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The representation of older people in advertisements

by

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In recent years, the marketing and advertising industries have been criticised for neglecting older consumers, both in the markets that they target, and the characters that they depict in advertising copy (Treguer 1998; Long 1998; Thomas and Wolfe 1995; Corlett 1998; Peterson 1992; Langmeyer 1993). Critics cite an eagerness to use mainly young characters in advertisements, and a tendency to portray old age as undesirable as evidence of their ageism. In general, age discrimination has been given a low priority, but this is changing as demographics demonstrate growing numbers of older people in the population who have reason to protect and promote their value in society.

One reason suggested for the disinterest shown towards older people is the youthful profile of many of those working in advertising. The average age of most advertising executives is below fifty years, and many researchers have commented on the lack of empathy this seems to create with the over-fifties population (Greco 1989; Bedell 1998; Flanagan 1994; Treguer 1998). Thomas and Wolfe (1995) found that the average age of US advertisers' representatives was 31, and the average age of agency representatives was 28. A similar picture emerges in Europe, where executives are also in their 20's and 30's (Miller 1998; Treguer 1998) implying a disconnection between agency demographics and those of the marketplace (Lee 1997).

To some extent, this may explain the low levels of older characters used in advertising, as well as the inappropriate and stereotypical representation of older people when they are used (Long 1998; Moschis et.al. 1997; Salmon 1997; Peterson 1995; Langmeyer 1993; Zhou and Chen 1992). However, advertising agencies alone do not control the content of advertising copy. Often they are only the creative conduit for clients who themselves do not wish to associate their products with the older population, and continue to require youthful images for their commercials.

The reluctance of the marketing industry to target the older population is in part due to outdated and stereotypical notions of age and ageing. The over-fifties today form a very different profile from the 'elderly' of the past; healthier diets, improved life

expectancy and a widespread desire to feel younger for longer mean that they neither look or feel old, and certainly don't want to be viewed as such by marketers and advertisers. A lack of empathy among many marketers and advertisers for the needs of older consumers has manifested itself in communications which are often inappropriate for this new generation of over-fifties.

"I don't think that my age group is represented in advertising, and I notice that they are likely to put things in an advert that I am not interested in..." (Miller 1998)

"Unless they (i.e. advertisers) are talking about funeral plans or bus passes only a very small proportion are directed at older people." (Long 1998)

There is a belief among many marketers and advertisers that older people do not wish to see older characters in advertising. The suggestion is that younger characters offer more appropriate opinion leaders for older consumers. This belief was behind the removal of the high profile actress Jane Asher from the UK McVities biscuit campaigns, and actress Joanna Lumley from the Muller yoghurt campaign, both of whom were felt to be too old at 'fiftysomething' (Anon. 1997; Deevoy 1998). But is this really true? Certainly many people do feel cognitively younger than their chronological age (Barak 1987; Barak and Schiffman 1980; Stephens 1991; Carrigan and Szmigin 1999). But rather than wishing to see only young people to identify with in media images, older people also want to see images which are aspirational in their terms; healthy, fit-looking people in their age group (Miller 1998; Dychtwald 1997; Corlett 1998; Marrin 1999).

Deevoy (1998) suggests that perhaps,

"...the British consumer is learning to aspire to conditions other than mere youth?"

This is borne out by recent research conducted by NSM for IPC Magazines, who found that 62% of older women want to see women their own age in advertisements (Fairley 1999). One respondent stated,

“..it’s about time advertisers woke up and stopped using pelmet-skirted, fresh-faced 20-somethings to sell us (older people) everything from cars to financial services via hair conditioner.”

