

Asians and Westerners in American and Japanese Television Commercials 1982-1998

Yayoi ANZAI

Summary

This is a series of content analyses of portrayals of Asian characters in American television commercials and Western characters in Japanese television commercials. Asian characters in America and Western characters in Japan were coded to find mutual images. The first study was conducted in the fall of 1983 analyzing television commercials broadcasted in 1982. This updated study examines their portrayals in each other's country in order to answer the following questions 1) What are the demographic characteristics of Asian characters in American television commercials and of Western characters in Japanese television commercials broadcasted in 1998? 2) What are the significant changes in these portrayals during the 16 year period? These questions are important for the reason that how characters are portrayed on television potentially influences not only the audience's conceptual world but also their behavior.

1. Introduction

This content analysis pertains to answer the questions: 1) what are the demographic characteristics of the Asian characters in American television commercials and the Western characters in Japanese television commercials? 2) What are the significant changes of those portrayals between 1982(Anzai, 1983) and 1998? The results showed significant differences in those portrayals. These questions are important because how characters are portrayed on television potentially affects not only the audience's conceptual world, but also their behavior.

1.1 Television

Television is the most pervasive mass media both in Japan and in the United States. In Japan, Economic Planning Agency(1994) reports that 99.1% of Japanese households owned a television set in 1992. Video Research(1998) reports that Japanese watched an average of four hours and four minutes of television per day in 1998. More time was spent on television than other mass media including television, newspapers, magazines, books, CDs and videotapes. In the U.S., National Association of Broadcasters (1999) reports 98% of US households own a television, and 67% of households own two or more television sets. American households view an average of 6 hours and 57 minutes of television daily. Americans watch an average more than three hours each day (Nielsen, 1990). These statistics indicate that both Japanese and Americans spend a great deal of time watching television.

Though Americans and Japanese spend considerable time watching television, most viewers use television relatively nonselectively, and almost ritualistically (Gerbner, Gross, Jackson - Beek, Jeffries - Fox & Signorielli, 1994). Signorielli (1986) states that generally the amount of viewing relates to the lifestyle of the viewer. The audience is always the group available at a certain time of day, week, and season. Viewing decisions depend more on the viewer's schedule than on the program.

1.2 Stereotypes

Hamilton and Troler (1986) define stereotypes as cognitive structures that contain the perceiver's knowledge, beliefs, and expectancies about some human group. Thus, when a person is categorized as a member of a racial group, attributes or traits of the group are assigned to him (Grant, P., and Holmes, J., 1981). These stereotypes may be influential especially in cross - cultural communications when interactants lack direct personal experience.

Television conveys these stereotypes powerfully by emphasizing some aspects of reality and ignoring other aspects of reality. Gerbner et al. (1994) claim, "Television's dramas, commercials, news, and other programs bring a relatively coherent system of images and messages into every home." Cultivation theorists and other researchers have shown that regardless of the type of the program, television, as "the storyteller of our age", presents relatively stable depictions of stereotypes and creating a mainstreaming on the audience. Thus, a content analysis of television commercials allows us to view the television representa-

tions of characters and elicit their stereotypes.

1.3 Content Analysis in America

Cultivation theory, which assumes that heavy viewers are more likely to perceive reality as it is portrayed on television than light viewers, prompted many of the content analyses of television. Characters in television are coded based on the researchers' categories, and the results are compared generally with the demographic data in reality. African Americans, for example, claimed that they were underrepresented in television compared with census data. As a result, they increased their visibility on television, especially with the stimulus of the civil rights movement. The census has been an effective index in analyzing the population as portrayed on television.

In general, racial minority characters have been underrepresented when compared with their proportion of the population. However, the representation of African American characters has improved significantly. Gerbner (1993) reports that they appear 3% to 11% depending on the type of program. These percentages indicate improvement as far as frequency of representation is concerned. It should be noted, however, that this increase occurred at the expense of other minority groups.

