MA Thesis Asian Studies: Politics, Society and Economy of Asia

Constructing the Elderly: A Multimodal Critical Gerontology of Japanese Advertising

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1. Introduction

Japan is currently home to the highest share of older people in the world and is still aging rapidly, in both absolute numbers and in proportion to other age groups. The absolute number of people of 65 and over in Japan has increased from around 15 million in 1990 to about 34 million in 2014[1] on a total population of 123 million and 127 million respectively. It is projected that in 2025 this number will rise to 37 million, while the total population of Japan will shrink in size[2]. When taking into account the decline in the working-age population this means that proportionally, in 1990 around 5 people of working-age supported 1 elderly person, while in 2014 2.3 persons of working-age supported 1 elderly person. If the projections are correct, in 2025 Japan will change to a society where well under 2 persons will support 1 elderly person. This long-term demographic change poses a number of issues for Japan in a not too distant future. For example, an aging population tends to result in labor shortages which understandably raises concerns about a future slowing of economic growth, while it also puts pressure on social security as the elderly begin drawing on their pensions. Not surprisingly, reporting on the demographic crisis by Japanese media has surged as well[3].

As a response to these demographic changes, neo-liberal constructs such as 'active aging' and 'healthy aging' have become part of the discussion surrounding aging in areas such as marketing strategies and public policy programs and politics; Japan's resolution to "Strengthening non communicable disease policies to promote active aging" got adopted at the 65th World Health Organization's General Assembly in 2012[4], which chose "aging and health" as its central theme for World Health Day. Furthermore, the Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare of Japan initiated stage two of its plan to "Strengthen Citizen's Health in the 21st Century", which sets out to promote national health so that older people in particular can live without being bed-ridden, and to create a sustainable social security system where different age groups support each other[5]. This

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1 Cia.gov, (2016). The World Factbook: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ja.html

2 National Institute of Population and Social Security Research, Population Projections for Japan (January 2012): http://www.ipss.go.jp/site-ad/index_english/esuikei/gh2401e.asp

3 When using for example the Factiva global news database, in 2016, when searching for Japanese news articles with the words 'declining birthrate' (少子化), 'pension' (年金), and 'declining birthrate and aging' (少子高齢化) in large news outlets such as the Asahi Shimbun and the Yomiuri Shimbun, the combined results were 6741, 16299, and 6872 articles respectively, whereas the same search query for 2012 results in 1042, 6640 and 1521 articles.

4 Report of the Study Group for Japan's International Contribution to 'Active Aging' (March 2014): http://www.mhlw.go.jp/file/05-Shingikai-10501000-Daijinkanboukokusaika-Kokusaika/0000044929.pdf

5 Healthy Japan 21, National Health Promotion in the 21st Century: http://www.dietitian.or.jp/english/images/health_japan21.pdf

demonstrates that sentiments grow that older people in Japan should age healthy for society's sake and be socially and physically active. The general idea is that healthy older people can enjoy a longer life with better quality, while they are able to manage their own lives as they grow older without needing costly medical care. Furthermore, active and participating older people should be able to keep doing paid or unpaid activities and productively contribute to society[6]. The elderly in Japan seem to agree in some degree; in a survey conducted in 2009 by Japan NGO Council on Aging (JANCA) a majority of senior citizens in Japan think 'positively' about working, and JANCA suggests that 'they' can "vitalize social economy both from the demand and supply sides'.

Despite the extensive coverage by media and the Japanese government on current aging trends, not much has been written about the subject of elderly representation within the Japanese media outside market and governmental research data which is surprising, especially seeing how the aging of society is such a pressing matter for many industrialized countries. The interest of businesses in the elderly when it comes to advertising strategies is understandable as there seems to be a silver lining to this change in demography; the elderly in Japan are often financially better off than younger generations, reaping the benefits of the economic boom years ago (Ogawa, Matsukura & Chawla 2011, 485). In fact, over the years elderly consumption in Japan has become higher than younger adults (Lee & Mason 2011), and the older generation in Japan can potentially represent a massive consumer segment when looking at the sheer numbers. Although this approach to demographic change seems like an opportunistic one, it is in this area is where most data on the representation of older people in the media can be found; in trying to tap into this 'silver market', companies have been compelled to create advertising strategies that include the elderly.

As noted by other authors on this topic, the research that does exist originates from English speaking countries and generally does not look outside Europe or the US; only a handful of major publications are done on Asian countries, let alone on Japan (Zhang, Yan Bing, et al, 2006; Prieler 2008; Chen 2011; Prieler, Kohlbacher, Hagiwara & Arima 2010, 2011, 2015). Japan is on the forefront on the issue of aging societies, and for this reason alone could prove to be a valuable region for gerontologist research in general. Of the research that does exist, Michael Prieler and Florian Kohlbacher are the most prominent authors on the topic of demographic change in Japan in terms of aging and business. More specifically, they have published a number of articles on marketing and innovation in an aging society such as Japan, looking not only at advertising but also on other topics such as an aging workforce in relation to human resource management. On the topic of Japanese

6 The elderly in Japan seem to agree in some degree; in a survey conducted in 2009 by Japan NGO Council on Aging (JANCA) a majority of senior citizens in Japan think 'positively' about working, and JANCA suggests that 'they' can "vitalize social economy both from the demand and supply sides': Jarc.net, (2016). 高連協提言「心豊かに暮らせる社会を」(2009年) | 高連協: http://www.jarc.net/janca0/?p=816

advertising and the representation of older people, they have published a number of articles based on the same sample of 28 days' worth of Japanese TV commercials collected systematically over two years (1997 and 2007). From this sample, they have presented findings that seem to be typical of other countries as well, but also phenomena that seem to be particular to Japan.

When questioning if the aging Japanese society will make the elderly a more frequently addressed target group in Japanese advertising, Prieler et al. see an increase in advertisements that feature the elderly in their sample. However like in the other researched Asian countries the numbers show that Japanese TV commercials still significantly underrepresented older people in proportion of the actual Japanese population in 2007 (Prieler 2008; Prieler et al. 2011). In line with these findings, older people are only scarcely part of advertisements that depict Japanese families. Commercials that use elderly within multiple age groups usually depict a family setting or different generations in a general way (Prieler 2008 ,272). Prieler argues that this seems to be inherent to the general reluctance of advertising companies to depict the elderly in commercials, a trend that seems to "overrule the traditionally positive perception of older people in Japan" (2007, 217) He points out in later articles however that this is a fundamental misunderstanding about how people view the elderly in Japan (2011, 2015). He figures that the supposed traditionally positive perception for elders in Japan is not a given, and that negative views of the elderly exist as well. As such, the majority of depictions were "neither favorable nor unfavorable, but neutral" (2015, 880). Another explanation for the lack of older people depicted in Japanese advertising families could be the steadily shrinking number of three-generation households (2007, 217). Japanese TV commercials from 1997 usually depict older persons within a multi-generational group, but the number of commercials that use older people exclusively has increased. This could point to an increased value of older people for various industries and commerce in Japan (2015, 881).

Gender and ageism in Japanese TV commercial has also been a point of interest. Prieler finds that the Japanese family seems to revolve around the gender ideals of Japanese men, even though most products advertised are targeted towards women. He then connects this to the idea that Japan is a male dominated society with an interest in keeping the traditional nuclear family alive (2007, 218). This also shows in terms of age distribution in that Japanese commercials tend to feature a higher percentage of older males than females. Furthermore, while elderly women are underrepresented, in the younger age segment this is the other way around, and younger females dominate in Japanese advertising. By the same token that young women seem particularly important to society and youth is more important to women, older women seem to have little importance in Japanese society (Prieler et al. 2011). This is consistent with other Asian countries like China, South Korea, Singapore, Indonesia and Malaysia.

In terms of product targeting, previous research has shown that like in other countries, foods

and beverages are the most prominent product category advertised by older people. Similarly, in the Japanese context this product category dominated in elderly representation. Most of the time however food and beverages are not specifically targeted towards the elderly, and older people often appear within multi-generational advertisements for this type of product. Prieler states that by depicting all age groups as satisfied with the product simply shows the universal appeal of the advertised product within multiple generations (2008). Unsurprisingly, other product categories that use elderly include pharmaceutical and financial/insurance advertisements. Additionally, previous research has shown that advertisers feel that advertising with elderly works best with products that are targeted towards older people (Prieler 2008, 274).

Research has shown that Japanese TV commercials are unique in their high usage of celebrities, with more than half of all commercials using one or more celebrities. The same is true when it comes to older celebrities in TV commercials, and they play an important role on Japanese TV in general. It is argued that Japanese celebrities are more down to earth or homely compared to other countries, and are therefore ideal for connecting to target audiences in various media like advertising. Furthermore, Japanese celebrities are closely linked to other forms of media and entertainment and often appear on TV shows or dramas while also appearing in advertisements during commercial breaks of those same shows (Prieler et al. 2010, 9). Like younger celebrities, older celebrities appeal to a wide audience; Prieler et al. argue that older celebrities function as a type of role model which younger and older people can relate or aspire to, as they "have achieved something in life" (2010, 17).

Most research mentioned in the literature examined uses an approach based on content analysis, and mostly discuss the proportion of advertisements which show specific characteristics or patterns. This is an important first step in understanding the representation of older people within advertising in Japan, however like most methods for analyzing texts, a content analysis has both strengths and limitations. It is easy to replicate for comparisons and seeks to be objective and by coding texts it can identify patterns and categories within a larger sample that could be overlooked otherwise. It is limited however in that it is a purely descriptive approach, and deals only with the surface meaning. It describes only its content and what is there, and consequently takes elements of advertisements out of its context without reading between the lines, potentially losing the overall meaning of the text analyzed and its place within a larger body of knowledge. As such, content analysis does not take into account the social and ideological setting of the discourse. Seeing how little the representation of older people in advertising in Japan has been investigated with a more qualitative approach compared to for example women in advertising, it makes sense to conduct a qualitative investigation on Japanese advertising targeted at older people to provide more context for the discussion surrounding this topic. Thus, following an academic tradition of analyzing

advertisements concerning issues such as gender, race, identity and age, this thesis will take a more in-depth look at Japanese elderly-orientated advertising for insight into how advertisers represents the elderly and how this fits into wider social practices in Japan. For this reason the following research question is formulated to help and center this thesis:

How are the Japanese elderly, their social relations and representations realized in Japanese advertisements for mobile technology, and what social and discursive practices are reflected in them and in what way.

This thesis uses advertising for mobile technology for the aim of this thesis. The Japanese mobile phone market having one of the highest diffusion rates of mobile phones in the world, and in an attempt to reactivate this seemingly saturated market, the mobile phone industry now targets the silver market with products aimed towards the elderly consumer. This will be further elaborated on in the chapter 2, where I will begin sketching a wider context of the Japanese mobile phone market. Here I will also illustrate how advertising can influence and represent identity, and how old age fits in the discussion on representation within media-created texts. Chapter 3 will be a methodology chapter which discusses the need for Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis as an approach to a critical gerontology of Japanese advertising, and will finally explain the actual work-steps followed for the analysis of chapter 4. In the fifth and final chapter of this thesis I will reflect on the findings of chapter 4 and return to the research question posed in this introduction.

2. Context

2.1 Japan's Mobile Landscape

Japan has years of experience in developing mobile technology with features that were years ahead, creating a mobile market with a variety of mobile phones unique to the rest of the world. Furthermore, Japan's mobile phone industry has a long history of targeting different demographic categories in different ways, developing mobile technology specifically designed for children and the elderly. This also means that advertisers of mobile products produce advertisements that specifically target these demographics. In addition with Japan's high diffusion rate of mobile technology with 142 million subscribers on a population of 126 million[7], the Japanese mobile phone market makes a fitting case for the aim of this thesis. To provide some context for this thesis it is useful to first discuss where this emphasis on usability comes from and how Japan's mobile market has evolved in this way.

The high diffusion of mobile technology is something the Japanese government and mobile

7 The number of subscribers of Mobile Telephone and Radio Paging (FY2016): http://tca.or.jp/database/

operators actively stimulated and promoted. Due to many different reasons such as globalization and demographic changes, in the 1990's private enterprises and the Japanese government chose to invest a vast amount of money into research and development and Japan's investments into technological development exceeded those of any other industrial nation (Breuer 2009, 328). This included technologies like mobile phones, 3G and optic fiber for faster Internet, paving the way for a technologically advanced nation with easy access to advanced technology like mobile Internet. Beating the rest of the world to the punch, Japanese were surfing the web on mobile phones as early as the late 1990's, while other developed countries such as the US did not have Internet access on their mobile phones until the late 2000's (Dasgupta, Susmita, Lall, & Wheeler 2005, 236).

However despite Japan's technical affinity with mobile technology and high mobile phone and mobile Internet penetration, its smartphone penetration rate ranked one of the lowest amongst other major industrialized countries. Compared to for example the UK and the US, Japan has been relatively slow in adopting smartphones with only a penetration of approximately 25 per cent in 2013, against 56 per cent in the US and 62 per cent in the UK (Fig. 1). These numbers alone show that technological adoption does not necessarily depend on economical prowess, technical feasibilities and infrastructures but on cultural realities, preferences and coincidences as well (Breuer 2009, 336). It is thus that even though mobile phones are used all around the world and the technological developments are similar on a global scale, it is important to understand that cultural factors and local human behavior affect telecommunication and other technological usage patterns and the other way around (Ishii 2004, 57). To understand how Japan's mobile market evolved the way it did, one would need to look beyond the technology of mobile phones and include other factors such as the social-cultural context of Japanese consumers and the Japanese mobile industry's business policies.