Apart from the belief that older characters are not effective with older consumers, there is also the concern among marketers and advertisers that older models in advertisements will alienate their most important audience - the youth market (Deutsch et. al. 1986; Mathes et al. 1985; and Mazis et al. 1992; Sawchuck 1995). However, this has never been equivocally proven, and there is evidence that older models are viewed at the very least neutrally, even positively, by younger audiences for many products (Greco et al. 1997; Gubernick 1996; Milliman and Erffmeyer 1990). Gubernick (1996) cites examples of advertisements for Compaq computers, and Clinique cosmetics depicting older consumers, which achieved positive reactions from all age groups, appealing to all market segments. Clearly we are not suggesting that older models be used for products exclusively aimed at young people such as acne treatment, and there is evidence that the patronage intentions of young people for more conspicuous purchases can be negatively influenced by the presence of older models (Day and Stafford 1997), but older consumers use washing powder and microwave meals, and yet are rarely seen to do so. If the purchase is non-conspicuous, younger people have been shown to be unaffected either by the use of older models or the mention of senior citizens benefits (Day and Stafford 1997).

It is important that marketers and advertisers do not fail to connect with their older audiences. Not only are Baby Boomers holding a large proportion of economic wealth - 80% of all financial wealth in the UK and Canada, and over 50% of discretionary income in the USA (Long 1998; Sawchuck 1995) - they are also major buyers of luxury products such as cars, alcohol, vacations and financial products (Sawchuck 1995).

In view of the criticism which has been targeted at the advertising industry about their hesitancy to use older models in advertising, the authors felt it would be useful to conduct research in the UK to see if this were the case in nineties print media. There have been several studies conducted in North America which have concluded that

younger models dominate advertisements in mainstream print media, even for products aimed at older consumers (Smith and Moschis 1985; Langmeyer 1993; Zhou and Chen 1992; Greco 1989; Ursic et. al. 1986; Gantz et. al. 1980; Peterson 1992; Peterson 1995). Roberts and Zhou (1997) conducted a study into advertising in *Modern Maturity* (the flagship magazine of the American Association of Retired Persons, AARP) to see if advertising in media predominantly for older people contrasted with that in mainstream publications. They found that the majority of advertisements in *Modern Maturity* did depict models aged over fifty (67.7%), and that the depiction was mainly positive. This suggests that there is recognition by advertisers in publications for older people that using older characters to reach a mature audience is acceptable.

The studies

Content analysis was chosen as a legitimate investigation technique, partly because it allowed the authors to replicate, compare and contrast past studies, and also because it has been proven as an objective, systematic and quantitative description of mass communications by past empirical investigation (Berelson 1952; Kassarian 1977; Kolbe and Burnett 1991; Krippendorf 1980; Cook 1992; Whitelock and Rey 1998; Carrigan and Szmigin 1998). While longitudinal studies particularly lend themselves to content analysis in terms of the availability of research material, the analysis of current communications as interpreted by those to whom they are directed are crucial for moving research in this area forward, and exploring relevant issues for the over-fifties.

There is a distinct lack of consensus over the chronological point which should be used for establishing what is meant by an older consumer. Past studies have chosen a range of ages from 45-65 years (Peterson 1992; Gantz et. al 1980; Langmeyer 1993; Ursic et al. 1986; Greco 1989). We chose 50 because not only is it frequently used as the starting point of the mature years life-cycle by numerous North American researchers (Roberts and Zhou 1997; Miller 1993; Zhou and Chen 1992) it is a common segmentation benchmark for UK practitioners such as the Sports Council

(1994), the Carnegie Inquiry (1993) and the Association of Retired Persons (ARP050 1998).