Other minorities appear rarely. Greenberg (1980) noted that minorities other than African Americans appear in about 3% to 4% of prime time television characters. It is reasonable to assume that Asian characters appear rarely in television dramas in America. Gerbner (1993) summarizes his study by saying "Latino/Hispanic characters were rare, and the remaining U.S. minorities were 'most conspicuous by their absence'" (p.4). Greenberg and Brand (1993) point out, "If you want to see racial diversity on Saturday morning television, watch the commercials and skip the program" (p.135) because advertisers are more sensitive to racial diversity than programmers. These findings indicate Asian characters barely exist in American television.

The Lack of interest in Asian characters is not limited to television programming. A similar lack of interest is seen in mass communication in general. A study by Anzai, Dee and Subervi (1986) of Japanese portrayals in American television commercials found that Japanese characters play very limited roles. Male characters appeared more frequently than female characters. Japanese appear in 3.5% of television commercials and were in their twenties, thirties and forties and were most often (96.5%) in background roles. A sizeable percentage of them engaged in leisure activity or working contexts; a high percentage (87.7%) advertised automobiles and related parts.

1.4 Content Analysis in Japan

Several Japanese researchers conducted content analyses of the portrayals of foreign characters in Japanese television commercials (Anzai, Dee and Subervi, 1986; Hiyoshi. A., 1997; Katori. M., 1995; FCT, 1991). Though the definition of foreigner, westerner, or American differs according to the study, these definitions cover similar domain. The findings of these researchers allow some general inferences on the portrayals of Westerners in Japanese television. Westerners appear in between 18% to 30% of television commercials. Male characters appear more frequently than female characters. They are mostly whites. Male characters appear older than female characters, and male characters show the wider age distribution than female characters.

Anzai et al. (1986) studied how American and Japanese audiences perceive these portrayals. They found that both American and Japanese audiences receive the impression that American characters in Japanese television commercials appear to be higher in socio - intellectual status and attractiveness than Japanese characters in American commercials.

1.5 Effects of television

Since 1970, cultivation theory has been a dominant influence on the study of the effects of media. It posits that television viewing shapes viewers' conception of social reality. Research has found that heavy viewers tend to have views of the world that are more in line with the reality television represents. The correlation between television viewing and social reality is stronger when the researchers limited the type of program viewers watched. For example, heavy viewers of news perceived reality as more dangerous than light viewers(Gerbner et al., 1994).

Another dominant theory of the effects on the formation of social stereotypes is Bandura's social learning theory. This theory emphasizes the importance of observing and modeling the behaviors, attitudes, and emotional reactions of others in the formation of personal values, beliefs, and stereotypes(Bandura, 1994).

Mediated information plays a significant role in shaping a social judgement, especially when direct information is limited. Armstrong, Newendorf, and Brentar (1992), for example, have reported that media exposure affected white college students' racial attitudes, particularly for those who had little direct interracial contact. Fujioka (1999) also has reported that the

media could affect one's impression of other races and suggested that effects of mass media are more significant when direct information is limited.

1.6 Research Questions

To determine whether Westerners and Asians are stereotyped in each other's television commercials, this study begins with a content analysis centered on the question " what are the demographic characteristics of the Asian characters in American television commercials and the Western characters in Japanese television commercials? The second part of the study deals with the question " what are the significant changes of those portrayals between 1982 (Anzai, 1983) and 1998? The variables considered in this study are 1) character sex, 2) character age, 3) role significance, 4) context, and 5) the type of product advertised.

2. Method

2.1 Television commercial samples

Television was selected for content analysis rather than other mass media because of the pervasiveness of television in America and Japan. Television commercials were recorded from 19:00 to 22:00 during the same sample week of 1998, both in America and Japan. NBC from US, TBS from Japan. These stations were selected because the research in 1983 randomly selected them. The recording time was selected because it is the prime time in the U.S. and eliminating the local programs avoids confounding results. A Western character was defined as someone who lives in or comes from the West.

The West is the western part of the world, especially western Europe and North America (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English). An Asian was defined as a person of or from Asia (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English). They were distinguished from other people by their verbal and nonverbal behavior.

2.1 Inter-coder Reliability

Two trained bilingual coders coded all television commercials in the sample. The coders thus provided double - coded data. After all coding was conducted, the data were checked for agreement. Whenever disagreement was found, a third coder coded the television commercial.

