies commonly believe that older models alienate younger consumers (Greco 1989; Szmigin & Carrigan 2000).

Although older people are still underrepresented, the number of older people clearly increased from 1997 to 2007. One reason for the increase of older people in Japanese television advertising might be the growing interest of companies and advertising agencies in the 50+ age group, which includes the baby boomers. It seems no coincidence that it is precisely this age group that strongly increased from 1997 to 2007. Using older people in advertising is only one way to target older consumers, and our interviews with several Japanese advertising agencies confirmed that this was just one method they adopted, among others.

As in the previous literature, we too found an underrepresentation of older females. This underrepresentation has remained consistent in the US, starting with Hiemstra et al. (1983), who reported a male vs. female ratio of 65.9% to 34.1%. Later papers found similar results. In Canada, older males outnumbered older females by as much as 2:1 (Moore & Cadeau 1985). In Korea, males outnumbered females almost 3:1. Findings in Japan were similar, where the number of older males was double that of older females (Yamanaka 2000). There was only one paper that mentioned more older females than males in TV commercials (Swayne & Greco 1987). According to Swayne & Greco, there were 57 females and 43 males in their sample. Their finding is an exception, though, and in general the fact that older males outnumber older females in television commercials seems to be a global phenomenon (Furnham & Mak 1999).

So, how do we read the underrepresentation of older females in Japanese television commercials? Western researchers usually refer to a type of sexism that celebrates younger females and ignores older ones (Lee, Carpenter, & Meyers 2007: 28). Roy & Harwood (1997) claim that “societal sexism extends, indeed perhaps intensifies, through the lifespan” (5). While aging enhances a man, it destroys a woman, or so the idea goes (cf. Simcock & Sudbury 2006: 100). This interpretation seems highly probable in the Japanese context as well; indeed Yamanaka (2000) notes the preference in commercials for young and beautiful women. Arima (2003) also found that most females in Japanese commercials were young.

There might also be other reasons for the low usage of older females in commercials, but these are still only assumptions and must be further analyzed. While one cultural stereotype is that Japanese women manage the household expenses, another suggests that the main decision makers, especially for bigger and more expensive products, are usually men. Another possible factor is that the advertising agencies and media who produce and broadcast the commercials are still dominated by men, who might favour younger female models. One might add that even magazines for women encourage an ideal of beauty that is very much connected with youth (Clammer 1995).

Product categories were examined by most studies, which produced some

shared findings. In commercials including older people, the following product categories were reported to be especially dominant: Foods/Beverages dominated in most studies (Hiemstra et al. 1983; Swayne & Greco 1987; Atkins & Jenkins 1990/1991; Yamanaka 2000; Zimmerman 2001; Lee, Kim, & Han 2006; Simcock & Sudbury 2006; Lee, Carpenter, & Meyers 2007; Prieler 2008). Other strong categories were financial/insurance (Roy & Harwood 1997; Zimmerman 2001; Lee, Kim, & Han 2006; Simcock & Sudbury 2006; Prieler 2008) and health products (Hiemstra et al. 1983; Atkins & Jenkins 1990/1991; Yamanaka 2000; Zimmerman 2001; Lee, Carpenter, & Meyers 2007; Prieler 2008). Some researchers also identified product categories that made a poor showing in commercials featuring older people. These categories included automobiles (Hiemstra et al. 1983; Roy & Harwood 1997; Lee, Kim, & Han 2006; Simcock & Sudbury 2006), personal products and cosmetics (Hiemstra et al. 1983; Lee, Kim, & Han 2006; Simcock & Sudbury 2006), games/toys (Hiemstra et al. 1983; Lee, Carpenter, & Meyers 2007), and travel (Hiemstra et al. 1983; Roy & Harwood 1997; Lee, Carpenter, & Meyers 2007).

In this study the product category foods/beverages was also very strong. There are several reasons for the importance of the product category foods/beverages within commercials including older people. First of all, this was by far the most dominant product category among all commercials, not only for commercials featuring older people. Therefore, this result does not tell us much about the overall importance of older people in such commercials. As already pointed out, there are commercials for other product categories that boast a higher percentage of older people. The high number of older people in commercials for foods and beverages might also be connected with the appearance of multiple age groups. As Prieler (2008) notes, the appearance of multiple generations is especially common with food products, since the producers want to emphasize that every generation will enjoy their product. The consumption of food is unquestionably a social context where several generations frequently come together.

Conclusion

This article has confirmed results from previous research, such as the underrepresentation of older people; an even more pronounced underrepresentation of older females; and that the product category foods and beverages dominates within ads featuring older people. On the other hand, this article has also contributed new results. Our project is the first English language study on Japan and is much broader in scope than Yamanaka's study (Yamanaka 2000, in Japanese). Moreover, our research is also the first study worldwide that compares two time periods, i.e. 1997 and 2007. This has led to new and interesting results, such as our

observation that the number of older people in TV commercials increased over the decade between 1997 and 2007.