Study A was conducted using Peterson's (1992) research as a framework. We replicated his methodology with minor adjustments to account for UK variances, and to ensure reliability and validity. Both newspaper and magazine advertisements were examined in this study, since "these provide documented evidence of advertisers' philosophies in a structure that is directed to specific audiences" (Peterson 1992). The study used a content analysis of a sample of magazine advertisements appearing in *Good Housekeeping* and *Womens Journal*, and newspaper advertisements appearing in weekday editions of *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Telegraph*. These publications were chosen as according to the *National Readership Survey* circulation data, they have proportionately larger numbers of readers in the over-fifties age group than similar publications, and a higher percentage of those over-fifties adults in the ABC1 socio-economic category (see Table 1). Following Kassirjian's suggestions, a realistic sample of a manageable size was randomly drawn from 1997 publications. Using past research directions (Peterson 1995; 1992; Ursic et al. 1986; Balazs 1995; Roberts and Zhou 1997) we chose all advertisements which were at least one-eighth page in size, depicted at least one adult, and in which the model features could be clearly seen. A total of 246 advertisements were identified, which conforms to past study sample sizes (Kolbe and Burnett 1991), and is a sufficient number to be representative enough to allow generalisation (Kassirjian 1977).

In order to eliminate bias identified in past studies, it was decided to avoid using the authors as judges, and to use independent judges whose profiles were representative of the over-fifties target group, rather than younger people (Ursic et al. 1986). Peterson (1992) had used graduate students for his study and in his limitations had recognised that older judges would have been more representative. The judges chosen for these studies were male, aged fifty-one, and female aged sixty-four respectively, and both were ABC1. The choice of older judges replicated those used in the earlier Ursic study; this also reflected the authors belief of there being a significant difference between the perceptions of age demonstrated by younger adults compared to older adults in preliminary investigations. It was important to ensure that the analysts

judged the advertisements with an age perception of an over-fifties, ABC1 reader. Overall, objectivity was achieved by following guidelines given by Kolbe and Burnett (1991) and Kassirjian (1977), ensuring that there were systematic rules; the judges were trained; pretesting and retesting occurred; the judges were independent of the authors, and the judges worked independently of each other.

Study B was conducted using the same methodology. Magazine advertisements were examined using a content analysis of a sample of advertisements appearing in the following monthly publications: *Saga*, *Choice*, *Active Life* and *Goodtimes* (bi-monthly magazine for the Association of Retired and Persons over 50). These are the major UK publications carrying advertising which are aimed specifically at individuals aged over 50, and have a readership profile with a high percentage of over-fifties in the ABC1 socio-economic category (see Table 2). This would allow direct comparison between advertisements placed in publications specifically for the over-fifties in the UK, and those which have a wide-readership of over-fifties, but are not deliberately targeted at this group. Following the previous guidelines, a convenience sample was drawn from 1998 publications of the aforementioned magazines. A total of 75 advertisements were identified from the May 1998 editions, which conforms to past study sample sizes (Kolbe and Burnett 1991, Kassirjian 1977). Although the sample size may appear to have limitations compared to mainstream studies, given that there is only a small number of such specific 'age-targeted' magazines of this nature in the UK, and the authors established that advertisements contained are almost identical each month, it does conform to content analysis guidelines. The same over-fifties judges were used as for Study A.

The categories of analysis in both studies were as follows:

1. *Are the models in the advertisements:*

- a) *all over fifty years old*
- b) *all under fifty years old*
- c) *both under fifty and over fifty years old*

2. *Are the models aged over 50 years shown in a way that is:*

a) *favourable*

b) *unfavourable*

A model was considered to be over fifty if there was facial/posture evidence of ageing; a representation was considered *favourable* if the person was demonstrating competence, looking active, enjoying an activity; a representation was considered *unfavourable* if the person was demonstrating incompetence, looking weak, helpless or seemed impaired in any way. Pre-training established that the methodology was acceptable.