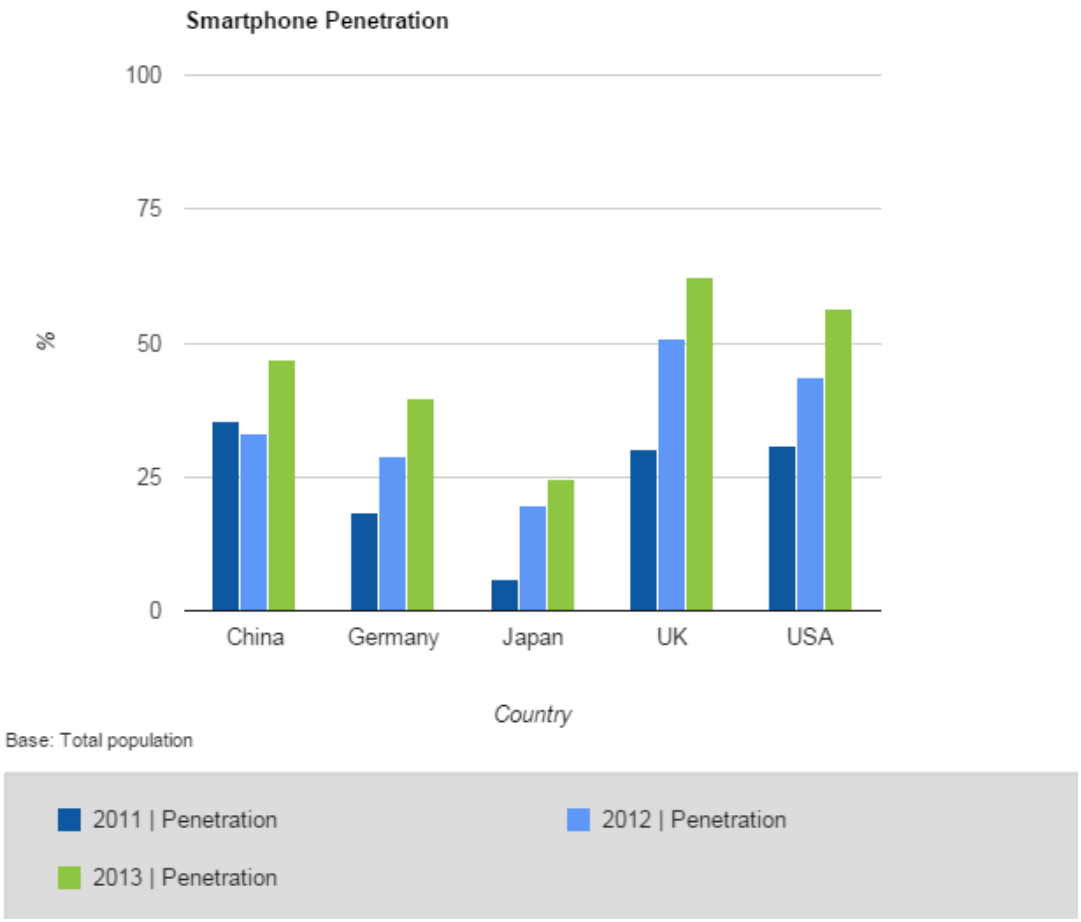

Figure 1: Smartphone Market Penetration in Japan[8]

As mentioned before, in the early days of the mobile market, the Japanese government and electronics industry looked at (mobile) development mainly from a technological or economical perspective resulting in an expensive commodity without much attention of Japanese consumers. It took years before the mobile phone market really took off. Hence even though Japan was the first country to have one of the most developed mobile phone markets in the world, the popularity of mobile technology was not brought about due to a technological revolution per se.

Due to the governments and providers' policy aimed on business applications of mobile technology, mobile phones were originally intended for business use only and were not actively promoted towards youths. Alternative possibilities of mobile phone usage became first apparent when in the hands of the *kogaru*, a teen street subculture contained primarily of high school girls. It was not until end-1990s, early 2000s, that mobile phones were used for private use. Current day

8 Think with Google: Mobile Trends: http://think.withgoogle.com/mobileplanet/

popularity of feature phones, or *keitai*[9], is mainly thanks to *kogaru*, whom caused the shift in mobile phone use from business to personal use. *Kogaru* were known for their social freedom that they inherited from college students through economic and demographic shifts (Kinsella, 2002, 222), and were seen as trendsetters in fashion, street style, low priced consumption and more. This "selection" of prospective trends, as Suzuki and Best refer to it (2003, 64), took part in a vast social network in which communication between high school students was important. By using pagers, PHS (the Personal Handy-phone System, an inexpensive version of the newer *keitai*), the *kogaru*'s social network was sustained (Ito 2005, 6). This associated *kogaru* with messaging functions, and true to their image, they created a trend by using *keitai* for personal use while simultaneously sustaining their social network, using *keitai* as a successor to their early communication devices.

As social communication through messaging played a central role in *kogaru* subculture, the introduction of e-mail on *keitai* as a standard function in the early 2000s did much to popularize *keitai* under youths, and eventually different industries like the fashion industry and more importantly, the mobile phone industry realized that it was not its user-base through business applications that created trends through a top-down approach; trendsetters amongst youths could create trends through a bottom-up approach (Suzuki and Best 2003, 74). Consumers like *kogaru* subverted the intent of producers and challenged fundamental principles of manufacturing and design (Fujimoto 2005, 92). This "bi-directional information flow" became a central principle of Japanese consumer society, where communication between consumers and the industry to create or discover new trends is of utmost importance. In the case of the Japanese mobile phone market this phenomenon made it necessary for providers to involve Japanese mobile phone manufacturers as well to provide attractive mobile phones and services to users with the emphasis on usability (Uenishi & Matsushima 2013, 4). For example, in 2003 providers introduced a flat-rate for mobile internet use as the high access charges was a big problem for users, evidenced by the term pake-shi (packet-death), which implied mobile Internet was a service beyond the youths budget (Matsuda 2010, 33). In addition, relatively few Japanese actually used their 3G connection due to the need of replacement equipment, which was eventually resolved by offering the service without this need (Ishii 2004, 46). This eventually sparked the spread of Internet use on *keitai* beyond e-mail and triggered a surge in mobile Internet adoption.

The focus on usability not only greatly influenced the way how *keitai* developed through the years as a feature phone, it also started a race for providers to claim their share of the growing Japanese mobile phone market and transformed manufacturers from overseas-orientated companies

9 In Japan, mobile phones are called keitai, whereas smartphones are called smaho. Keitai is a Japanese word meaning "portable" and is an abbreviation of keitai denwa, which means portable phone.

to strong domestic market-orientated players (Uenishi & Matsushima 2013, 5). Another factor in this transformation in market-orientation was the failure of spreading Japanese technology in the stages of the developing mobile market. Being ahead technology-wise of the rest of the world in the 1990's and due to is success in Japan, NTT DoCoMo did try to introduce its wireless technology as a universal standard with the help of the European. However due to resistance from China and the U.S., NTT DoCoMo's attempt for the same success on foreign soil soon stranded (Uenishi & Matsushima 2013, 3). By turning itself increasingly inward due to its user-orientated market and failure in business overseas, the Japanese mobile phone industry continued to isolate itself from the global market to give rise to another phenomenon unique to Japan called the 'Galapagos' syndrome. The Japanese mobile industry's preoccupation with the domestic market created a unique mobile market where its evolution has occurred independently with the rest of the world, similar to the species Darwin encountered on the Galapagos Islands (Makino & Roehl 2010, Uenishi & Matsushima 2013, Flávio 2014).

Seeing that in 2013 at least 40 per cent of mobile phone owners did not own a smartphone[10], and with Japanese service providers such as NTT DoCoMo still offering a wide array of new *keitai* with attractive services such as unlimited voice calls[11], *keitai* still hold a big segment of the Japanese mobile market. According to Shinozaki Tadayuki from the MM Research Institute, *keitai* still hold potential for certain demographics such as 'easy to use *keitai* for the elderly and *keitai* with emergency buttons for children. *Keitai* that specialize in these needs are still popular'[12].

The emphasis on usability as discussed earlier seems to prevail when looking at other demographics such as elementary school children and the elderly, and *keitai* have always been developed for an extremely segmented group of consumers including the elderly (Shinohara et al 2013, 14).In the case of Japanese children that attend elementary school, they often commute to and from school alone, without direct supervision of their parents. Concerned for their children's safety, for years parents used phone calls to check in on the children's status and children can phone their parents for a change in their schedule or for pick-up. This correlates with data suggesting that, where the use of *keitai* is concerned, elementary school children mainly use them for calling their parents (Matsuda 2008, 170). With the sudden increase of the Japanese crime rate in the 1990s, people were shocked and confronted with a sudden "deterioration of public safety". It is suggested by Hamai and others that this was a result of police taking reports of crime seriously due to public pressure and

10 From NTT's 13th periodic survey on mobile devices: http://research.nttcoms.com/database/data/001929

11 NTT Docomo's product page for feature phones: https://www.nttdocomo.co.jp/product/feature_phone/index.html

12 'Even though it is ridiculed, the feature phone remains persistently popular': http://president.jp/articles/-/8707

that the actual amount of crime didn't necessarily increase (Hamai & Ellis 2006, 161). However, combined with severe economic depression, it led to a state of "moral panic" (Hamai & Ellis 2006, 159). In other words, the myth of this deterioration of public safety led to an increase in fear of crime. For parents, this fear subsequently resulted in anxiety concerning their children. Using this moral panic, the mobile industry cleverly jumped in and even now still manufactures *keitai* and services such as *imadoco*[13] especially for children and their safety (Matsuda 2008, 169).

As another niche market, the Japanese elderly could face similar treatment. For years Japanese providers released *keitai* which are suitable for the elderly. These devices sport simplified functions, larger keys and letters and text to speech functions for reading e-mail (Negishi 2003, 60). Traditionally, the elderly stick to what they know when it comes to technology due to physical and cognitive limitations (Renaud & Biljon 2008, 213), and as *keitai* have been around for years it is not hard to imagine that Japanese elderly consumers will keep being a target for providers and advertisers looking to sell *keitai* and other mobile services. Furthermore, the growing group of Japanese elderly and their financial condition could not only uphold the *keitai*'s share in the Japanese mobile market but even increase or expand it to simplified smartphones or other mobile related services. However, as targeted advertising towards the elderly increases, their representation in advertisements could also have serious consequences on social identity formation or how society view the elderly.

2.2 Representation in Advertising

The media plays a prominent role in our lives, and it can help shape our values and define who we are. Much like other factors that shape our lives, the media is not neutral and perpetuated with norms and ideologies. However, the media distinguishes itself by having the power to convey ideas in an attractive way to a large, scattered, anonymous, but also an infinitely diverse audience. Media is everywhere and has become a natural and normal part of our lives, and we do not often pause to ask about its nature as a very subtle system of social construction where the distinction between reality and representation is hard to make.

Much has been written about media-created images in terms of the construction of meaning and identity. It is understood that in shaping our values and ideologies images can be used to construct meaning of the world around us, helping us form views on for example political and social issues (Connor 2001; Chandler 2001; Forehand, Reed II & Deshpandé 2002; Gauntlett 2008; Kleine, Kleine & Kernan 1993; Morley & Robins 2002; Singer 2004). The images the media creates however are not necessarily reproductions of reality, and often provide only a *representation* of realities. In

13 Imadoco's product page: https://www.nttdocomo.co.jp/service/imadoco/index.html

practice, it can only offer us perspectives or selected views on particular experiences, ideas, groups the world. And like other factors that construct our identity, images take on their meaning by reflecting them on our past experiences or embedding them in a broader frame of meaning. As Gerry Connor (2001) argues, "representation [in media] is not just about the way the world is presented to us but also about how we engage with media texts in order to interpret and assimilate such portrayals. This concept of representation is, therefore, just as much about audience interpretation as it is about the portrayals that are offered to us by the media".

The most common forms of content in media does not always consider this process of interpretation and assumes an undifferentiated audience that does not actively negotiate the meaning media try to represent. This can be due to for example structural constraints or motivational reasons, but producers of this content tend to carefully construct the portrayed images and behaviors, and have come to rely on a heavily stereotyped perception of reality and social groups. Advertising in particular condenses social reality to images in such a way that it is easy to recall and reference, creating product imagery with which the audience can easily identify (Woodward and Denton 1990; 1998). Like other media, advertisements are designed to be attractive, and the possibility that people identify with the representations in these images is probable. Furthermore, companies make advertisements that strategically explore worldly issues in order to *position* the addressees in such ways as to make them take the views advocated in advertisements. Chandler (2001) argues that "representation refers to how the media constructs realities in terms of certain key markers of identity"; advertisements use major key markers of identity including gender, sexuality, social class, ethnicity and age to represent social groups. Representations of age for example can contribute to the creation of social identities of maturity and physiology. Representation constructs knowledge (Mitchell 1994) and ultimately influences the way we think about things. In other words, prolonged experience of advertising and other commercial texts can contribute to shaping people's identities (Fairclough 2003).