In this way, the data yielded one data set with agreement by at least two coders. The acceptable level of inter - coder reliability was set at 90%. Inter - coder reliability ranged from 90.9% (for character age) to 99.5% (character sex).

3. Results

3.1 Comparison of Asian Characters in American television commercials and Western characters in Japanese television commercials in 1998

The total number of American television commercials covered was 603. Of this total 18 Asian characters appeared in 18 (3.0%) television commercials. The total number of Japanese commercials covered in this study was 775. Of this total, 403 Western characters appeared in 106 (13.7%) television commercials. Thus, the results indicate a significant imbalance in the proportions of these portrayals.

Table 1 shows sex composition of the characters. Asian characters consisted of 3 (16.7%) males and 15 (83.3%) females. Western characters consisted of 248 (66.7%) males and 124 (33.3%) females. There were 31 characters who were babies or who appeared too briefly for coders to identify their sex. Thus, Asian female characters appeared more frequently than Asian male characters in America whereas the opposite is true for Western characters in Japan. Using the chi - square test, statistical significance was obtained at a probability of less than 0.001 with $X^2=18.7$ and $df=1$, indicating the difference in the sex composition of Asian and Western characters.

Table 2 shows the age of Asian and Western characters. American television commercials represented a smaller age range than that of Western characters in Japanese television commercials. The Asian characters appeared to be under twenties bracket. The Western characters were seen in all age brackets with a concentration in the twenties bracket. The t test was applied to the comparison for the age distribution; the difference was statistically confirmed at $p < 0.01$ with a value of 3.38.

Table 3 shows the role significance of Asian and Western characters. As for Asian characters in American television commercials, 2 (11.1%) characters appeared in major roles, 10 (55.6%) in supporting roles and 6 (33.3%) appeared in background roles. In Japanese television commercials, on the other hand, 64 (15.9%) Western characters had major roles, 115 (28.5%) had supporting roles and 224 (55.6%) had background roles. The chi - square test was employed, and the comparison of roles of Western and Asian characters produced a value of

$p < 0.05$ with a value of 6.05. This indicates a significant difference in the representation of Western and Asian characters.

Table 4 represents the context in which Asians and the Western characters appeared. A sizeable proportion of both Asian and Western characters appeared in leisure activities: 13 (72.2%) Asian characters and 196 (48.6%) Western characters. Two (11.1%) Asian characters appeared in a working context compared with 161 (40.0%) Western characters in this context. Three (16.7%) Asians appeared as models compared with 46 (11.4%) Western characters. The chi - square test was applied and the comparison of the context in which Western and Asian characters appeared produced a value of $p < 0.05$ with a value of 6.04, indicating the difference in the context in which Asian and Western characters appeared.

Table 5 represents products advertised by Asian and Western characters. The products that Asian characters advertised most frequently in American television were entertainment, and service (55.6%), medicine (11.1%), sweets (11.1%) household appliances (11.1%), and music instruments (11.1%). On the other hand, 30.0% of Western characters appeared in automobile and related parts commercials, 19.1% of them appeared in commercials for music instruments. These two categories account for approximately half the products advertised. The remaining Western characters were frequently seen in entertainment and service (10.7%), sweets (8.9%), soft drinks (8.4%) and cosmetics (8.2%).

3.2 Comparison of television commercials in 1982 and in 1998

A comparison of the television commercials in 1982 (Anzai, 1983) and in 1998 found significant changes in 16 years. The target of the analysis in 1982 was Japanese characters in American television commercials and American characters in Japanese television commercials. This comparison will infer general tendencies of Asian and Western characters since they are representative of Asians and Westerners, which are the target of the analysis in this study.

As for the frequency of the characters' appearances, Asian characters remained stable around 3% in these two periods. On the other hand, the frequency of Western characters appearances decreased from 20% in 1982 to 13.7% in 1998.

Table 6 - 1 and 6 - 2 show the sex composition of these portrayals in 1982 and 1998. Male dominance was confirmed both for Asian and Western characters in 1982. In 1998 the same tendency was found for Western characters in Japanese television commercials, but Asian female characters in American television commercials greatly increased, with females dominant over males. Using the chi - square test, statistical significance was obtained for

Asian characters at a probability of less than 0.001 with $X^2=21.4$ and $df=1$, and for Western characters at a probability of less than 0.01 with $X^2=8.63$ and $df=1$.