Aims of the research

The studies sought to identify the following:

- The percentage of 50+ people in advertisements in mainstream media compared to the percentage of 50+ people in the population
- The percentage of 50+ people in advertisements in media targeted at older people compared to the percentage of 50+ people in the population
- Whether or not the depictions of 50+ people in advertisements is more likely to be unfavourable in mainstream media.
- Whether or not the depictions of 50+ people in advertisements is more likely to be favourable in media targeted at older consumers.
- Whether or not the advertisements which depict 50+ characters are for a limited number of product categories

Results

Interjudge reliability is seen as a measure of quality of research (Kolbe and Burnett 1991). The most frequently used index is coefficient of agreement (the total number

of agreements divided by the total number of coding decisions). In study A, the interjudge reliability coefficient was 0.89, based on a total number of 436 agreements from a potential 492 decisions. In Study B, the interjudge reliability coefficient was 0.93, based on a total number of 140 agreements from a potential 150 decisions. Kassarian (1977) and Kolbe and Burnett (1991) state that in order for results to be reliable, interjudge reliability must be more than 0.8, therefore our results in each case are above the minimum suggested. In the retests carried out after study A and study B, both judges achieved 100% consensus on their previous decisions, which further confirms the reliability of the results.

Tables 3 and 5 clearly illustrate that the number of 50+ models in appearing in advertisements in mainstream publications, at 16%, is below that of the number of 50+ people in the UK population (25%). This suggests significant under-representation of 50+ adults in advertisements in mainstream publications, and corresponds with past US findings in similar studies. The findings have shown that the number of 50+ models appearing in advertisements in 50+ publications, at 70%, is well above that of the number of 50+ people in the UK population (see Tables 4 and 6). This corresponds with the study by Roberts and Zhou (1997) who also found that magazines targeting 50+ readers do feature a greater number of older models in their advertising content. As with previous studies (Langmeyer 1993; Peterson 1992; Zhou and Chen 1992) the small number of ads containing 50+ models eliminates the appropriateness of more elaborate data analysis including Chi-Square procedures.

Although the number of ads containing 50+ models in Study A was very small, the depictions were overwhelmingly favourable (90%, see Table 7). In Study B the depiction of 50+ models in advertisements was also found to be favourable in all cases (see Table 8). The results of Study B does correspond with the previous study by Roberts and Zhou (1997). This suggests that advertisers have recognised the need to portray older people in a favourable way. The findings contrast with earlier US studies on mainstream media, which found older models tended to be shown in an unfavourable light (Peterson 1992; Zhou and Chen 1992; Langmeyer 1993). However, the results of this study should be tempered by comments made by both respondents when deciding if a portrayal was favourable or unfavourable. Both judges stated that

many of the advertisements demonstrated products which helped older people overcome infirmity or disability. Depicting them overcoming these barriers was, in their judgement, '*probably*' a favourable portrayal, but both said that it was rather depressing to find so many advertisements fixated with disability and infirmity rather than portraying older people as able-bodied without the need of such mobility aids. This suggests that the findings may have highlighted a perceptive gap between what advertisers see as a positive portrayal and what the over-fifties consumer perceives one to be.

Table 9 shows the use of 50+ models by product category in Study A and B, and illustrates that the categories are both limited and concentrated in type. This coincides with results found by Zhou and Chen (1992) and Langmeyer (1993). Overwhelmingly 50+ models appear in advertisements for household appliances, travel and holidays, health products and financial services. In Study B when this was examined more closely, it was found that every advertisement in the 'Property interiors' category was for either a stair-lift, chair-lift, bath-lift or orthopaedic bed; in other words all home furnishings advertisements suggested some form of infirmity or disability among older people. Many categories were not represented by over-fifties characters, which could indicate that either the over-fifties are not being used by advertisers for more general product categories such as clothing or cosmetics; or that certain magazines are not considered suitably effective advertising space for certain product categories. We can only speculate whether or not older characters would be used if these publications carried advertising for broader categories of product. What is apparent from the studies is that a large number of disability/mobility related advertisements appearing together, and featuring older characters creates an unfavourable impression.

Overall our results show that in mainstream publications, older models remain under-represented in comparison with their numbers in the UK population. However, publications aimed at older consumers do contain an acceptable level of representation of 50+ adults in advertisements in comparison with the incidence of the over-fifties in the UK population. Although the respondents agreed the portrayals were favourable, the large number of disability/mobility related advertisements

featuring older models did cause a negative response. Whether or not this would have been the case had they been offset by greater numbers of older characters in other product advertisements remains conjectural.