In the contemporary world where ads have become a normal part of our daily lives, with media that can run on a national or even international level, the values and ideologies and that come with identity may be recognized on a collective level. Similarly, Searle (1995) argues that personal values and ideologies or 'intentional mental facts' as he calls them, can become facts that are generally agreed upon, or 'social facts', through recognition by multiple individuals. As ads are intentional texts at least in a derivative sense, considering they are expressions of essentially intentional mental states given their propositional contents, and is continuously spread on a very large scale, the mental facts represented in the ads can become according to Searle social facts, and have collective intentionality. In other words, the representations in media become familiar through the constant re-use and become to feel natural, and portrayals of social groups in ads can become an

accepted reality for many people through mass advertising.

This is could also be true for the people that make advertisements. When trying to question the realities advertisements represent, it becomes relevant to see representation as a two-way process where both the audience and the producer of the advertisement draw from the same conventions. Therefore, advertisements refer to social reality inasmuch as they are affected by it (Giaccardi 1995, Schroeder 2005). In this, questioning whether or not producers of advertisements are conscious of the idea that media can act as teachers of values or ideologies is mostly irrelevant, and advertising can act as a representational system that produces meaning outside the realm of the advertised product (Schroeder & Zwick 2004). An advertisement for razors for example could be simply intended to sell them to men, but could unintentionally encode a message about gender relations and what it means to be a "man". When looking at these "hidden" messages as the result of the advertisers being part of the same world as their target audience, it is reasonable to say that advertisements can indeed show aspects of social reality and provide us with some image of contemporary issues.

2.3 Old Age and Advertising in Contemporary Society

It is thus already understood that contemporary 'consumer-media-culture' holds important and influential resources for self-fashioning. This can be extended to the aging demographic, and Marshall and Rahman conclude in their study on aging celebrities in advertising that later life is currently simultaneously presented as full of potential for agelessness, while it is also filled with 'risk and insecurity' (2014). In practice this means that products targeted at older people are in itself symbols for an 'agency-less' old age where seniors are dependent on drugs, technology and welfare institutions, while the messages in advertising that portray an active, energetic, financially successful old age with youthful in looks show the exact opposite. To explain this current trend in advertising targeted to older people, one needs to look beyond just the advertising industry.

With the dawn of modern science and technology, the life course of people have been modernized to the standards of industrialization, and organizational systems have been put in place that set apart the various life stages; childhood, teen years, adulthood and old age. Like other life stages, old age too was categorized within legal, educational, welfare and economical institutions and are tended to be treated differently, and seen as a homogeneous, segregated group. However, unlike the 'younger' stages of life, the stage of old age is often cast in a negative light. Following Goffman's theory of social stigma (2009), old age seems to come with a stigma of abnormality where the mind and character of older persons diminishes, the body loses its attractiveness, and is crippled by diseases (Ward 1977; Nuessel 1982; Braithwaite 1986; Phillipson 1998; Scholl & Sabat 2008). Furthermore, much to the dismay of critical gerontologists who found this to be especially true for

older people, the institutions that categorize people are basically systems of inequality that exclude them to participate economically, technologically, and politically (Riley, Johnson, & Foner, 1972; Walker 2008). Consequently, old age is associated with waning looks and diminishing health and sexual vigor, while the dependency on care and welfare and the loss of full citizenship makes being old a 'burden' to society (Katz 2003, Walker 1981, 1983, 2008; Townsend 1981, 1986; Fine & Glendinning 2005).

In the last few decades however, rapid changes in demographic patterns, late-capitalist consumerism, and better understanding of biological aging had a severe social and cultural impact on the ideologies surrounding old age (Katz 2003). In the medical world, old age is still believed to be a problem to be solved, while science and technology has progressed to a point that it is believed to be infallible and available for everyone to be purchased. Furthermore, arguably a throwback to the Disengagement Theory, developed by Cumming and Henry (1961) and the Activity Theory developed by Havighurst (1961), post modernistic ideas about agelessness and old people emerged in popular discourse. The 'diseased' body in old age is linked to neo-liberal injunctions of activity, responsibility, independence and self-care, and active participants in society should strive towards being a *functional* citizen (Katz & Marshall 2004). Aging people are now believed to be able to choose a healthy, social and active life-style, up to a point that it is irresponsible not to do so. Furthermore, not meeting the criteria for a successful old age may even further marginalize and stigmatize a large group of older people (Rozanova 2010).

This postmodern movement does not only influence politics and public policy worldwide, but also inspires different industries to actively target the growing group of elderly people, the 'silver market', with portrayals of life satisfaction in old age as 'manageable' and 'treatable' through consumerism. As a result, advertising in particular shows an old body as a problem and old age as the life stage to avoid, and presents a solution in buying their products or services to enables us to maintain our youth and full, functional citizenship within society (Calasanti, Sorensen & King 2012). It is in these contradictions in advertising where interesting questions can be found for gerontological research and how old age fits in contemporary society.

3. Methodology

3.1 Critical Gerontology

In the search for a more qualitative approach to analyzing content and discourse on old age, one quickly finds himself in the realm of critical gerontology. As stated earlier in this thesis, advertising has a long history of portraying older people in an unfavorable way, and despite taking a more positive stance towards aging with current trends in anti-aging and successful aging, advertisements

may continue to marginalize and stigmatize older people. This critical approach on advertising and on current models of aging comes from a way of thinking that rejects certain ideas such as consumer capitalism as a solution for aging. In opposing these 'mainstream' ideas on old age and in this case media-created images, scholars developed theoretical interests that can broadly be defined as "critical gerontology", and are described by Baars as '…a collection of questions, problems, and analyses that have been excluded by the established mainstream' (1991). It invites the use of various intellectual ideas for a powerful critique on conventional theory and ideology (Achenbaum 1995) and infuses these gerontological questions with feminist and critical theory, ideological critique, and inspirations from political economy and hermeneutics (Moody 2008).

Critical gerontology draws from already established ideological and epistemological concerns in areas such as political economy and the humanities, and invites a multidisciplinary approach to conventional gerontology. From the perspective of the political economy of aging, the relationship between aging and the economic structure of advanced industrialized societies is a major focus. Political economists such as Estes pressed the development of 'an understanding of the character and significance of variations in the treatment of the aged, and to relate these to polity, economy and society in advanced capitalism' (Estes, 1986). Other scholars such as Walker (1981, 1985), Townsend and Phillipson (1982, 1998) added to the discussion by questioning the role of the state in the management of old age in issues such as classifying older people as a 'burden' and being passive consumers of health and welfare services, and the social construction of retirement.

Much like political economists, humanists too speak of the 'disempowerment' of the old (Minkler 1996). Moody for example states that in the natural-science orientation of conventional gerontology 'the problems of later life are treated with scientific and managerial efficiency, but with no grasp of their larger political or existential significance' (1988). Essentially, humanist scholars focus on questions of meaning, or rather the lack of meaning, of the last stage of life and aim to put a 'human face' on gerontology and aging. From a humanistic perspective, conventional gerontology is constituted around a 'cognitive interest in control' of 'objects' in the world, where social objects such as one's 'life course' or 'stages in life' are things that are separate from the individuals that experience them. As Philipson argues, it is 'dominated by a form of rationality that seeks to objectify what is an essentially human and subjective experience' (1998). In this sense, critical gerontology looks for emancipation from this 'control' and the empowerment of older people, and to reveal how conventional views on old age reproduces concepts that alienate the aging people that experience it.

Critical gerontology reflects on the study of aging itself as well (Katz 1996, Moody 2008). In order to reveal underlying mechanisms of ideological domination and find ways to overcome them, scholars such as Stephen Katz incorporated Michel Foucault's work (1996) into their research. Katz's work focused mainly on how gerontology emerged as a disciplinary knowledge-formation in

industrialized societies, and how it is linked to the disciplining of old age. He argues that health 'experts' and academic professionals are key in the reproduction of dominant expertise, knowledge, and representations of old age, but also determine how older people themselves are placed and viewed within society.

The reviewed literature in the introduction shows that there is a lack of critical and qualitative research on the representation of older people in Japanese advertising. The use of content analyses on the topic provides only a description of the analyzed content and frequency distributions for several dimensions such as product targeting and gender representation. However, as described in the introduction of this thesis, neo-liberal ideologies about aging are present in contemporary Japan as well, and discourse on aging circulates in several public spaces, with the media being one of them. In order to examine the social direction Japanese advertising is going in its representation of old age in context of Japan's social policies and cultural institutions, and to lay bare to the underlying ideologies of Japanese advertising, effective criticism is necessary. With critical gerontology, a good foundation has already been built for a critique on Japanese advertising and old age. In terms of developing an analytical method however, a critical gerontology of Japanese advertising must too be multidisciplinary and requires an extension to discourse theory.

3.2 Discourse Analysis

In academics, discourse a term rooted in many different disciplines that often involve many forms of communication. Researchers come up with various definitions and uses for discourse, and these regularly conflict with one another. However one thing generally agreed upon in discourse theory is that communication gives meaning to and shapes the world we live in. When we communicate with each other we draw from our own assumptions, beliefs and knowledge of the world and use this knowledge to make statements that make sense to others. But through these statements we either reinforce or challenge the existing knowledge and contribute to the "flow of knowledge through time" (Jäger & Siegfried 2006). This also means that there are no set 'truths' people live by; our truths are created through our interactions with others or the world around us. As such, discourse theory is often associated with post modernistic ideas that reject modernist claims about reality.

Discourse theory draws strongly from the work of Michel Foucault (1926 – 1984) and his ideas about discourse, power, knowledge and truth. Although his approach evolved over time, the interrelatedness of these phenomena in human expression has always been a central part of his work. He defines our social reality as structured by knowledge, and that mechanics of power produce different types of knowledge. In other words, our social reality we take for granted is actually a system of dominant intellectual, cultural, historical and institutional relations imposing 'forces' on people. The relation between knowledge and power however works both ways, and knowledge also

produces power. For example, we grow up in a world with a predefined social reality through which we learn the norms and conventions of our society, but our own behavior and actions also have an effect on our own environment. Some behaviors and ideas from certain social groups come to dominate discourse, and eventually gain under certain conditions the status of a commonly accepted 'truth' within a society. Foucault questioned the objectivity of truths that certain disciplines like social science, medicine, or criminology produced, and tried to examine and uncover structures of knowledge and mechanisms that build the objects of our social world throughout history. He argued that these truths gravitated around certain themes in certain points in time, and that these themes could be explored by analyzing discourse on these subjects. Scholars have used his theory on discourse to study all kinds of topics like health care, economics, politics and criminology and have moved on from a traditional text-based approach, to more detailed linguistic analyses and visual communication.

Scholars of discourse theory have turned to both Marxist theories and Foucault's notions of power and discourse for a social critique on power relations. One such approach to the study of discourse is Critical Linguistics (Fowler et al. 1979). Developed in the 70s, it saw that traditional social linguistics paid little attention to ideologies and power relations in discourse, and called for a method for analyzing the relationship between language and society. In Critical Linguistics, language is theorized as a social practice, influenced by society and vice versa, and it is not a reflection of social structure nor is it autonomous. On an practical level, Critical Linguistics aimed to isolate ideologies encoded in public discourse, and this meant that the model was often used as a 'demystifying' tool, to raise awareness on topics such as sexism, racism, inequality, politics, etc. This also showed the limitation of the model; Critical Linguistics presented a static vision of power relations in a more neo-Marxist tradition, where it privileged only the source of texts without ascribing much power to the actual reader of a text (Fowler 1996, 7). The theory lacked an active reader that is already equipped with the discursive competencies to make meanings of a text, drawing from prior experience of texts or life experiences similar to the ideational focus of the text. It is then also in the power of the reader to debate the ideology that underpins the text, and treat the text in whatever way the reader chooses.

As a response to the lack in power of the reader in existing discourse theory at that time, Critical Discourse Analysis was developed and connects to Foucauldian critical theory in claiming the dynamic nature of power relations (Fairclough, Mulderrig, and Wodak 2011, 375). It shares the idea with Critical Linguistics that choices (either consciously or unconsciously) in language made by producers of texts or speakers are ideologically based, and represent our identity, values and knowledge. They are also politicized because it often reflects our interests (Kendall 2007, 10). Critical Discourse Analysis adds however that power does not necessarily comes only from above as a

repressor, but is produced in negotiation between the dominant and dominated (van Dijk 1993, 250), and eventually becomes to an extent natural within a society. Both Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis offered people critical views while using features of modern linguistics. In practice, the theories helped develop methods for analyzing texts such as newspapers or speeches to for example complement Foucault's views on discourse or uncover hidden ideologies that can influence the reader or listener's view of the world.