There have been substantial changes during the last ten years, especially in terms of the number of older people featured. However, there have also been several areas that have remained unchanged. This includes the underrepresentation of older people in general, especially those older than 65. This underrepresentation even becomes more glaring when one realizes that younger people are clearly overrepresented in Japanese television advertising. Additionally, the underrepresentation of older women has not only remained unchanged, but has become even more pronounced.

Japanese advertising agencies seem to have understood that older people have become an important market segment and have adapted to the situation. Nevertheless, there are still areas for improvement, for example a more realistic representation of older women. This is not just a simple issue of numbers, but – as indicated in the introduction – a distorted representation of older people that might have effects on society's perception of them.

As with any project, this research also has certain limitations. First of all, the general limitations of content analysis apply. In addition, we have analyzed television advertising to the exclusion of other media. Finally, the two coders were significantly younger than the models investigated, which could have led to slightly different results, although the research team did consist of members ranging from 30 to 60 years. Some limitations will be resolved in the next research steps. We are currently undertaking a second content analysis on the representation of older people, using only those commercials including older people. This method offers the opportunity for more detailed codes and deeper investigation. After this coding step, a qualitative analysis of the data will help provide additional insights. Mixing quantitative and qualitative methods and triangulating our results with data from archives and interviews with advertising agencies will allow us to dig deeper and better understand the underlying mechanisms and preconceptions that govern the representation of older people in Japanese television advertising.

NOTES

1. This content analysis on the representation of older people in Japanese television advertising is part of a larger research project. We would like to thank the Yoshida Hideo Memorial Foundation for supporting this project.
2. For this project, we define “older” consumers/people as 50 years and above (50+).
3. We would like to thank Yoh Murayama for helping with the coding of the commercials.
4. The male/female ratio does not include infants, since their sex could not always be determined.
5. See note 4.

REFERENCES

- ARIMA Akie (2003). “Gender Stereotypes in Japanese Television Advertisements”. *Sex Roles*, 49(1/2): 81-90.
- ATKINS T. Virginia, JENKINS Martha C., & PERKINS Michelle H. (1990/91). “Portrayals of Persons in Television Commercials Age 50 and Older”. *Psychology, A Journal of Human Behavior*, 27(4)/28(1): 30-37.
- CABINET OFFICE (2004). *Kōreisha no nichijō seikatsu ni kan suru ishiki chōsa kekka* [Opinion Poll Results on the Daily Life of Older People]. http://www8.cao.go.jp/kourei/ishiki/h16_nitizyou/index.html
- CLAMMER John (1995). “Consuming Bodies: Constructing and Representing the Female Body in Contemporary Japanese Print Media”. In SKOV Lise & MOERAN Brian (eds.), *Women, Media and Consumption in Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press. 197-219.
- COULMAS Florian (2007). *Population Decline and Ageing in Japan – The Social Consequences*. London: Routledge.
- DAVIS Brad & CARSON Auleen (1998). “A Content Analysis of 25 Years of Canadian Award Winning Television Commercials”. *Proceedings of the Australian-New Zealand Marketing Academy Conference*, Dunedin, New Zealand, 30 November-2 December: 525-537.
- DYER Gillian (1982). *Advertising as Communication*. London: Routledge.
- FORMANEK Susanne (2008). “Traditional Concepts and Images of Old Age in Japan”. In COULMAS Florian, CONRAD Harald, SCHAD-SEIFERT Annette, & VOGT Gabriele (eds.), *The Demographic Challenge: A Handbook about Japan*. Leiden: Brill. 323-343.

- FRANCHER J. Scott & JAY John (1973). "It's the Pepsi Generation ...': Accelerated Aging and the Television Commercial". *International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 4(3): 245-255.
- FURNHAM Adrian & MAK Twiggy (1999). "Sex-Role Stereotyping in Television Commercials: A Review and Comparison of Fourteen Studies Done on Five Continents over 25 Years". *Sex Roles*, 41(5/6): 413-437.
- GERBNER George, GROSS Larry, MORGAN Michael, & SIGNORIELLI Nancy (1986). "Living with Television: The Dynamics of the Cultivation Process". In BRYANT Jennings & ZILLMANN Dolf (eds.), *Perspectives on Media Effects*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum. 17-40.
- GERBNER George, GROSS Larry, SIGNORIELLI Nancy, & MORGAN Michael (1980). "Aging with Television: Images on Television Drama and Conceptions of Social Reality". *Journal of Communication*, 30(1): 37-47.
- GRECO Alan J. (1989). "Representation of the Elderly in Advertising: Crisis or Inconsequence?" *The Journal of Consumer Marketing*, 6(1): 37-44.
- HARRIS Adella J. & FEINBERG Jonathan F. (1977). "Television and Aging: Is What You See What You Get?" *The Gerontologist*, 17: 464-468.
- HARWOOD Jake (1999). "Age Identity and Television Viewing Preferences". *Communication Reports*, 12(2): 85-90.
- HIEMSTRA Roger, GOODMAN Maureen, MIDDLEMISS Mary Ann, VOSKO Richard, & ZIEGLER Nancy (1983). "How Older Persons are Portrayed in Television Advertising: Implications for Educators". *Educational Gerontology*, 9(2/3): 111-122.
- KOHLBACHER Florian & HERSTATT Cornelius (eds.) (2008). *The Silver Market Phenomenon: Business Opportunities in an Era of Demographic Change*. Heidelberg: Springer.
- KRIPPENDORFF Klaus (2004). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- LANGMEYER Lynn (1993). "Advertising Images of Mature Adults: An Update". *Journal of Current Issues and Research in Advertising*, 15(2): 81-91.
- LEE Byoungkwan, KIM Bong-Chul, & HAN Sangpil (2006). "The Portrayal of Older People in Television Advertisements: A Cross-cultural Content Analysis of the United States and South Korea". *International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 64(4): 279-297.
- LEE Monica M., CARPENTER Brian, & MEYERS Lawrence S. (2007). "Representations of Older Adults in Television Advertisements". *Journal of*