Discussion

Replicating the North American studies has confirmed similar levels of under-representation of older characters in UK mainstream media advertising. But it has also revealed that UK advertisers who feature in publications aimed at older people do make greater use of older characters in their advertising. The main problem for 50+ publications is that many ads appear to feature debilitated older characters which is not the self-image that exists among the UK over-fifties.

How older people are featured in advertising has implications for the social and psychological well-being of such people. Smith et. al. (1984) found that advertisements provided expectational messages to older people about their behaviour. The negative portrayal of older people in advertising negatively affects their self-perception, as well as the wider societal attitudes towards older people (Swayne and Greco 1987; Zhou and Chen 1992; Langmeyer 1993). Advertising sends visual cues that are picked up by society. It is important that when older people are featured in advertisements, their depiction is a realistic reflection of their current status (Long 1998; Moschis et. al 1997; Salmon 1997; Peterson 1995; Langmeyer 1993; Zhou and Chen 1992; Greco 1989). The two studies undertaken here suggest that UK advertisers do portray older people in a favourable manner when they are used as characters in advertisements. The problem seems to be that mainstream advertising does not use them enough, and publications specifically for the older population carry too many advertisements for products which suggest that old age is mainly about overcoming health problems.

Guidelines and regulation for ageism in advertising

In the USA, Modern Maturity and the AARP have recognised the implications of such overwhelming numbers of 'infirmity' related advertisements. They argue that if they

carried all the large numbers of health-related advertising they could attract their publications would become a “depressing and highly deceptive statement about what being over 50 is like.” The outcome has been a set of advertising guidelines which screen advertising for Modern Maturity. In particular, they will only accept advertisements that do not “foster stereotypes and which accomplish that purpose without making a negative statement about ageing”(AARP 1998). Advertising must stress positive messages, and they decline ads that take negative approaches. The effect of this has been to exclude many of the predictable advertisements for health-related and remedy advertisements. When questioned about their editorial policy, none of the UK publications investigated (i.e. Saga, Goodtimes, Active Life and Choice) followed any advertising guidelines specifically related to older consumers, beyond the British Code of Advertising Practice. This only refers to discrimination in terms of race, religion, sex, sexual orientation or disability; there is no mention of discrimination in terms of age. The evidence suggests that without specific guidelines against ageism and stereotyping, as in the case of the AARP, there is the possibility that a large proportion of advertisements placed in 50+ publications will predominantly feature infirmity related products. The study highlights how a large number of such advertisements in the context of few other product advertisements can create a negative impression for the 50+ consumer. This suggests that UK magazines for older people may benefit from an advertisement screening process in order to limit the amount of advertising which creates negative perceptions of ageing.

The study also reveals that in mainstream advertising, older characters are less frequent in advertisements than their presence in the population might demand. It is debatable whether or not this situation could be improved by the introduction of advertising guidelines to encourage a more representative portrayal of older people. Although many feel that voluntary regulation works most effectively in controlling advertising, history demonstrates that legislation was an important milestone in the battle against racism and sexism. It is doubtful that without the weight of legislative force that ageism would be given the same priority (Worsley 1996; Smith 1996; Riddell 1996). However, examples such as AARP and Modern Maturity demonstrate how guidelines can make a difference. It may be that given the research findings, voluntary advertising codes and guidelines should contain specific wording to the

effect that causing offence on the grounds of age should be avoided. Not only might this raise awareness among marketers and advertisers, but it may encourage advertisers and marketers to consider greater use of older characters in their advertisements.