Table 7 - 1 shows the age of Asian characters in American television commercials in 1982 and in 1998. The average age in 1982 was 26.7 years while the average age in 1998 was 17.1 years. The t test was applied to the comparison for the age distribution; the difference was statistically confirmed at $p<0.001$ with a value of 4.44. Closer examination reveals that there was a statistical difference in the age of Japanese and Asian males at $p<0.001$ with a value of 5.0. Thus, Asian males in American television commercials appeared younger in 1998 than in 1982. Concerning Asian female characters, statistical difference was not found between these two periods at a probability of less than 0.05.

Table 7 - 2 shows the age of Western characters in Japanese television commercials in 1982 and 1998. The average age of Western characters was 22.4 years in 1982 and 23.2 years in 1998. The t test was applied to the comparison for the age distribution; the difference was not confirmed at $p<0.05$.

Tables 8 - 1 and 8 - 2 show the comparison of role significance of Asian and Western characters in 1982 and 1998. In 1982, most of the Japanese (96.5%) characters appeared in background roles. Apparently, more Asian characters appeared in supporting roles (55.6%) in 1998. The results were then compared with those in 1998. Using the chi - square test, statistical significance was obtained at a probability of less than 0.001 with $X^2=36.7$ and $df=2$, indicating a significant difference in the representations of Asian characters in 1982 and 1998.

As for Western characters in Japanese television commercials, 163 (32.0%) characters appeared in major roles in 1982, whereas 64 (15.9%) were seen in this role 1998. The results from 1982 and 1998 were compared. Using the chi - square test, statistical significance was obtained at a probability of less than 0.001 with $X^2=32.0$ and $df=2$.

Tables 9 - 1 and 9 - 2 represent the context in which Asian and Western characters appeared. The proportion of Asian characters in a working context decreased from 36.8% to 11.1%. A predominant proportion of Asian characters appeared in a leisure context both in 1982 and 1998. The chi - square test indicated the significant difference at $p<0.01$ with $X^2=12.6$ and $df=2$. As for Western characters, they appeared in leisure contexts most frequently, followed by working contexts. Chi - square test yielded $X^2=75.6$ with $df=2$, indicating significant difference at $p<0.001$.

Tables 10 - 1 and 10 - 2 represent products advertised by the Asian and Western characters in 1982 and 1998. In 1982 the predominant proportion of Asian characters (87.7%) in American television commercials appeared in automobiles and related parts commercials in.

In 1998 they were frequently seen advertising for entertainment and service (55.6%), sweets (11.1%), medicine (11.1%), household appliances (11.1%), and music instruments (11.1%) in 1998.

4. Discussion

- 1) Asian characters appear to portray ethnic diversity in America, whereas Western characters appear as a culturally dominant group in Japan.

A great imbalance persists in the number of appearances of Asian and Western characters in TV commercials in each other's country. Asian characters appear in only 3% of American television commercials, while Western characters appear in 14% of Japanese television commercials, in which 18 Asian characters and 403 Western characters were included. Underrepresentation of Asian characters in America and overrepresentation of Western characters becomes evident when the results are compared with the census. The Asian and Pacific Islander population was estimated 3.8% of the total U.S. population in 1997. This statistic indicates underrepresentation of Asian characters in American television commercials. However, this discrepancy is not as great as those in television dramas or television entertainments. Greenberg and Brand's contention regarding advertisers' sensitivity to racial diversity is also true for a sample week of prime time television commercials. On the other hand, Westerners occupy far less than 1% of the total population in Japan. However, they appear in 14% of Japanese television commercials. Thus, the significant difference in these portrayals is that Asians are presented as one of the minority groups in America while Westerners are presented in 1998, as in 1982, as a dominant group in Japan.

The portrayal of television characters reflects advertiser's ideas of what will sell. The main purpose of advertising lies in audience persuasion; television commercials must appeal to the audience. The imbalance in the proportion suggests that Japanese are more concerned about Western people, their lives and their culture than Americans are concerned with Asians.