To allow texts to be analyzed as socially meaningful, Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis are rooted in Michael Halliday's social semiotics theory (1978). With this theory, Halliday introduced several linguistic insights that aimed to contest the traditional separation of language and society. He proposed that the means for meaning making, or semiotic resources, come into existence as a response to social needs, and that languages have 'meaning potential' that are made up of systems of words and grammatical structures that speakers can make a selection from to construct meaning (1978, 192). This selection is done in a particular social context, which means that language is not an objective medium, but reflective of that immediate social context as well as the broader cultural and social context of the systems available to the speaker or writer. He further classifies meaning or meaning making systems in three social functions, or *metafunctions*, that can occur simultaneously. It can tell us something about our world and how we experience it (ideational metafunction), facilitate the positioning us in relation to something or someone (interpersonal metafunction), and form connections with ideas and interactions to produce a structured, coherent text (textual function). In other words, a text is linked with its context by organizing the ideational and interpersonal functions into the text, making texts a 'unified whole' instead of 'a collection of unrelated sentences' (Halliday & Hassan, 1976:2). In terms of understanding a text, Halliday's work and view of language enabled a better understanding of how it fits within a social context.

One downside of CDA when analyzing advertisements however, is that it leans towards the analysis of linguistic structures. With the rise of modern science and technology, human communication has changed rapidly over the last few decades. People increasingly use a variety of modes of communication to express themselves, and have realized that language is not essential in understanding or conveying meaning. Sounds and images have taken over tasks that were first associated with the role of language, and to a certain extend have 'displaced' language as the primary mode for meaning-creation (Iedema 2003, 33). While language is still considered an important part when defining discourse, corporate websites, social media, and many other platforms have mobilized multiple 'modes' such as images, video, layouts on web pages, etc., to not only build or maintain businesses, but to make communication efficient and fun for the reader as well. When analyzing such texts, CDA needs to be extended beyond just language. For this, scholars again turned to Halliday. His idea that language is but one of multiple semiotic systems that constitute a culture

(1978; 1985), and his connection between text and context, has pushed the development of broader *multimodal* concepts of discourse construction (Hodge & Kress 1988; Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006). Kress and Van Leeuwen for example, theorized that like language, other modes such as images and sounds can evolve as systems of meaning potentional, or as semiotic resources for meaning making, which too are shaped by the metafunctions as described by Halliday. Like language, these modes have been shaped by historical, cultural, and social uses to realize social functions. Furthermore, meanings made by a mode are interwoven with the meanings made by other, co-present modes, which together produces meaning in itself. As such, based on elements of Halliday's systemic fuctional linguistics (SFL) (1985), Kress and Van Leeuwen developed tools that help to analyze not only the choices made in language, but in the audiovisual modes of a text as well (1996).

Since then, multimodal discourse studies have flourished, and it is acknowledged that 'the discourses that need the scrutiny of a critical eye are now overwhelmingly multimodal and mediated by digital systems that take multimodality entirely for granted' (Van Leeuwen 2013), and thus are '… are communicated not only through political speeches and news items, but through entertainment media such as computer games and movies, in the social and material culture of everyday life…' (Machin 2013, 347). Furthermore, it is believed that various semiotic resources are now used in new ways and can be 'harnessed by different kind of interests to disseminate discourses that serve strategic ideological purposes' (Machin 2013, 353). To critically ascertain these hidden discourses within multimodal texts, an extension to CDA called Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) has been developed. In MCDA it is theorized by Van Leeuwen that there is a distinction between social practices and their representation within texts. He uses Bernstein's notion of recontextualization that focuses on the reproduction of knowledge from the original context to argue that discourses recontextualize social practices, and that different texts can represent a certain social practice in many different ways (2008). This connects to the already well-developed critical ground that CDA has already laid in that MCDA tries to oppose structures and strategies of 'elite' discourse and their consequences. From a methodological perspective, it turns CDA to a multimodal focus, and provides a flexible approach to multimodal texts by adding to it the earlier described work of Kress and Hodge (1978, 1988), and Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) on multimodality. However like CDA, MCDA does not have one central method of analysis and has for example been criticized as having too many 'theoretical positions' (Meyer 2001). It thus can better be considered as an approach rather than a method, from which a method needs to be tailored especially for the criteria of the study at hand.

In creating a critical gerontology on Japanese advertising, MCDA is an appropriate approach for the following reasons. First, it offers the possibility for a more complete study of the multiplicity of linguistic and audiovisual elements that exist in advertising. It can uncover and identify how these

elements work on an individual and collective level to construct the elderly in Japanese advertisements. Second, MCDA allows for exploration on how the linguistic and audiovisual elements present in advertising relate to the social practices they represent or types of social action they facilitate. Third, the critical component of MCDA allows for a critical view on discourse surrounding old age in Japan, and thus a better understanding of the underlying social problems surrounding old age in contemporary Japan.

3.3 Method

3.3.1 Overview

The material for analysis are two advertisements for NTT DoCoMo's "Tsunagari-hotto-support" service that aired in 2015, taken from NTT DoCoMo's YouTube channel[14]. In order to do a multimodal analysis of the selected material a shot protocol is used (Iedema 2001; Katz 1991; Korte 1999; Phillips 2002) that cuts up ad#1 in 17 shots and ad#2 in 11 shots. The resulting tables contains the shot number, a screen shot, the visual elements of the shot, a transcript of spoken text, the on-screen text, and finally a translation of the spoken and on-screen text (Appendix 1). The visual column holds the following data: the social distance, angle, gaze, modality, color, and finally the composition of the shot. For the visual resource analysis of the material in chapter 4, a multimodal semiotic approach is used as described by Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996; 2006). For the linguistic resource analysis, Halliday's Systemic Function Linguistics (SFL) is used to explore the interpersonal metafunction of the linquistic elements of the advertisements.

3.3.2 Visual Resource Analysis

In trying to provide tools for a visual analysis of texts, Kress and Van Leeuwen developed an analytical framework based Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL) (1985), that as described earlier theorizes that all text realize three types of meaning that occur simultaneously called metafunctions[15]. Kress an Van Leeuwen argue that like language, visual texts are social cultural constructs and have created a grammar of visual design based on these metafunctions. The following diagram represents the basic schema (fig. 2) adapted from the theoretical framework used for this analysis.

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[14] NTT Docomo's official YouTube channel: https://www.youtube.com/channel/UC1MZ9XvYFOU8s9ORxWoZ8Gw

[15] Kress & Van Leeuwen adopted Halliday's three metafunctions, however renamed them the *representational*, *interactional* and the *compositional* metafunction. There is no clear reason why they did this however, and for this reason Halliday's terminology will be used in this thesis.

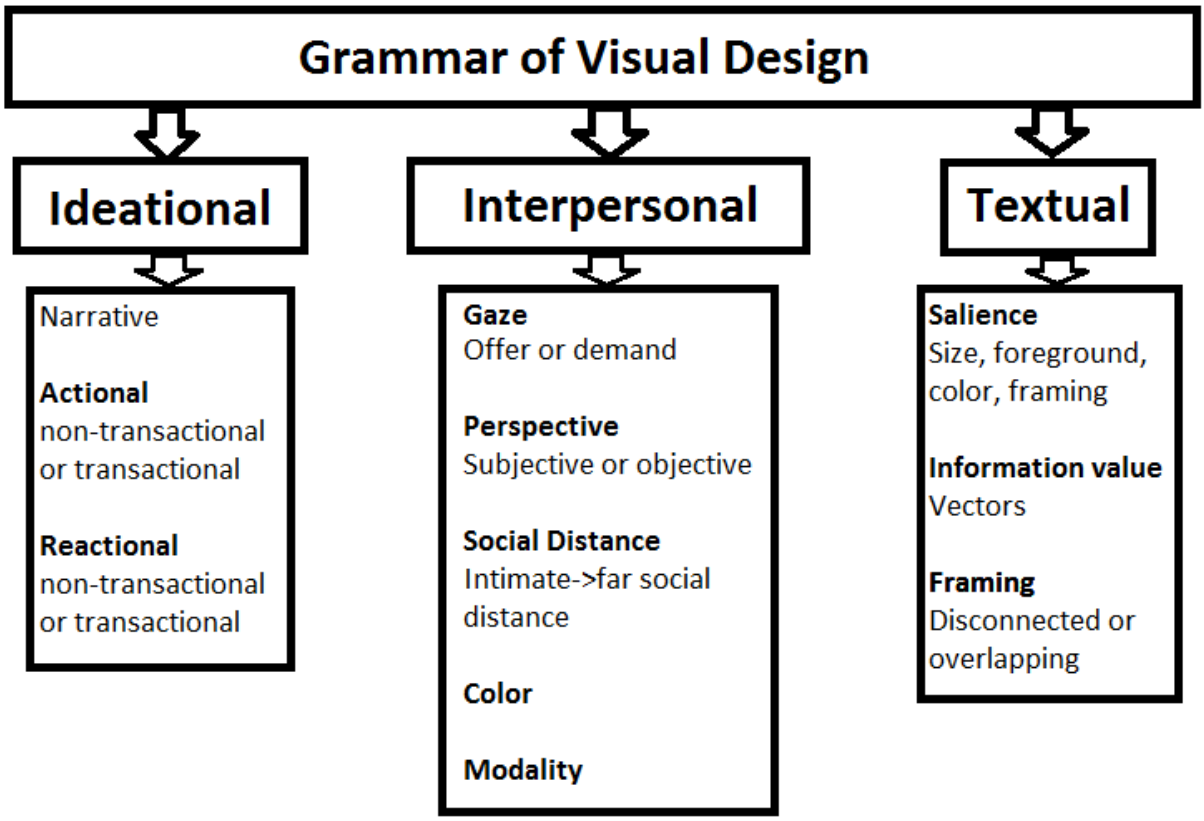


Figure 2: Resources for visual design

Ideationally, Kress and Van Leeuwen identify two processes that can carry meanings in visual texts: *conceptual* processes and *narrative* processes. A conceptual process is described as "representing participants in terms of their more generalized and more or less stable and timeless essence, in terms of class, or structure or meaning", while a narrative process is described as "presenting unfolding actions and events, processes of change, transitory spatial arrangements" (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006, 79). The material under analysis falls under the latter category, and .

Narrative processes are further identified by Kress and Van Leeuwen as being either *actional* or *reactional* (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006, 63; 67). Processes are actional when an action creates the relation between the represented participants, and reactional when a look or gaze between two or more participants results in realizing the relation. Actional processes describe the participants as the *actor* and the *goal*, while reactional processes describe the participants as *reactors* and *phenomena*. These processes can be further classified as using *transactional* or *non-transactional* structures. Transactional structures involve a vector: a line which can be visually representing the link between at least two objects or participants. Non-transactional structures involve only one participant or object without a goal or phenomena.

In identifying the interpersonal meaning within a text Kress and Van Leeuwen list a number

of different aspects that are essential to describing the interaction between the viewer and participants, namely gaze, perspective, social distance, color, and modality. A direct or indirect *gaze* of a participant determines whether the information represented in the text is coded as *offer* or *demand*. An offer establishes the viewer as an invisible or detached onlooker, and the participants within the text are presented as objects of information for the viewer's contemplation. A demand acknowledges the viewer's presence with a direct connection through the participant's gaze, and tries to establish an imaginary relationship to influence the viewer in some way.

The *perspective*, or the angle, establishes whether the viewer is positioned to adopt an *objective* or *subjective* point of view. Objective texts tend to be scientific and technical, and viewers are not involved with the participants in the text. In terms of perspective, objective texts do not include an angle and tend to be unrealistic. Subjective texts use different angles to position the viewer in order to invite a particular stance towards a text. The vertical angle defines the power relation between the viewer and the represented participants. For example, a high angle positions the viewer as powerful while a low angle gives the represented participants a position of power. The horizontal angle defines the involvement of the viewer with the text. An oblique angle for example positions the viewer to adopt a detached point of view.

Like the gaze and angle, Kress and Van Leeuwen argue that s*ocial distance* too suggests "*different relations between represented participants and viewers*" (2006, 124). By using framing, the producer of a text can make the viewer imaginatively closer to the participants in terms of familiarity. A close-up of a participant for example encodes an *intimate* social distance with the viewer, while a long shot of a group of people encodes a *public* social distance.

Modality is used to describe the degree of 'truthfulness' of a text, and degrees from lowest (least real) to highest (most real). It makes sense to consider modality as ideational as it tells something about our world, however Kress and Van Leeuwen argue that "modality judgements are social, dependent on what is considered real" and that it "does not express absolute truths or falsehoods; it produces shared truths aligning readers or listeners with some statements and distancing them from others" (2006, 155). This makes modality interpersonal in that it creates an imaginary 'we' with the viewer. *Colors* too can represent and invoke various feelings, depending on the cultural context of the viewer.

When looking at the textual level, Kress and Van Leeuwen identify salience, information value and framing as codes that operate to produce meaning and textual coherence. *Salience* is described as the elements that are made to attract the viewer's attention (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006, 177). This could be the placement of a participant in the foreground, differences in sharpness, relative size, etc.

Information value refers to the placement of participants or objects in various 'zones' of the

text. These zones are the left and right, top and bottom, center and margin. Kress and Van Leeuwen call the left and right side *given* and *new* information (2006, 179). The elements on the given side of a text are already known to the viewer, while elements on the new side are unknown and thus important to the message of the text. This is arguably inspired from writing in western cultures, and for Japanese viewers this could be the other way around, making the left side new information and the right side given information. In terms of information value, elements in the upper and lower zones of a text are structured in *ideal* and *real*. Elements represented as ideal are often the point of the message in a text and the most salient. The real section often presents factual or practical information. Like left and right, texts can also be produced around the *center* and *margin*, where elements in the center position are presented as "the nucleus of the information", and marginalized elements subservient to the center (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006, 196).