Baby boomer power

Clearly, older people would not be appropriate for every product category, but why not for detergents, or drinks or cars? If advertisers believe it is appropriate to target older people with older characters in certain publications, why is it not also appropriate to use older characters in other publications which reach the over-fifties audience? Concern about alienating younger audiences by using older characters may be one reason; doubt over the efficacy of using older characters to reach older consumers is another. Yet we have seen that older audiences do seem to be receptive to greater use of their own age group in advertisements. In the end older people themselves may bring pressure that demands just that. Demographic and economic trends are showing that older people are gaining in numbers and spending power. Advertisers and their agencies who continue to produce out-dated and simplistic social stereotypes are likely to find not only that their messages are less effective but also that they may offend one of the potentially most lucrative part of their market. A lack of identification with the roles portrayed is likely to reduce the attention, credibility, retention and later recall of any advertisement. Having worked for so many years to seduce and capture that Baby Boomer generation, do advertisers and marketers want to lose them at this life stage through inappropriate portrayal of ageing which risks the erosion of brand attitudes, brand images and brand loyalties (Lysonski and Pollay 1990)?

The use of more creativity and imagination in developing advertising aimed at the older generation would be a good place to start. Advertisers need to be persuaded to take a more 'upbeat' view of old age. Part of this can be resolved by advertising agencies encouraging their clients to use older models rather than continuing to focus upon under-35's. We have already seen that older people want to see relevant images

of their age group in advertisements. Commercially this may create a more persuasive message to older buyers, but also by using more acceptable and more numerous depictions of older people in advertisements, advertisers can fulfil their ethical responsibilities. Advertisers may be unintentionally alienating the very audience they wish to target by using unrealistically youthful models for a product which is intended for a more mature generation. Using models which are a more appropriate reflection of the older consumer's self-image is likely to be a more successful tactic. This may mean neither using very young, nor very old models, but rather those which are a reflection of the cognitive age that older people relate to. Recent studies suggest that a cognitive age of 10-15 years younger is common among the over-fifties (Schiffman and Sherman 1991; Mather et. al. 1998). There is evidence of a small number of advertisers who have managed to create advertising which successfully uses older people as integral members of society. Persil have used older couples in their recent 'talking heads' campaign for washing powder tablets, as have Prudential Banking in their 'Egg' account advertising; Marks and Spencer have featured a mother and daughter in their jeans campaign; and even designers Donna Karan and Giorgio Armani have used female model Benedetta Barzini, who is visibly over fifty.

There are good reasons for marketers and advertisers to be more positive about the use of older characters in their advertisements. Firstly, the threat of legislative control is never too far away from the heels of the advertising industry. If the lobby against ageism grows with significant pace, there may well be the introduction of stricter regulation to ensure that older people are more fairly represented in advertisements. Secondly, the public themselves will react adversely towards the advertising industry, and the manufacturers of the products involved with negative images of older people. As we have seen, the over-fifties are a group with large amounts of disposable income, and the marketing knowledge to spend discriminatingly. If the choice is between a brand that reflects a positive attitude to their generation, or one that demonstrates a negative attitude, the decision is not too hard to predict.

Conclusion

The research has shown that in the UK, as in North America, mainstream advertisers are not using older people to any great extent in their advertisements. Although those advertisements which appear in magazines targeted specifically for the over-fifties do use older models, too many of the advertisements are for a limited range of products which emphasise incapacity in old age. This is clearly no longer a true picture of the reality of life at fifty years and over in today's society. Many over fifties today reject these negative stereotypes, and are living fit and active lives. Advertisers who are not willing to use older characters are not only perpetuating their own inherent prejudices against old age, but influencing those of the rest of society by their example.

Already in the UK the BBC and Age Concern have identified the under-representation of older people on television, and are seeking to rectify the situation (Cumberbatch et. al. 1998). It will become increasingly untenable for advertisers to continue to ignore older consumers, or depict them inappropriately. Whether or not the industry will respond without the weight of regulation or legislation is more doubtful. It is not that the industry does not recognise the attractiveness of older consumers as customers, it is simply that they seem so far unable to respond suitably to their needs. Voluntary guidelines from advertising regulators may act as a catalyst for industry change, and have already proven their effect in the success of Modern Maturity. Our recommendation would be that more general industry guidelines be adopted in the USA and Europe along the lines of the Modern Maturity to raise awareness of ageism and encourage more socially acceptable advertising.