Frequent appearances of Western characters in Japanese television commercials is an indication of the admiration and respect for Western culture that has long been a part of Japanese culture. Because advertisers must communicate the viewers effectively within a very limited time frames, stereotypes are useful. Since Western characters convey desirable stereotypes to viewers, they are often employed in television commercials in Japan.

Westerners are portrayed as if all foreigners in Japan were Westerners. Since *foreigner* does not literally mean *Westerner* in Japanese, and Westerners are not the only international

partners of Japan, this portrayal is misleading. Japan trades actively with Asian countries, too. Additionally, the census shows that Koreans, Chinese, Brazilians and Filipinos are the most dominant foreign nationals living in Japan. Though the census is not the only way to know the accuracy of these portrayals, more frequent appearances of Asian characters will better reflect the real world.

On the other hand, Asian characters in American television commercials are used to represent ethnic diversity in American society. To portray this diversity, vague appearance of an Asian character is not enough to get the viewers' attention, though a major role is not required either. This change in advertisers' sensitivity to Asians indicates an improvement since 1982 where they were almost never seen in television commercials.

To elaborate the characteristics of the portrayals in the commercials, the following discussion proceeds according to the five variables in this content analysis.

- 2) Asian female characters outnumbered Asian male characters in America in 1998. This exceptional result is due to the stereotype of Asian female characters as gentle and attractive.

The sex of characters reveals that the dominant sex changes according to the country and the year aired. In American television, males outnumbered females two to one to three to one according to the program type (Signorielli, 1983; Greenberg, 1980, Busby, 1975). Contrary to past studies of this kind, Asian female characters outnumbered Asian male characters: they appeared five times more often than the males. This is a new finding in American television commercials in 1998. Representing ethnic diversity in America, Asian females played roles with positive stereotypes of gentleness and friendliness. This strong link between attractiveness and Asian female characters was not found for Asian male characters. They are often associated with seriousness. One Asian male character who appeared in supporting role was helping to bake cookies for a party. However, he looked quite serious, wearing a shirt and a pair of glasses. Thus, Asian female characters are more often associated with positive characteristics than Asian male characters.

Western characters in Japan, however, remain dominated by males. Male characters outnumbered female characters two to one. This finding is comparable to those for American television dramas.

- 3) Characters are mostly in their twenties regardless of the country and the year aired.

Age distribution shows female characters mostly in the twenties bracket. Male characters have wider age distribution both in America and Japan. This tendency is especially strong when characters play major or supporting roles. It is surprising that all Asian female characters with major roles and 88.5% of Western female characters with major roles fall in this age bracket. Furthermore, all Asian male characters with supporting roles also fell in this twenties age bracket. In other words, generally characters who will catch viewers' eyes are likely to be in their twenties. In looking at the world of television drama between 1969 to 1981, Signorielli (1983) contends that "the characters' population is structured to provide a relative abundance of younger women for older men, but no such abundance of younger men for older women. Men age slower and enjoy life longer." This general age distribution is confirmed in 1982 and 1998, both in Japan and America.

- 4) You will see an Asian character when a white, an African American and/or a Hispanic character appear in an American television commercial.

The results of role significance suggest approximately half of Asian characters (55.6%) appeared in supporting roles. Analysis of these Asian characters leads to an assumption that they appear under specific conditions. First, white character(s) appeared, followed by African American and/or Hispanic American characters. It was highly probable that Asian female characters appeared briefly in the next scene. It was as if one were looking at a mirror reflecting American census data. There was a clear intention to appeal to the various ethnic American audiences. This explains why Asian characters appeared frequently in supporting roles. American society has a layer of ethnic diversity. Asian characters cannot be in major role, and background roles are too small to get the audience's attention. A supporting role is perfect to this appeal to ethnic diversity. Thus, advertisers successfully suggest that they respect these minority groups.