- Aging Studies*, 21: 23-30.
- MARES Marie-Louise & CANTOR Joanne (1992). "Elderly Viewers' Responses to Televised Portrayals of Old Age: Empathy and Mood Management versus Social Comparison". *Communication Research*, 1(4): 459-478.
- MILLER Darryl W., LEYELL Teresita S., & MAZACHEK Juliann (2004). "Stereotypes of the Elderly in U.S. Television Commercials from the 1950s to the 1990s". *International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 58(4): 315-340.
- Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (1995). *Census 1995*.
<http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/kokusei/1995/1513.htm>
- Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (2005). *Census 2005*.
<http://www.e-stat.go.jp/SG1/estat/ListE.do?bid=000001005118&cycode=0>
- Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (2007). *Family Income and Expenditure Survey*. <http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/sousetai/9.htm>
- MOORE Timothy E. & CADEAU Leslie (1985). "The Representation of Women, the Elderly and Minorities in Canadian Television Commercials". *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science*, 17(3): 215-225.
- NEUENDORF Kimberly (2002). *The Content Analysis Guidebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- NIKKEI KŌKOKU KENKYŪJO (2007). *Kōkoku Hakusho* [Advertising White Paper 2007]. Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha.
- PASSUTH Patricia M. & COOK Fay Lomax (1985). "Effects of Television Viewing on Knowledge and Attitudes about Older Adults: A Critical Reexamination". *The Gerontologist*, 25(1): 69-77.
- PETERSON Robin T. & ROSS Douglas T. (1997). "A Content Analysis of the Portrayal of Mature Individuals in Television Commercials". *Journal of Business Ethics*, 16(4): 425-433.
- PRIELER Michael (2008). "Silver Advertising: Elderly People in Japanese TV Ads". In KOHLBACHER Florian & HERSTATT Cornelius (eds.), *The Silver Market Phenomenon: Business Opportunities in an Era of Demographic Change*. Heidelberg: Springer. 269-277.
- ROBINSON Thomas E. II (1998). *Portraying Older People in Advertising: Magazine, Television, and Newspaper*. New York: Garland.
- ROY Abhik & HARWOOD Jake (1997). "Underrepresented, Positively Portrayed: Older Adults in Television Commercials". *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 25(1): 39-56.

- SHIRAISHI Nobuko (2008). "Media Use in the Ageing Society". In COULMAS Florian, CONRAD Harald, SCHAD-SEIFERT Annette, & VOGT Gabriele (eds.), *The Demographic Challenge: A Handbook about Japan*. Leiden: Brill. 513-530.
- SIMCOCK Peter & SUDBURY Lynn (2006). "The Invisible Majority? Older Models in UK Television Advertising". *International Journal of Advertising*, 25(1): 87-106.
- STEPHENS Nancy (1991). "Cognitive Age: A Useful Concept for Advertising?" *Journal of Advertising*, 20(4): 37-48.
- SWAYNE Linda E. & GRECO Alan J. (1987). "The Portrayal of Older Americans in Television Commercials". *Journal of Advertising*, 16(1): 47-54.
- SZMIGIN Isabelle & CARRIGAN Marylyn (2000). "Does Advertising in the UK Need Older Models?" *Journal of Product & Brand Management*, 9(2): 128-143.
- TUPPER Meredith (1995). *The Representation of Elderly Persons in Primetime Television Advertising*. Unpublished master's thesis. University of South Florida.
- YAMANAKA Seigō (2000). "Nihon no terebi kōkoku ni okeru kōreisha zō" [The Image of the Elderly in Japanese Television Advertising]. *Kōkoku Kagaku*, 40: 61-75.
- YAMASAKI Shinji (2005). "*Toshigata shinia*" *māketto wo nerae!* [Targeting the "Urban Type Senior" Market!]. Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Shimbunsha.
- ZHANG Yan Bing, SONG Yi, & CARVER Leilani Jensen (2008). "Cultural Values and Aging in Chinese Television Commercials". *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, 18(2): 209-224.
- ZIMMERMAN Linda L. (2001). *Television Commercials and Advertising Approaches for the Mature Market: A Content Analysis*. Unpublished master's thesis. California State University.