Advertisers and marketers may take some persuasion, and it is the responsibility of researchers to demonstrate to advertisers that the public can perceive old age in a positive way, and that associating products with older consumers does not necessarily raise negative connotations. . . Recent reports by Age Concern and the BBC (Cumberbatch et. al. 1998); Carat Insight (1998); and IPC magazines (Fairley 1999) have shown that older people are dissatisfied with current advertising which seems irrelevant to them, and fails to portray older people appropriately. If advertisers can be persuaded that using older models will not alienate their traditional markets, then we shall be one step towards reflecting the reality of a useful and active old age.

There is a need for more consumer research to focus upon older people. Work is required to investigate firstly, whether or not older characters should be used in advertisements and for which product categories. It may be that age of characters for advertisements is category specific in terms of their appeal to older people. So, it may be suitable to use fortysomethings to advertise cosmetics but not for clothing; or fiftysomethings should advertise cars but not credit cards . Advertisers may need to use older characters in less traditional product categories to raise awareness with the over fifties that a product is relevant to them. Clearly these are issues that warrant further investigation before a definitive answer can be reached.

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Publication	% readership aged 50+	% of readership ABC1
Daily Mail (weekdays)	50	64
Daily Telegraph (weekdays)	51	82
Good Housekeeping	41	71
Womans Journal	55	68

Source: NRS October 1996- September 1997

Table 1: Readership profile of Study A publications

Publication	% readership aged 50+	% of readership ABC1
Choice	56%	40%
Saga	84%	73%
Goodtimes	100%	48%
Active Life	100%	57%

Source: NRS October 1996- September 1997; Murphy 1996; Active Life (1998); ARP050(1998)

Table 2: Readership profile of Study B publications

No. of ads agreed	Ads with models under 50	Ads with 50+ models	Percentage of ads with 50+ models
218	210	36	16%

Table 3: Frequency and percentage of appearance of 50+ models in newspaper and magazine advertisements, Study A

N.b. Some advertisements contained both under fifties and 50+ models.

No. of ads agreed	Ads with models under 50	Ads with 50+ models	Percentage of ads with 50+ models
70	42	49	70%

Table 4: Frequency and percentage of appearance of 50+ models in magazine advertisements, Study B

N.b. Some advertisements contained both under fifties and 50+ models.

No. of 50+ advertisements shown	Percentage of those shown in a favourable manner	Percentage of those shown in an unfavourable manner
29*	90%	10%

*(no. of agreed ads for this question. Interjudge reliability remains over 80%)

Table 7: Representation of 50+ models in advertisements, Study A

No. of 50+ advertisements shown	Percentage of those shown in a favourable manner	Percentage of those shown in an unfavourable manner
37*	100%	nil

*(no. of agreed ads for this question. Interjudge reliability remains over 80%)

Table 8: Representation of 50+ models in advertisements, Study B

Product category	% featuring 50+ models/ Mainstream media, Study A	% featuring 50+ models/ 50+ media, Study B
Alcohol	0	0
Cameras	0	0
Cars	0	0
Clothing	3	2
Diet Aids	0	0
Entertainment	6	0
Financial Services	6	27
Food	14	2
Health and Medicine	14	16
Homes/Estate Agents	3	0
Household appliances	19	4
Household Goods	0	0
IT(computers etc.)	0	2
Jewellery	0	0
Media	0	0
Personal Care	8	0
Property - gardens	0	2
Property - interiors	0	33
Society	8	4
Sports Goods	0	0
Tobacco	0	0
Travel and holidays	16	8
Total	100%	100%

Table 9: Product category of advertisements featuring 50+ models, Study A and B.