Three examples of this type of television commercial are illuminating. First, K - mart, used a group of female characters in their twenties. Six women sang and danced, wearing Santa Clause costumes. The majority of them were whites, and the rest included one Asian, one African American, and a Hispanic. The Hispanic female character was in a wheel chair, and a white female character was pushing the chair. All of them seemed happy and friendly. Secondly, Best Buy showed close - ups of different races, one after another: whites, Hispanics, an African American male, and an Asian female. The Asian female character was smiling, holding a package, and talking with an African American character. This Asian female did not have identical role, but she was friendly. Thirdly, Vicks Vaporub showed several different

shots of a parent tucking a child into bed for the night. Here again, white, African American, and Asian characters appeared. These examples illustrate advertisers' sensitivity to minority groups.

With regard to minority portrayals, it is noteworthy that although diversity is shown in American television commercials, white characters and African American characters rarely interact. The commercials as a whole suggest a joyful atmosphere but are edited in such a way that different ethnic groups are shown in separate scenes.

A significant change in the portrayal of Asian characters from 1982 is the international appeal of these characters. In 1982 Japanese characters were used to suggest that a product was international. For example, a female character in a kimono appeared in a credit card commercial. This commercial suggested that the card could be conveniently used in a foreign country like Japan (Anzai et al, 1986). This type of international appeal was not seen in 1998.

5) Asian characters appear in limited contexts compared with Western characters.

Asians have limited job opportunities in American television, while Westerners have a wide choice of occupations in Japanese television. Regardless of the race of the characters or the country or the year the commercials are aired, television world is one of leisure. This is true when Asian and Western characters are compared in 1998, as well as when 1982 and 1998 are compared. Thus, the television world is more oriented to leisure than to work. Western characters tend to go to parties, hike, play basketball, relax on the beach and drive their cars. Asian characters in America generally engage in parties at home. As for the working context, Asian characters in America appeared as blue collar workers or clerks, while Western characters appeared as professors, teachers, astronauts as well as blue collar workers. Westerners appear in a wider range of occupations while Asian employment possibilities are somewhat limited, as blue collar workers and clerks. Advertisers do not recognize that Asians can be successful professionals.

6) Both Asian and Western characters showed changes in the products they advertised.

In 1982, Asian characters in American television commercials most often advertised automobile and related products. These commercials were sponsored by a Japanese automobile company. The Japanese characters and the products advertised are strongly linked. In 1998, Asian characters were not used, and the sponsor presented itself as an American company. In 1998 the product most often advertised by Asian characters was entertainment and service.

With regard to Japanese commercials in 1982, Western characters appeared most frequently in sweets and foods commercials, followed by automobiles and related parts. Automobiles and related parts were found to be the most frequently advertised product in 1998. A change was also seen in the type of characters seen in commercials. In 1982 there were many world-renowned middle-aged actors in automobile commercials. But in 1998 automobiles were advertised by ordinary Westerners. American characters also sold Food, Sweets and Soft drinks as a part of American life style in 1982. Now young Japanese characters have taken over these roles as opinion leaders. These differences again suggest a change in the relationship between Japanese and Westerners.

In summary Asians are still represented as one of the minority groups in America. Though they appear more often than they did 16 years ago, they generally appear to represent ethnic diversity in America. The improvement is in the increased frequency of Asians appearing in American commercials. However, as far as quality is concerned, Asian characters are not portrayed as unique individuals. There is considerable room for improvement in terms of quality along with more frequent appearances.

Westerners are represented as a culturally dominant group in Japan. They represent a wide range of ages, in various contexts, advertising a variety of products. Since Westerners are not the only foreign people in Japan and Japanese business is not limited to the Western world, Japanese should equally direct their attention to Asian people. More frequent portrayals of diverse Asians is essential in today's Japan.

Throughout this study, emphasis has been placed on the content analysis of television commercials. Cultivation analysis by Gerbner et al. is a study of the effects with a longitudinal perspective. He approaches his study with a hypothesis that "heavier viewers of television — those exposed to a greater degree than lighter viewers to its messages — are more likely to understand social reality in terms of the 'fact' they see on 'television'" (Gerbner et al., 1978, p.194). He provides supportive evidence for stable associations between patterns of television content and viewers' conceptions of social reality. Though television is not the only agent of socialization, it cannot be denied that for most people it is an important medium for learning about culture, and has the potential power to shape viewers' perceptions of the world. This study provides the data for the study of the effects, if any, of these portrayals in television commercials.