Framing is used to mark off distinct units or events of interest from other elements within a text, while it also gives internal unity and coherence to a text. It is also a matter of degree: elements can be strongly or weakly framed (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006, 203). There are several framing devices that can be used in a text, such as contrasts between elements, pauses in music, a thought bubble in comics, or cuts to other scenes.

Each feature of the three metafunctions discussed in this chapter will be used in the visual analysis of the selected material in chapter 4.

3.3.3 Interpersonal metafunction analysis of the Linguistic Resource

For the linguistic resource analysis, SFL is chosen as the framework as it is able to answer questions about the social function of the linguistic elements used in the ads. As described in the previous chapter, SFL analyses language in three metafunctions. For the purpose of answering the questions posed in this thesis the interpersonal metafunction is of concern. This metafunction reflects the stance, personalization and standing of the speaker or writer, the social distance between the speaker/writer and listener/reader, and the relative social status of the speaker/writer. Basically, with an interpersonal analysis you can examine the various relationships within a text. This chapter will explain how SFL can be applied to a text analysis.

In the interpersonal metafunction consists of two components that make up the analysis of a clause. They are called Mood and Residue. Mood is the principle grammatical system (fig. 3) that provides us with the basic resource of expression such as suggesting, persuading, doubting, etc. Traditionally, in for example Japanese and English, Mood offers two choices in expression, namely indicative and imperative. In technical terms, Mood compromises the components *Subject* and *Finite*, and in the English language, depending on the position and existence of both components, a clause can be declarative, interrogative or imperative:

- Declarative -> Subject^Finite
    - The sushi (Subject) made (Finite) her sick.
- Wh-interrogative (wh-word = Subject) -> Subject^Finite
    - What (Subject) made (Finite) her sick?
- Wh-interrogative (others) -> Finite^Subject
    - When did (Finite) she (Subject) get sick?
- Polar interrogative -> Finite^Subject
    - Did (Finite) the sushi (Subject) make her sick?
- Imperative -> none OR Subject
    - (Let's (Subject)) eat the sushi.

Additional information on the likelihood (modal operators) of the Finite in the Mood part of a clause such as 'probably' or 'definitely' are called *Modal Adjuncts*:

- It probably/usually (Modal Adjunct) was sushi.

The remaining component of the clause, or the Residue, consists of all other elements that do not fall under Mood: the *Predicator* and the *Complement*. The Predicator is the verbal element of a clause and the Complement is a word that follows a verb and describes the subject of a verb:

- She can eat (Predicator) sushi (Complement).

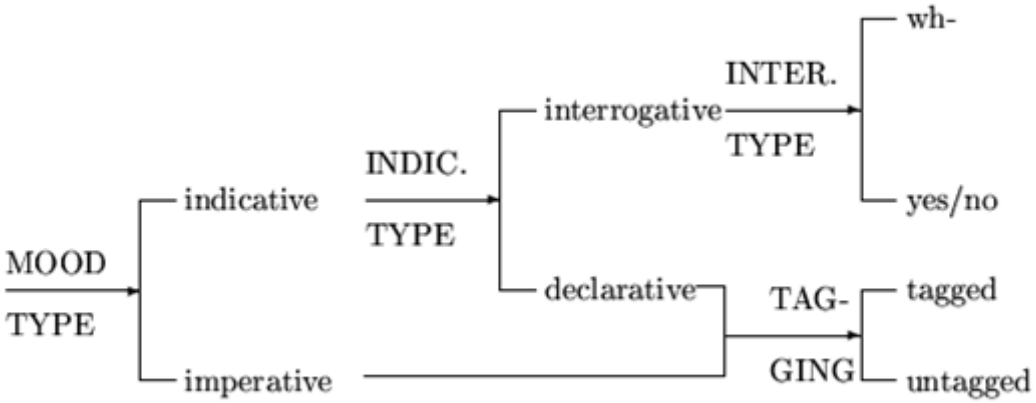


Figure 3: Clause type: Mood

There are some differences to keep in mind when using SFL for a Japanese text. In Japanese the basic Mood options and speech functions are the same of the English language, however the structure of the clause practically stays the same with every Mood type. Japanese does not rely on

the *Subject* and *Finite* in realizing the Mood element, and is usually realized at the end of the clause. Furthermore in Japanese a verbal, adjectival or nominal group can also function as the *Predicator* which also expresses various elements such as the level of politeness, polarity (yes or no), modal operators, and tense (past or future). The Negotiation markers within the clause such as a question marker (e.g. *ka* or *no*), assertion (e.g. *sa* or *yo*), and confirmation (e.g. *ne*), realize the systems of negotiation. Basically, the Japanese *Predicator* is a combination of the English *Finite* and *Predicator*. Like declaratives, interrogatives are realized by a verbal, adjectival or nominal *Predicator*. A declarative clause can be turned into an polar interrogative clause by adding the Negotiation marker *ka* to it. Further adding a Japanese equivalent wh-word to the clause turns it into a wh-interrogative. An imperative clause is realized by a verbal group functioning as the *Predicator* (Kawashima 2005):

- Declarative
    - Hon wo (Complement) yonda (Predicator)
- Polar interrogative
    - Hon wo (Complement) yonda (Predicator) ka (Negotation)
- Wh-Interrogative
    - Dare ga (Subject) hon wo (Complement) yonda (Predicator)
- Imperative
    - Hon wo (Complement) yome (Predicator)!

Each feature of the interpersonal metafunction discussed in this chapter will be used in the linguistic analysis of the selected material in chapter 4 of this thesis.

4. Multimodal Discourse Analysis of the Representation of Older People in Japanese TV ads

4.1 Introduction

The material selected for the aim of this thesis are two advertisements for NTT DoCoMo's "Tsunagari-hotto-support" service. This chapter will apply the method as described in chapter 3. The ads promote a service that supports the security of seniors and their families[16][17]. In English, tsunagari means connected and hotto means relieved. It is part of NTT DoCoMo's "itsudemo-anshin" services and more specifically, it falls under the "ie no toraburu – kazoku o mimamoru" type of service. The service's application relays information about the user to predesignated family members ("tsunagari"

[16] http://nttd-mse.com/sites_en/case_studies/nttdocomo-smartphone-hot-support/

[17] https://www.nttdocomo.co.jp/service/tsunagari_hotto_support/index.html

members) by e-mail. The information sent can include the amount of steps taken by the user, the remaining battery power and general phone usage. The purpose of the service is to tell if seniors are healthy while family members are not around, so that they can have "peace of mind". Originally, the service was a paid service that debuted in 2011 with a monthly fee of 105 yen[18], and worked on NTT DoCoMo's *Rakuraku Phone Basic* series. In 2014, it became a free service and compatible with NTT DoCoMo's *Rakuraku Smartphone* series. The service thus now supports *keitai* and smartphones that are designed especially for elderly users.

4.2 NTT DoCoMo's "Tsunagari-hotto-support" ad#1

4.2.1 Ad description

The ad runs for 30 seconds and is divided in 16 shots (see appendix A). The represented participants in this ad are a woman, two older men, and two smartphones. Shots 1, 2 and 4 show the younger woman and one of the older men interacting with each other. Shots 3 and 8 show each of the different smartphones. Shots 5, 13, 15, and 17 show one of the older men. Shots 6, 7, 10, 12, and 14 show the woman. Shots 9 and 11 show the two older men. Frame 16 shows mainly product information. The participants never directly engage the viewer of the ad.

The visual elements of the ad are summarized in table 1. In terms of social distance, the participants are mostly at either a 'close personal' or 'far personal' distance. Most shots are filmed from a level angle, and participants never directly engage the viewer. The entire ad is high in modality.

[18] https://www.nttdocomo.co.jp/info/news_release/2014/03/20_00.html

Table 1: Summary Visual Elements

Element		Frequency
Distance	Intimate	1
	Close personal	6
	Far personal	6
	Close social	3
	Far social	0
	Public	0
Angle	High	3
	Level	13
	Low	0
	Oblique	15
	Frontal	1
Gaze	Indirect	14
	Direct	0
Modality	High	16
	Low	0

In terms of color, the woman is dressed in brighter colors. In the first half of the ad she wears clothing that is red and white. In the second half she wears white clothing. The older man in the first half of the ad wears dark grey clothing, and switches to white/yellowish clothing in the second half of the ad. The other man in the second half of the ad wears grey clothing. The two smartphones have a different color: one comes in black, and the other in white. Overall, the ad has a soft, brownish hue. The text depicted in the ad is in white, except for the product logo which is bright red and pink.

The composition of each frame is highly variable, and when changed it happens off-screen after each cut. The participants are mostly foregrounded and focused. The textual sentences in the ad are only bordered when next to the smartphone participants. The captions in shots 1 and 16 are the only ones to be narrated, and done so with different female voices.

4.2.2 Visual Resource Analysis

In the "Tsunagari-hotto-support" ad, the overall visual structure classifies as a narrative representation where various narrative processes are at play, as the ad presents "unfolding actions and events, processes of change, and transitory spatial arrangements" (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006, 59). Furthermore, the various participants are seen interacting with each other through vectorial patterns. Throughout the ad, there is never any direct contact with the viewer, and mostly level and oblique angles are used on the participants (Table 1). Evidently, the producer of the ad has chosen not to engage with the viewer, and simply offers the participants for our viewing. The ad visually speaks to the reader through the producer of the ad instead of the participants. Furthermore, the choice to 'offer' instead of 'demand' could be due to the pictorial genre of the ad, which seems similar to for example a television drama (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006, 120). Any direct contact with

the viewer goes against the genre's conventions, and could possibly break the visual narrative or story the producer is trying to construct.

In the first four shots of the ad a relative young female participant is constructed in an intimate relationship with an older male participant, while the older male participant is seen learning to use the smartphone participant and the advertised service. From the text shown in the first frame and the sound of the voice that narrates the depicted text, the viewer can assume that the woman is the older man's daughter. The relationship between them is established through her action of teaching her father how to use the advertised service on his smartphone in the informal setting of a living room (figure 1.1). In this setting the father is the object of action processes performed by the daughter, and this represents a transactional structure. Consequently, this makes her the Actor, and the father the Goal in this frame. This is also represented in the salience, or visual weight attributed to the daughter in the first half of the ad. In contrast to the father, who wears dark grey clothing, she is dressed in brighter colors such as red and white. There is however a second transactional process: the father looks intently at his smartphone and pays attention to how the service works as explained by his daughter. This constitutes a reactional process in which the father is the Reactor and the explanation of the service on the smartphone by his daughter is the Phenomenon (figure 1.1). The relationship between the father and the smartphone is further established in frame 3, where the father as the Actor tries the service by touching a button on the smartphone, which functions as the Goal in this frame (fig. 1).

The linguistic element superimposed on the image of frame 3 explains how the service is used is this particular frame, and is outlined clearly to present it as 'a separate unit of information' (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006, 204) that in this case has no connection to the story that the producer is trying to construct. Furthermore, the font used is different from other, unframed linguistic elements in the ad used for example in frame 1. This difference is important in that the producer seeks to integrate certain linguistic elements into the visual narrative, while some are excluded from it like in frame 3.

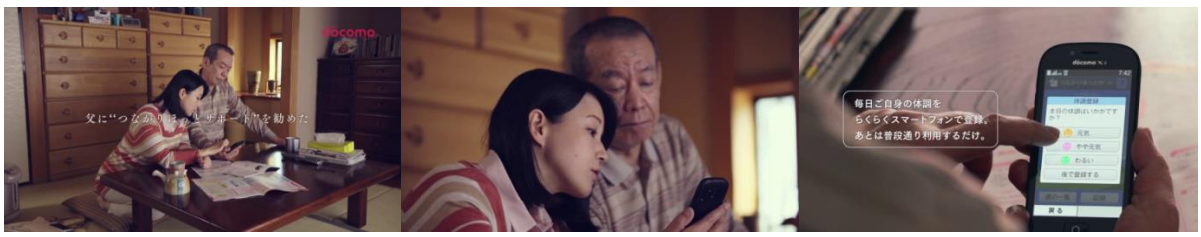


Figure 3: shots 1, 2 and 3

In the fourth frame, the daughter changes from being the Actor to becoming the Reactor within a reactional structure through the vector formed of her looking down at her father, while he is

still intently looking to most probably his smartphone. In this frame, him looking at his smartphone becomes a Phenomena at which his daughter reacts to: she leaves the room like her job explaining the service to him is done, and nods in approval when seeing him using his smartphone. Her role as Reactor is further established by being the most salient participant given her color clothing and sharpness compared to the blurred out father, even though he is heavily foregrounded and covers a large part of the screen.

Figure 4: shot 4

Frame 5 shows the father from behind, creating what is called a 'back view' by Kress & Van Leeuwen (2006, 138). This is in complete contrast to the direct gaze, and 'visually articulates such ideas as … becoming vulnerable or trusting' (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2000). Paul Messaris argues that 'in our real-world interactions with others, this view from the back can imply turning away or exclusion' (Messaris 1996, 24). In this case, the father is also hunched and is positioned from a far social distance to the viewer. This posture "frames" him and makes him look smaller, creating a sense of vulnerability. Furthermore, the gesture seems to signify a sense of abandonment, which is emphasized by the camera slowly distancing away from him and the empty pillow next to him (fig. 3).