Table 1
Sex Composition of Asian and Western Characters

Race of Characters	gender		
	male	female	Total
Asian characters in American television	3 (16.7%)	15 (83.3%)	18 (100%)
Western Characters in Japanese Television	248 (66.7%)	124 (33.3%)	372 (100%)

Coders could not identify 31 characters.
X=18.7, df=1, p<0.001

Table 2
Age of Asian and Western Characters

Race of Characters	Age		
	·9	10·19	20·29
Asian characters in American television	2 (11.8%)	1 (5.9%)	14 (82.4%)
Western Characters in Japanese Television	25 (8.0%)	21 (6.8%)	186 (59.8%)

Race of Characters	Age			
	30·39	40·49	50·59	60·
Asian characters in American television	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Western Characters in Japanese television	29 (9.3%)	22 (7.1%)	13 (4.2%)	15 (4.8%)

Coders were unable to identify the age of one Asian character and 93 Western character.
t=3.38, p<0.01

Table 3
Role Significance of Asian and Western Characters

Race of Characters	Role Significance			
	major	supporting	background	total
Asian Characters In American television	2 (11.1%)	10 (55.6%)	6 (33.3%)	18 (100%)
Western Characters in Japanese television	64 (15.9%)	115 (28.5%)	224 (55.6%)	403 (100%)

X=6.05, df=2, p<0.05

Asians and Westerners in American and Japanese Television Commercials 1982-1998 (ANZAI)

Table 4
Context in which Asian and Western Characters Appeared

Race of Characters	Context			
	working	leisure	model	total
Asian Characters in American television	2 (11.1%)	13 (72.2%)	3 (16.7%)	18 (100%)
Western Characters In Japanese television	161 (40.0%)	196 (48.6%)	46 (11.4%)	403 (100%)

$\chi^2=6.04$, $df=2$, $p<0.05$

Table 5
Products Advertised by Asian and Western Characters

Advertised Products	Nationality of Characters	
	Asian Characters in America	Western Characters in Japan
Medicine	2(11.1%)	0(0%)
Alcoholic beverage	0(0%)	15(3.6%)
Soft Drinks	0(0%)	34(8.4%)
Sweets	2(11.1%)	36(8.9%)
Foods	0(0%)	6(1.5%)
Cosmetics	0(0%)	33(8.2%)
Miscellaneous Household item I	0(0%)	2(0.5%)
Household item II	0(0%)	0(0%)
Household appliances	2(11.1%)	4(1.0%)
Clothing	0(0%)	7(1.7%)
Music instruments	2(11.1%)	77(19.1%)
Automobiles and related parts	0(0%)	122(30.0%)
Precision machine	0(0%)	23(5.7%)
Entertainment, service	10(55.6%)	43(10.7%)
Banking, publications	0(0%)	2(0.5%)
Total	18(100%)	403(100%)

Table 6.1
Sex Composition of Asian Characters 1982-1998

Year	Gender			
	male	female	(Unidentified)	Total
1982	44 (77.2%)	13 (22.8%)	0 (0%)	57 (100%)
1998	3 (16.7%)	15 (83.3%)	0 (0%)	18 (100%)

$\chi^2=21.4$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$

Table 6.2

Sex Composition of Western Characters in 1982 and 1998

Year	Gender		
	male	female	Total
1982	279 (56.8%)	212 (43.2%)	491
1998	248 (66.7%)	124 (33.3%)	372

Coders could not identify 48 characters in total : 1982 and 31 characters in 1998.