Figure 5: shot 5

At first sight, frame 6 depicts the daughter as the only participant in a non-transactional process: even though she is the Actor or the Reactor, there is nothing in this frame that she reacts to. Her look forms a vector, but not to something in the frame, or at least not towards something the viewer can see. The viewer is left to imagine to what or who she reacts to, which creates 'powerful sense of empathy or identification' (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006, 68) with her. However, the linguistic

element in the frame hints that she is thinking about her father, perhaps even emphasized by the first *kanji* in the sentence, which means “father” in English. Van Leeuwen calls this an *extension* between two modes, a relationship between linguistic element and image where either the linguistic element or the image adds new information that links to the already established textual or visual information (2005, 230). In this case, the linguistic element *complements* the image to make clear that she is thinking about her father. The sentence itself can be included as a participant to which the daughter reacts by depicting her in a state of deep thought and looking in the direction of the on-screen linguistic element. This state is emphasized by leaving everything else in the frame out of focus. Even though it is not a complete back view as she is not looking entirely the opposite direction from the camera, her posture helps to imply a sense of vulnerability, perhaps even worry or guilt as she is leaving her father on his own.

Figure 6: shot 6

Shots 7 and 8 show the daughter outside reaching into her bag, from which sound comes from, to eventually take out her phone in which she is the Actor and the phone is the Goal. She is at a close social distance that implies her doing “impersonal business” which could mean that she is just minding her own business. However it is not as formal as a far social distance, so that the viewer does not disconnect from the participant. Her change of clothing and the superimposed linguistic element hints that the scene takes place at a different time or day than the first half of the ad. She also wears a business attire, suggesting that she just came from the office. Frame 8 shows what she is looking at and displays an outlined linguistic element with usage information like in frame 3.

Figure 7: shot 7 and 8

Frame 9 shows the father together with a new participant, where the father excuses himself to pick up the phone that is ringing. There are two transactional processes in this frame. The first is the father as the Actor that picks up the phone, which is the Goal in this process. The second one is the father as the Actor with an excusing gesture, which forms a vector towards the other older man, who is the Goal in this process. Even though the father is not centered or foregrounded, he is made salient by marginalizing the other man and leaving him unfocused.

Figure 8: shot 9

Frame 10 through 14 show the father and daughter in conversation. In the beginning of their conversation (fig. 7), both the father and daughter are positioned at a 'far personal' social distance. In frame 12, 13 this changes to a close personal social distance, and edges towards an almost intimate distance in frame 14 (fig. 7). The shot's composition sets up the participants alternating between the left and right side of each image. Both participants create a vector to something outside the frame, and the viewer is left to fill in the blank spots of who they are conversing with. The combination of the increasing social distance, the composition of each frame, and the vectors created by the participants displays a sense of connectedness between the father and daughter. Even though they are not in the same space, they are seen as facing each other and growing closer throughout the conversation. The added flare-like visual effect is usually used as a tool to 'imitate a common sense notion of perceptual realism' (Turnock 2012, 158), however in this case it can be interpreted as symbolizing each other's presence "behind" the phones.

Figure 9: shot 9 through 14

Frame 15 shows another back view of the father, while he is continuing the conversation with his daughter. This time however he is laughing and no longer hunching over, and this time the camera is moving towards the father. Furthermore, the colors and overall brightness are much lighter compared to the earlier of him showing his back in frame 5. Thus, even though the back view again makes him vulnerable, this frame is in contrast with the earlier situation and visually articulates a sense of trust and maybe relief instead of abandonment.

Figure 10: shot 15

Frame 17 shows a panoramic shot of a city and product information in the form of linguistic elements. This shot could be interpreted simply the end of the story, and life goes on in the city.

Figure 11: shot 16

The ad ends with frame 17, showing the father from an intimate social distance still in conversation on the phone. He creates a vector to something outside the frame and again the viewer is to decide who he is conversing with. This frame seems to be a continuation of the earlier conversation with his daughter, however the social distance is again increased. The use of the closest social distance in visual representation at the end of the ad is fitting for the idea that the use of the service has brought the father and daughter closer to each other on a relational level.

Figure 12: shot 17

4.2.3 Linguistic Resource Analysis

The ad starts by the daughter saying that she advised the service to her father. The spoken text is also displayed with a linguistic element in the image. The daughter follows the declarative Mood pattern denoted by Subject>Finite, where she provides information in the form of a statement, or perhaps a proposition to the viewer, suggesting to do the same. The tense of the finite is past and suggests that the she has advised him the service some time ago.

(I)	父に“つながりほっとサポート“を	勧**めた**
Subject	Complement	**Finite**+ Predicator
Mood	Residue	Mood

The daughter is in conversation with her father and wants him to try the service. She follows the imperative pattern denoted by the absence of the Mood, giving a proposal which commands the father to make a choice in either trying the service or not.

(You)	やって**みて**
Subject	**No Finite** + Predicator
Mood	Residue

The daughter then leaves and tells her father the result of using the service. This is actually a “clause complex” which combines two clauses with a “Head” clause and another clause that modifies it (Hypotaxis). In this case, the second clause is an extension on the first and follows the declarative Mood. She declares that because the service is in use or installed correctly, this will result in her receiving an email every day. These are the final words spoken to the father by the daughter before leaving, and it allows the viewer to come to their own conclusion that she has finished explaining the service and it is safe to leave her father on his own. It also provides information to the viewer, as if she is talking to the viewer indirectly.

これで	毎日	私の所に	メール	く**れた**
	Adjunct	Adjunct	Complement	**Finite** + Predicator
	Residue			Mood

The father is left alone using his smartphone and most possibly the service. Using a voice-over, he asks the question if ‘this’ is the daughter’s way of showing filial piety. He follows the interrogative Mood, however it is used to issue a statement making this a rhetorical question that he could ask to himself. Furthermore, he uses an “anaphoric” reference (これ) to what happened earlier in the ad, concluding that the advertised service is a way for the daughter to fulfill her filial piety towards her father. However, it is also possible that he asks this question to the viewer simultaneously, as if he were convincing the viewer to think about their own way of how they are fulfilling their filial piety.

これ**が**	おまいの	おやここ	か
Finite + Subject	Complement	Adjunct	Negotiation
Mood	Residue		Mood particle

As the daughter is leaving, a text is lain over the image as if she was thinking it. She follows the declarative Mood pattern, stating that she didn’t forget her ‘father’s words’. This is most probably a reference to what her father said in the frame before, suggesting that his words made a significant impact on her.

(I)	父の言葉が	耳から離**れなかった**
Subject	Complement	**Finite** + Predicator
Mood	Residue	Mood

The next frame starts by showing ‘ある日’ on the screen. This is the Japanese equivalent of the start

of a (new) story. This sets off a scene on a different day where the daughter calls her father after receiving an email from the service. On the phone she asks her father why he didn't walk much that day by using the interrogative Mood pattern and the interpersonal sentence final particle 'の'. However as she already knows that he didn't walk much today as told by the service, this is a rhetorical question in the form of a negative assertion, as she does not elicit an answer from her father except possibly a single negative one: that he did not walk much today. This is also called an 'indirect illocutionary act', where the speaker wants to be tactful or polite.

お父さん、	(you)	今日	あまり	歩いて	ない	の
Subject		Adjunct	Modal Adjunct	Predicator	Finite	Negotiation
No Mood	Mood	Residue	Mood	Resideu	Mood	Mood particle

The father replies by explaining why he didn't walk much today. He hesitates a bit which is depicted by the use of 'ま～', however states that this was due to his friend coming over with a measure of casualness or even assertiveness depicted by the use of the interpersonal sentence final particle 'さ'. This particle is often used to assert the speaker's own opinion or insisting.

ま～	今	友達	来てくる	さ
	Adjunct	Complement	**No Finite** + Predicator	Negotiation
	Residue		Mood	Mood particle

The daughter reacts with a rhetorical question asking if 'that's it': the mood here is interrogative but doesn't elicit an answer from the father. She depicts a sense of relief.

なんだ,	(is)	そういう	こと
Wh- complement	Finite	Subject	Complement
Mood- wh-interrogative	Mood		Residue

The father reacts jokingly with a sarcastic comment by saying that he is sorry that he is healthy. He follows the declarative mood and emphasizes this by using the sentence final particle 'なあ'. This particle is sometimes also used to express a personal feeling to someone familiar, which in this case could mean that she should not worry about him.

(I)	元気で	悪かった	なあ
Subject	Complement	**Finite** + Predicator	Negotiation
Mood	Residue	Mood	Mood particle

The daughter reacts playfully by saying that he gives this kind of reaction more often. She follows the declarative mood for this.

また、	そういう事	言って
	Complement	**Finite** + Predicator
	Residue	Mood

As the conversation ends another text is lain over the image. As it was the case earlier, the text is taken from the perspective of the daughter. She again follows the declarative Mood pattern, stating that her father uses the service every day. She then follows up with stating that she was happy with only that by using the particle 'だけ'. There are several expressions that indicate 'just' or 'only' within a sentence, however in contrast with for example the particle 'しか', 'だけ' is used mostly for use with positive sentences. It could also indicate that the use of the service costs little effort while it can still give the user the "peace of mind" the service advertises.

(He)	毎日	使ってくれてる
Subject	Complement	Finite + Predicator
Mood	Residue	Mood

(I)	それだけで	嬉しかった
Subject	Adjunct	**Finite** + Predicator
Mood	Residue	Mood

In the final scene the father thanks most presumably the daughter for everything, ending the sentence the with particle 'なあ' to express familiarity.

色々	ありがとうな
Adjunct	Finite + Predicator
Residue	Mood

4.2.4 Findings Summary

When looking at the *ideational* level of the ad, both visually and linguistically the daughter is presented as the most active and dominant character in the ad. Not only is the story told from the perspective of the daughter, in all the transactional narratives of the ad she is the Actor or Reactor where her father is the Goal or Object, and thus on the receiving end. This is represented in the daughter's actions in teaching her father how the use the service and how she later calls to check up on him after using the service. When the daughter leaves her father after being satisfied with her explanation and him using the service, the father is shown on his own with an air of abandonment while he asks himself or perhaps his daughter some other time if this is her way of showing filial piety. In the hallway, she looks deep in thought thinking about what her father had said and worryingly looks back. On a different day, she receives a message from the service, and after reading it she starts calling her father to check up on him. The father excuses himself to his friend and picks

up the phone. The daughter then asks him in an almost accusatory tone if he didn't walk much today, to which he explains almost apologetically that a friend came over today. The daughter then responses in a relieved 'oh is that it' and the conversation turns into a playful and intimate chat between them since all is well. She seems to have reached the "peace of mind" the service advertises. Nearing the end of the story, the ad shows the father still in conversation with the daughter while her feelings are told through the words shown next to the father, saying that he uses the service every day and that she is happy with just that. The ad then ends with the father thanking the daughter for everything she has done.

On the *interpersonal* level the father and daughter never engage directly with the viewer, thus offering them to viewer. Furthermore, most shots are on level height with an oblique angle, suggesting that the viewer is looking at a story without any involvement with the characters. However through the use of social distance, different camera angles and linguistic elements, the creator of the ad tries to connect with the viewer. Throughout the ad the social distance between the characters and the viewer becomes gradually smaller, communicating the growing intimacy between the characters by use of the service. This is strengthened by presenting the personal development of the characters to the viewer. In the first half of the ad, the father is shown in a hunched position while the camera is slowly moving away, depicting him as vulnerable and abandoned. Near the end of the ad, he is shown again with a back view, keeping his vulnerability but articulating trust and relief to the viewer this time. The daughter has a similar development. In the first half of the ad, she is shown from the back while she is looking back worryingly to evoke empathy or a sense of identification from the viewer. Later in the ad, she is shown from an almost intimate distance with a sense of relief.

The language use of the characters plays a major role in depicting the social relationship between them to the viewer. The casualness of their language use without any honorifics, which is normally reserved for one's spouse and direct family in Japanese society depicts a close relationship between the characters to the viewer. It is also used to show the dominance of the daughter in the ad, as shown in for example her rhetorical interrogative when she checks up on him when he did not walk much or her imperative instruction on how to use the service. Finally, several declaratives are used to communicate information to the viewer about the service, and the rhetorical question used by the father about his daughter's filial piety is almost directly asked to the viewer.

Color and lighting plays a significant role in the ad on the interpersonal level. The personal development of the characters is made clear to the viewer through the use of darker colors in the beginning of the ad and softer, lighter colors near the ending. Furthermore, the daughter is dressed in bright colored clothing while the father is wearing darker colored clothing so the viewer is presented the daughter as the protagonist.

On a *textual* level, the compositional meaning of the ad is achieved through three interrelated systems: salience, framing, and information value. Throughout most of the ad, the daughter has the highest salience. She wears red or brighter clothing compared to other elements of the ad such as the father. When on-screen with other elements, she is either foregrounded or focused. Furthermore, she is constructed as the narrator throughout the ad by using her as a voice-over for the depicted text in the beginning of the ad. Even when the ad seems to focus on the father's narrative, she is mentioned in his lines and her thoughts are superimposed on the screen.