$X=8.63$, $df=1$, $p<0.01$

Table 7.1

Age of Asian Characters in 1982 and 1998

Year	Age		
	.9	10.19	20.29
1982	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	31 (54.4%)
1998	2 (11.8%)	1 (5.9%)	14 (82.4%)

	Age			
	30.39	40.49	50.59	60.
1982	14 (24.6%)	12 (21.1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
1998	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

$t=4.44$, $p<0.001$

Table 7.2

Age of Western Characters in 1982 and 1998

Year	Age		
	.9	10.19	20.29
1982	22 (4.5%)	150 (30.5%)	141 (28.7%)
1998	25 (8.0%)	21 (6.8%)	186 (59.8%)

	Age			
	30.39	40.49	50.59	60.
1982	88 (17.9%)	45 (9.2%)	45 (9.2%)	0 (0%)
1998	29 (9.3%)	22 (7.1%)	13 (4.2%)	15 (4.8%)

The coders could not identify 109 characters. The difference was not significant at $p<0.05$

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Table 8.1
Role Significance of Asian Characters in 1982 and 1998

year	Role Significance			
	major	supporting	background	total
1982	1 (1.8%)	1 (1.8%)	55 (96.5%)	57 (100%)
1998	2 (11.1%)	10 (55.6%)	6 (33.3%)	18 (100%)

X=36.7, df=2, p<0.001

Table 8.2
Role Significance of Western Characters in 1982 and 1998

year	Role Significance			
	major	supporting	background	total
1982	163 (32.1%)	109 (21.5%)	236 (46.5%)	508 (100%)
1998	64 (15.9%)	115 (28.5%)	224 (55.6%)	403 (100%)

X=32.0, df=2, p<0.001

Table 9.1
Context in which Asian Characters Appeared in 1982 and 1998

year	Context			
	working	leisure	model	total
1982	21 (36.8%)	36 (63.2%)	0 (0%)	57 (100%)
1998	2 (11.1%)	13 (72.2%)	3 (16.7%)	18 (100%)

X=12.6, df=2, p<0.01

Table 9.2
Context in which Western Characters Appeared in 1982 and 1998

year	Context			
	working	leisure	model	total
1982	74 (14.6%)	351 (69.1%)	83 (16.3%)	508 (100%)
1998	161 (40.0%)	196 (48.6%)	46 (11.4%)	403 (100%)

X=75.6, df=2, p<0.001

Table 10-1
Products Advertised by Asian characters in 1982 and 1998

Advertised Products	Asian Characters in 1982	Asian Characters in 1998
Medicine	0(0%)	2(11.1%)
Alcoholic beverage	0(0%)	0(0%)
Soft Drinks	0(0%)	0(0%)
Sweets	0(0%)	2(11.1%)
Foods	0(0%)	0(0%)
Cosmetics	0(0%)	0(0%)
Miscellaneous Household item I	0(0%)	0(0%)
Household item II	0(0%)	0(0%)
Household appliances	0(0%)	2(11.1%)
Clothing	0(0%)	0(0%)
Music instruments	0(0%)	2(11.1%)
Automobiles and related parts	50(87.7%)	0(0%)
Precision machine	1(1.8%)	0(0%)
Entertainment, service	0(0%)	10(55.6%)
Banking, publications	6(10.5%)	0(0%)
Total	57(100%)	18(100%)

Table 10-2
Products Advertised by Western Characters in 1982 and 1998

Advertised Products	Western Characters in 1982	Western Characters in 1998
Medicine	18(3.5%)	0(0%)
Alcoholic beverage	36(7.1%)	15(3.7%)
Soft Drinks	54(10.6%)	34(8.4%)
Sweets	95(18.7%)	36(8.9%)
Foods	113(22.2%)	6(1.5%)
Cosmetics	38(7.5%)	33(8.2%)
Miscellaneous Household item I	0(0%)	2(0.5%)
Household item II	4(0.8%)	0(0%)
Household appliances	2(0.4%)	4(1.0%)
Clothing	48(9.5%)	7(1.7%)
Music instruments	5(1.0%)	77(19.1%)
Automobiles and related parts	65(12.8%)	121(30.0%)
Precision machine	17(3.4%)	23(5.7%)
Entertainment, service	5(1.0%)	43(10.7%)
Banking, publications	8(1.6%)	2(0.5%)
Total	508(100%)	403(100%)

Note. The data in 1982 are from *Mutual Images: Americans and Japanese in TV Commercials* by Anzai, 1983, Unpublished master's thesis, University of California, Santa Barbara. Copyright 1983 by Yayoi Anzai. Adapted with permission of the author. The raw data were computed again to do the comparison between 1982 and 1998.

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