Several framing devices are used to connect or disconnect certain elements in the ad. On-screen text directly related to the advertised product are outlined to present it and the shot as a separate unit of information, while on-screen text directly connected to the narrative is not outlined and placed as complementary to the on-screen events. Similarly, on-screen text is used to separate between different days in the story. The conversation between the father and daughter by telephone is framed by moving back and forth between the two, creating a visual coherence and is complemented by the added visual effect. The end of the ad is neatly framed by a panorama shot with product information superimposed on it.

In terms of information value, the ad places value on where certain vectors are formed or lead to such as the smartphones of the users or the daughter looking down at her father when she leaves. Vectors also express connectedness between elements in the ad, even when the vectors are directed off screen such as during the conversation by phone, or the look the daughter gives when she is in the hallway. The added effect is that this gives viewers of the ad the chance to imagine what is important for the characters in the ad.

4.3 NTT DoCoMo's "Tsunagari-hotto-support" ad#2

4.3.1 Ad description

The ad runs for 34 seconds and is divided in 11 shots (see appendix B). The represented participants in this ad are a woman and an older man, and two smartphones. Shots 1 and 2 shows the older man and a timer, while 3 and 4 shows the woman and a timer. Shot 5 shows the man and the woman with a textual element centered in between them. Shots 6, 7 and 8 show the man en woman interacting with each other, with shot 8 having the product logo on screen. Shot 9 and 10 show both smartphones with a textual element. Shot 11 shows the man and woman interacting with each other and the smartphones, while the product logo and information is superimposed on the shot. The participants never directly engage the viewer of the ad.

The visual elements of the ad are summarized in table 1. In terms of social distance, the participants are mostly at an 'intimate' distance. Most shots are filmed from a level and frontal angle,

and participants directly gaze at the viewer in almost half of the shots. Overall the ad is low in modality.

Table 2: Summary Visual Elements

Element		Frequency
Distance	Intimate	7
	Close personal	2
	Far personal	2
	Close social	0
	Far social	0
	Public	0
Angle	High	2
	Level	9
	Low	0
	Oblique	2
	Frontal	9
Gaze	Indirect	6
	Direct	5
Modality	High	3
	Low	8

In terms of color, both are dressed in plain colors. In the first 7 shots of the ad they wear dark grey colors. In the remainder of the ad they wear light grey clothing. The two smartphones have a different color: one comes in black, and the other in white. Overall, the ad has a greyish hue. The text depicted in the ad is in white, except for the product logo which is bright red and pink.

The composition does not change much throughout the ad. The participants are mostly foregrounded and focused. The textual elements in the ad are only bordered when next to the smartphone participants. Most of the ad is narrated, and done so with the same female voice.

4.3.2 Visual and Linguistic Resource Analysis

In this 'Tsunagari-hotto-support' ad, there is little interaction between the participants on an interpersonal level. For this reason the visual and linguistic resource analysis will be joined together for this part of the ad analysis.

The overall visual structure of this ad classifies as a narrative representation, however it uses a mixture of 'coding orientations', namely the 'technological coding orientation' and the 'naturalistic coding orientation'. Regarding visual modality, Kress & Van Leeuwen argue that there exist different contexts or social groups with different standards for what is 'real' or not (2006, 164), or rather, how truth is *perceived by* or *presented to* a social group. Using Bernstein's 'theory of codes' (1971) they distinguish between four different sets of 'reality principles' or 'coding orientations', of which two are technological and naturalistic. The modality of a text is judged in relation to these coding

orientations, and decides what counts as real for the viewer.

The naturalistic coding orientation is the one dominant in a society and is to what counts as 'normal', regardless of one's social class or education. In terms of modality, when looking for example at the use of colors in an image, highly saturated colors or just black and white will render the image as 'unreal' and not 'normal', giving it a low modality. The technological coding orientation refers to the 'effectiveness of the visual representation', or the practical usefulness of images. Again using the example of color use, this means that an image is high in modality when using practical colors such as black and white (fig. 11). This coding orientation invokes a context where factuality is important and relates to a rational reader role. By combining the two, the ad can create a neutral discourse while invoking a sense of empathy.

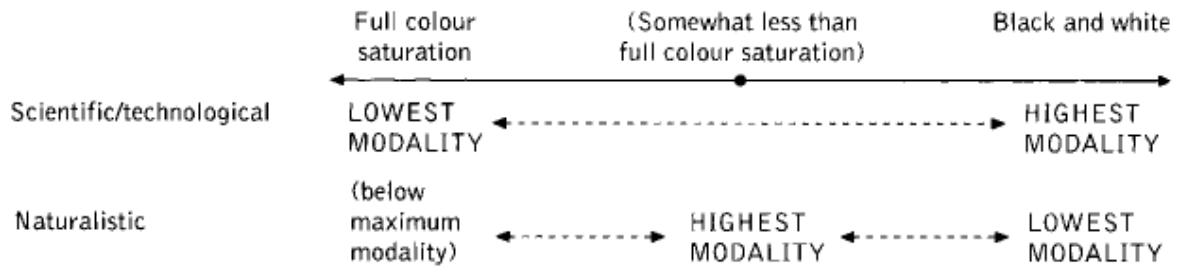


Figure 12: Modality values of color saturation in two coding orientations according to Kress & Van Leeuwen (2006, 166)

The first four shots show a man and a woman from a frontal angle with a timer counting upwards (fig 12). The colors are either dark or when the timer stops black and white. As such, the ad starts with a low modality when evaluated against a naturalistic coding orientation, but scores high in modality against a technological coding orientation due to its color use. To further bolster the credibility of the ad it also utilizes other techniques such as the frontal angles to 'demand' the viewers association with the information presented (Halliday 1985), highly salient timers as a technical textual element (fig. 12), and monotone narration. Thus, the first half of the ad seems to present itself as a scientific text that encodes 'an objective attitude' (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006, 143) to reason with the viewer and eventually legitimize its claims of the products' usefulness in the second half of the ad or even the other ad.

Figure 13: Frontal angles and timers

After setting up the ad with statistics, the next shot shows both the man and the woman. From the first half it already has been established that the man is the father of the woman, and in this shot he looks at his daughter while she gazes expressionless towards the viewer, as if he is trying to get her attention (fig. 13). This is complemented by the linguistic element, stating that while one can think of the other, that does not mean that you are connected to each other.

Figure 14: Shot 5

In the next shot, the distance with the viewer changes to an intimate social distance to fully capture the interaction between the two in the shot. The daughter recognizes her father's presence and is seemingly surprised that he is there. She reacts by asking him if he was there all along. The father looks and reacts as if affronted by her surprise and uses the interpersonal sentence final particle 'さ' to assert this. Also, their gaze is no longer directed to the viewer which sets of the more naturalistic part of the ad.

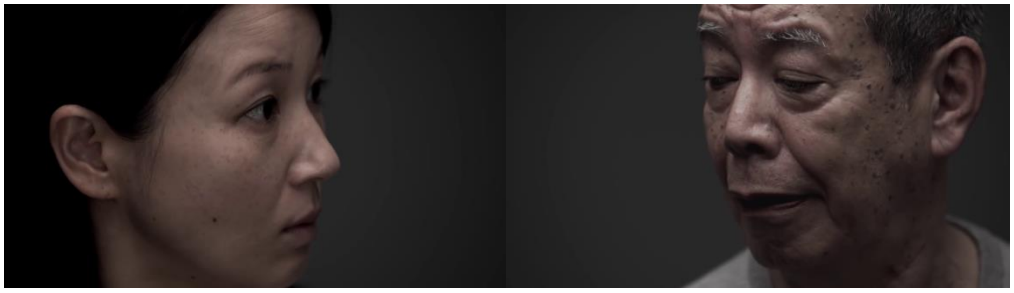


Figure 15: Shot 6 and 7

When the colorful logo of the product shows up in the next shot, the set color changes from a dark/black palette to a light-grey/white one (fig. 15). The participants are shown closer to each other and are using their phones. By creating an interchanging vector from each participant to their phone and to each other, and by showing the viewer how the service is used in the following shots, the ad sets them up as if communicating through their phones with each other, and thus through the product. Furthermore, as mentioned before, their gaze is no longer directed to the viewer. This continues in the last shot of the ad, while the social distance changes from close personal to an intimate distance, suggesting that they have become more connected or closer to each other.

Overall, the change of color, intimacy between the characters and the change in gaze, creates a more naturalistic coding orientation for the second half of the ad.

Figure 16: Shot 8 through 11

4.3.3 Findings Summary

Ideationally, there is no clear lead character except for the transaction where the daughter shows surprise after seeing her father. In this, she is the Reactor and her father is the Object. The father looks affronted by her surprise, which could be a sign of her neglecting her duties toward her father. There is considerable space between them, however when the product logo is introduced the gap is closed. They are shown as happily using their phones together, as if the product has brought them closer to each other on a relational level.

Interpersonally, the ad seems to demand that viewers connect with the participants through a direct gaze from the participants from an intimate social distance. The viewer is addressed directly and this establishes an imaginary relation (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006, 89), as if the information presented does not only concerns the participants in the ad, but also the viewer.

The overall visuals, especially in the first part of the ad, are analytical in style. The ad allows the viewer to scrutinize the participants; the frontal angle is part of 'documentary rhetoric' of sorts, and offers what is represented for evaluation (Tagg 1988, 189).

5. Conclusion

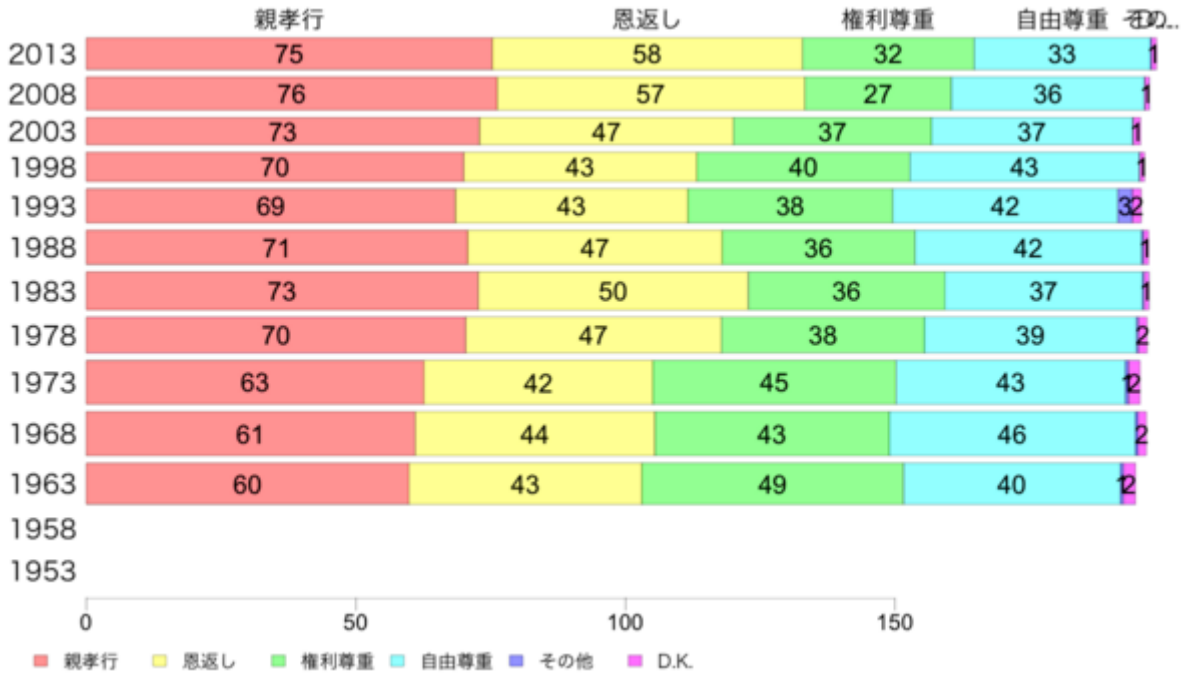
In the previous chapter we have observed how the various semiotic resources are used to represent Japanese elderly and their social relations in advertisements for mobile technology. This final chapter will discuss the reflected messages in them and tie them to contemporary social and discursive

practices of Japanese society, returning to the research question posed in the introduction:

How are the Japanese elderly, their social relations and representations realized in Japanese advertisements for mobile technology, and what social and discursive practices are reflected in them and in what way.

When looking at what practices are reflected, the messages in the advertisements analyzed in this thesis produce and maintain the ideology of filial piety, with consumerism being a solution for the problem of fulfilling the duties expected from it. The advertisements seem to acknowledge the difficulties filial piety can represent for adult children and elderly alike, and by buying NTT Docomo's service, it can help perform their duties as adult children and will lead into an improved relationship with their parents. In matters such as taking care of the elderly several gerontologists already have explored filial piety as inherited from Confucian ideology. Put simply, filial piety implies an ethos of mutually caring reciprocity where children, after being taken care of in their younger years, take care of their parents as they reach an advanced age. Even today its importance to Japanese citizens is apparent; in a recent nationwide survey on the Japanese national character, when asked the question what the most important Japanese value was, filial piety was on top of the respondents' list[19]. Furthermore, it is also a "moral aspect of the *ie* system" (Takagi & Silverstein 2006, 474), or in principle the three generation household, of which a relatively high number still exist in Japan

19 As show in the graph below, filial piety was on top of the respondents' list when asked the question what the most important Japanese value is: http://www.ism.ac.jp/~taka/kokuminsei/table/data/html/ss5/5_1d/5_1d_all.htm:



especially compared to western countries[20].

In practice, filial piety has set high expectations from children of the elderly in that they have to offer material support like finances and (co-)residence, while also providing immaterial support like companionship and psychological care. The first ad seems to build on this understanding of filial piety, and tries to relate to the viewer or even to 'feel' the viewer's pain by depicting a real life situation in a non-aggressive way. These 'pain points' in advertising are dictated by locality and local culture, which is in this case filial piety and the relationship between the father and daughter, and aims to invoke a strong emotional reaction from the viewer. After understanding the viewer's pain, the advertised service is then offered as a way out. The second ad utilizes these pain points as well, however instead of understanding and empathizing with the viewer, it holds the viewer accountable for neglecting their elderly parents and aims to invoke feelings of guilt or shame, which could be elevated by the service. With the current trends in diminishing traditional households, demographic change and the resulting lack of appropriate elderly care services, the products and messages in advertisements like the ones analyzed in this thesis can result in as Canda argues a "disjoint between ideal expectations and feasibility of performance..." that "...can result in feelings of shame and guilt for adult children, blame by parents and community, family conflict, and caregiver burden." (2013, 219). Furthermore, the messages depicted in the examined ads seem to at least partially contradict sentiments and policy towards aging that like to see the elderly as active and independent, and could point to a coexistence of traditional norms of filial piety and the neo-liberal ideology of active aging and participation. Thus in a critical sense, the examined ads use various multimodal resources to construct and maintain these dominant ideologies, which in turn can have its effect on both the caregivers as the elderly themselves. Cultural values such as filial piety are already shown to possibly produce burn-outs of caregivers and consequently elderly abuse (Sung 2003; Yan and Tang 2003; Lai 2007), while as discussed in chapter 2.3 the focus on active and healthy aging could further marginalize and stigmatize the elderly. It should be noted however, that while the messages depicted in the examined ads are questionable, mobile technology could prove to be a positive contribution to IT powered care and the re-engaging familial ties even though they are separated spatially, and could even help continuing the virtues of filial piety in an aging population such as Japan.

This thesis has investigated the representation of Japanese elderly in two advertisements of NTT DoCoMo's "Tsunagari-hotto-support" service by using Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis. As this thesis is limited to two advertisements and other research on the topic is scarce, other researchers interested in exploring the representation of Japanese elderly within advertising are

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[20] In 2010, 13,5% of all households in Japan consisted of three or more generations: http://www.e-stat.go.jp/SG1/estat/List.do?bid=000001034991&cycode=0

suggested to explore other kinds of advertisements for different products. Especially interesting would be revealing the ideologies behind these other advertisements and how they would compare to the findings posed in this thesis.

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Appendix 1

Tsunagari Hotto Support Advert #1 Shot Protocol
Company: NTT DOCOMO
Coding orientation: Naturalistic
http://nttd-mse.com/sites_en/case_studies/nttdocomo-smartphone-hot-support/

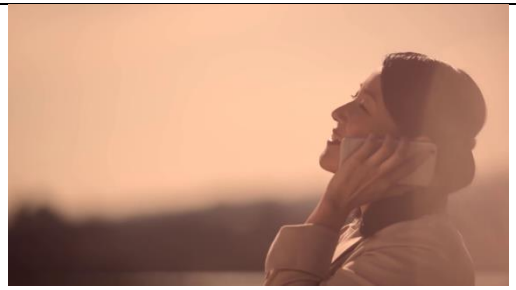
No.	Frame	Auditory	Visual	Spoken text (Japanese)	Spoken/on-screen text (English)	Text on-screen (Japanese)
1			Distance: Close social Angle: Level, oblique Gaze: Indirect (offer) Modality: High Color: Brown, red Composition: Centered, foregrounded, focused, unframed text	Woman narrator: 父につながりほっとサポートを勧めた。 Woman in frame: …押すだけ。	Spoken: I advised my father *tsunagari hotto sapoto*. …just press… On-screen: I advised my father *tsunagari hotto sapoto*.	父に”つながりほっとサポート”を勧めた。

2			Distance: Close personal Angle: Level, oblique Gaze: Indirect Modality: High Color: Brown, red Composition: Centered, foregrounded, focused			
3			Distance: Close personal Angle: High, oblique Modality: High Color: Brown, black Composition: Right, foregrounded, focused, framed text	Woman: やってみて。	Spoken: Try it. On-screen: Easily register your own health every day on your smartphone. After that just use it as usual.	毎日ご自身の体調をらくらくスマートフォンで登録。あとは普段通り利用するだけ。

4			Distance: Far Personal Angle: Level, oblique Gaze: Indirect Modality: High Color: Brown, red Composition: Daughter is centered, focused, backgrounded (**Salient**). Father is marginalized, unfocused, foregrounded	Woman:これで毎日私の所にメールくれた。	Spoken: With this an e-mail will be send to me every day.	
5			Distance: Close Social→Far Social Angle: Level, frontal Gaze: **Back View** Modality: High Color: Brown Composition: Centered, focused, foregrounded	Older man:これがおまいのおやここか。	Spoken: So this is your filial piety.	
6			Distance: Far Personal Angle: Level, oblique Gaze: Indirect, back view Modality: High Color: Brown, red Composition: Centered, focused,		On-screen: I have not forgotten (I still hear) the words of my father.	父の言葉が、耳から離れなかった。

			backgrounded, unframed text			
7			Distance: Close social Angle: Level, oblique Gaze: Indirect Modality: High Color: Brown, grey Composition: Centered, focused, foregrounded		On-screen: One day	ある日
8			Distance: Close personal Angle: High, oblique Modality: High Color: Brown, white Composition: Right, foregrounded, focused, framed text		On-screen: Information about health and smartphone use will be automatically delivered to the registered destination. It is dangerous to walk while using a smartphone.	体調やスマートフォンの利用状況が登録先に自動で届きます。 危険です、歩きスマホ。

9			Distance: Far Personal Angle: Level, oblique Gaze: Indirect Modality: High Color: Brown, red Composition: Father is left-center, focused, backgrounded. Other man is marginalized, unfocused, foregrounded.			
10			Distance: Far Personal Angle: Level, oblique Gaze: Indirect Modality: High Color: Brown, grey Composition: centered, focused, foregrounded.	Woman:お父さん、今日あまり歩いてないの？	Spoken: Father, you did not walk very much today?	
11			Distance: Far Personal Angle: Level, oblique Gaze: Indirect Modality: High Color: Brown Composition: Father is left-center,	Older man:ま～今友達来てくるさ。	Spoken: Well you see, a friend came over today.	

			focused, foregrounded. Other man is bottom-right, unfocused, backgrounded.			
12			Distance: Close Personal Angle: Level, oblique Gaze: Indirect Modality: High Color: Brown Composition: Right, focused, backgrounded?	Woman:何だ、そういうこと？	Spoken: Oh is that it?	
13			Distance: Close Personal Angle: Level, oblique Gaze: Indirect Modality: High Color: Brown Composition: Left, focused, backgrounded?	Older man:元気で悪かったな。	Spoken: Sorry about being well.	

14			Distance: Close Personal Angle: Level, oblique Gaze: Indirect Modality: High Color: Brown Composition: Right, focused, backgrounded?	Woman:また、そういう事言って。	Spoken: Again, saying something like that.	
15			Distance: Far Personal Angle: Level, oblique Gaze: Back View Modality: High Color: Light brown Composition: Right-center, focused, foregrounded, unframed text		On-screen: He uses it every day. I'm happy with just that.	毎日使ってくれてる。それだけで嬉しかった。
16			Distance: na Angle: na Gaze: na Modality: na Color: Brown, red, pink Composition: Centered unframed text	Voice-over:月額使用料無料。ドコモつながりほっとサポート。	Spoken: No monthly fee. Docomo *tsunagari hotto sapoto*. On-screen: Even closer family	NTT docomo 家族のつながり、もっと身近に。 つながりほっとサ

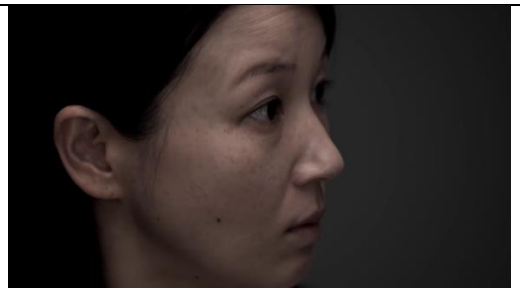
					relationships. *tsunagari hotto sapoto*. No monthly fee. Visit Docomo's homepage for information about compatible models and other things of caution.	ポート。 対応機種、ご注意事項など詳しくはドコモのホームページへ。
17			Distance: Intimate Angle: Level, oblique Gaze: Top-down Modality: High Color: Brown Composition: Right, focused, foregrounded?	Older man:色々ありがとうな。	Thanks for everything.	

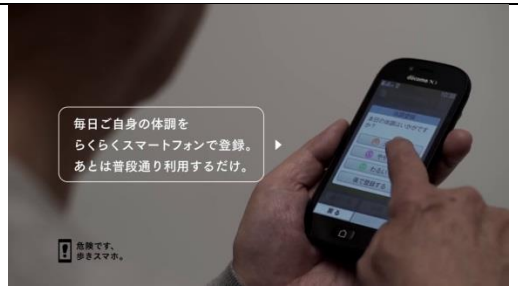
Tsunagari Hotto Support Advert #2 Shot Protocol
Company: NTT DOCOMO
Coding orientation: Naturalistic, technological
http://nttd-mse.com/sites_en/case_studies/nttdocomo-smartphone-hot-support/

No.	Frame	Visual	Spoken text (Japanese)	Spoken/on-screen text (English)	Text on-screen (Japanese)
1		Distance: Intimate Angle: Level, frontal Gaze: Direct Modality: Low Color: Black, white Composition: Centered, foregrounded, focused			
2		Distance: Intimate Angle: Level, frontal Gaze: Direct Modality: Low Color: Black, white Composition: Centered, backgrounded, unfocused	Voice-over: 親が子を想う平均時間、７″４２。	Spoken: The average time a parent thinks of his/her child, 7,24. On-screen: During one day, parents think about their child for	１日のうち、親が子を想う平均時間。７″４２秒 ※山田正一さんの場合（所要時間には個人差があります）

				about 7.42 seconds. *In the case of mr. Yamada Shouichi (The time required is different from person to person)	
3		Distance: Intimate Angle: Level, frontal Gaze: Direct Modality: Low Color: Black, white Composition: Centered, foregrounded, focused			
4		Distance: Intimate Angle: Level, frontal Gaze: Direct Modality: Low Color: Black, white	Voice-over: 子が親を想う平均時間、２″０６。	Spoken: The average time a child thinks of his/her parent, 2,06.	１日のうち、子が親を想う平均時間。２″０６。 ※山田章子さんの場合（所要時間には

		Composition: Centered, backgrounded, unfocused		On-screen: During one day, children think about their parents for about 2,06 seconds. *In the case of mrs. Yamada Akiko (The time required is different from person to person)	個人差があります）
5		Distance: Far personal Angle: Level, frontal Gaze: Direct, indirect Modality: Low Color: Black, grey Composition: Left and right, focused, foregrounded, text centered.	Voice-over: 想ってるだけじゃ、つながれない。		想ってるだけじゃ、つながれない。

6		Distance: Intimate Angle: Level, frontal Gaze: Indirect Modality: Low Color: Black Composition: Centered, focused, foregrounded	Women: いたの？		
7		Distance: Intimate Angle: Level, frontal Gaze: Indirect Modality: Low Color: Black Composition: Centered, focused, foregrounded	Older man: いるさ。		
8		Distance: Far personal Angle: Level, frontal Gaze: Indirect Modality: Low Color: Light grey Composition: Centered, focused, foregrounded, text on top	Voice-over: この方に、つながりほっとサポート	On-screen:	つながりほっとサポート

9		Distance: Close personal Angle: High, oblique Modality: High Color: Light grey, black Composition: Right, foregrounded, focused, framed text	Voice-over: 離れていても、家族の安心、毎日を知らせ。 ↓		毎日ご自身の体調をらくらくスマートフォンで登録。あとは普段通り利用するだけ。 危険です、歩きスマホ。
10		Distance: Close personal Angle: High, oblique Modality: High Color: Light grey, white Composition: Left, foregrounded, focused, framed text			体調やスマートフォンの利用状況が登録先に自動で届きます。
11		Distance: Intimate Angle: Level, frontal Gaze: Indirect Modality: High Color: Light grey Composition: Centered, focused, backgrounded	Voice-over: 月額使用料無料。ドコモつながりほっとサポート。	Spoken:	NTT docomo 月額使用料無料 つながりほっとサポート。

					対応機種、ご注意事項など詳しくはドコモのホームページへ。