
In pursuit of youth: what's wrong with the older market?

Marylyn Carrigan

Lecturer, Department of Commerce, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, UK

Isabelle Szmigin

Lecturer, Department of Commerce, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, UK

Keywords

Older consumers, Grey marketing, Advertising, Media

Abstract

The media today remain focused on capturing the "youth market", despite the population changes which suggest that older rather than younger consumers are becoming demographically and economically more attractive. Advertisers in particular are guilty of portraying older consumers in stereotypical ways, or else ignore them, resulting in offence and alienation within the 50-plus market. This paper examines the reasons why the over-50s are such an important market; discusses why advertisers and marketers are so reluctant to target older consumers and concludes by recommending how advertisers and marketers might better serve this market, for both economic and ethical reasons.

For the ignorant, old age is as winter; for the learned it is a harvest (English proverb).

Introduction

Despite the shrinking numbers of young people in the population, the media remains fixated with targeting the "youth" market. The media has always been an industry which has celebrated the cult of "youth", delivering television, radio, advertising and marketing aimed at 18-35-year-olds. Not that anyone is suggesting the youth market should be ignored. Far from it – younger consumers are important and valuable, but the problem lies in the amount of attention that advertisers and marketers pay to their younger audience, while neglecting another demographically and economically crucial market. The generation that hoped it would die before it got old are rapidly approaching 50, and a quiet revolution is underway. Yesterday's youth are becoming today's older generation, and the over-50s of the future bear no resemblance to the outdated stereotypes and conventional images of old age. Unlike past generations, baby boomers are used to being the centre of attention, and they are not about to relinquish their influence on society just because they have got older (Marrin, 1999). Advertisers and marketers may have marginalised and ignored past generations of over-50s, but they should rethink their strategy towards this new generation of fit, healthy and above all, wealthy older people. Not only are most advertisers and marketers appearing disinterested in older consumers, but when they try to market products to them, they do so with tired, unimaginative efforts which serve only to alienate and offend the over-50s

further. This paper will examine the reasons why the over-50s are such an important market, as well as discuss why advertisers and marketers are reluctant to concentrate their efforts on older rather than younger customers. In response to this, the paper will examine how advertisers and marketers can better serve this market, not only for economic reasons, but also for ethical and social reasons.

The ageing population

There are now more Americans over the age of 65 than teenagers (Dychtwald, 1997). By the year 2020 one-third of the American population will be over the age of 55, and households headed by people in that age group have twice the assets of households headed by people aged 35-54. By 2021 33 per cent of the UK population will be 55 or over (*Social Trends*, 1997). The biggest increase will be among the 55-59 age group; in 1995 there were just over three million, while by 2005 there will be nearly four million, an increase of almost 30 per cent (Mintel, 1995). Not only are there more older householders in the population, but their spending is rising while the spending of younger householders is falling (Russell 1997). Middle-aged households have the most money, with 45-54 age group spending 17 per cent more than the average household on a per capita basis. Next in rank are the 55-64 age group, who spend 15 per cent more than average per capita in the USA (Russell, 1997). Of all household expenditure in the UK, 45-55 year olds account for 23 per cent, spending just under one-third more on goods and services than other households (Bainbridge, 1998), and half as much again on leisure. The message is that baby boomers are large in number and high spenders, and yet advertisers and marketers generally do not consider the over-50s a key target market



(Bainbridge, 1998; Peterson and Ross, 1997; Wolfe, 1998; Miller, 1998). Instead they concentrate on marketing products and services to the younger generation.

"Age I do abhor thee, youth I do adore thee"

The advertising and marketing industry deny that they ignore the over-50s in favour of the younger generation, and yet there is much evidence to suggest otherwise (Carrigan and Szmigin, 1998; 1999; Miller, 1993; Gubernick, 1996; Reid, 1997; Rampton, 1998; Kay, 1998; Marrin, 1998; Treguer, 1998; Thomas and Wolfe, 1995; Lee, 1997; Corlett, 1998; Hamel and Schreiner, 1989; Mandese, 1992; Long, 1998; Goerlich and Stipp, 1995). Observers on both sides of the Atlantic have recognised how many marketers and advertisers remain focused on the younger consumer, and are unlikely to show much interest in the pursuit of the over-50s market. Long (1998) suggests that most UK marketers do not want to be identified with "losers" (i.e. old people), and associate them with "stereotypes of decrepitude, imbecility and physical repugnance". Lee (1997) found similar attitudes among advertisers in the USA, who found that selling to older people was not viewed as "appealing, exciting or rewarding". One advertising agency executive said that she could not be bothered with targeting older people "because they would all die soon" (Miller, 1993). Part of the stigma can be explained by Treguer (1998) whose experience in Europe has convinced him that many companies believe that if their product was found to be popular with older people, it would amount to a "kiss of death" as far as younger consumers were concerned. Despite recognising the huge shift in demographics towards a much older population, marketers fear that appealing to older consumers will make their products less attractive to younger consumers (Thomas and Wolfe, 1995; Deutsch *et al.*, 1986; Mathes *et al.*, 1985; Mazis *et al.*, 1992; Sawchuck, 1995). Yet this has never been unequivocally proven. Gubernick (1996) cites examples of advertisements for Compaq computers, and Clinique cosmetics depicting older consumers, which achieved positive reactions from all age groups, appealing to all market segments. Clearly we are not suggesting that older models be used for products exclusively aimed at young people such as roller blades and acne treatment, and there is evidence that the patronage intentions of young people for more conspicuous purchases can be negatively influenced by the presence of older models

(Day and Stafford, 1997), but older consumers use washing powder, microwave meals and soft drinks, and yet are rarely seen to do so in "ad-land". There is also evidence to suggest that older models are viewed at the very least neutrally, even positively by younger audiences for many products (Greco *et al.*, 1997; Milliman and Erffmeyer 1990). If the purchase is non-conspicuous, younger people have been shown to be unaffected either by the use of older models or the mention of senior citizens benefits (Day and Stafford, 1997). However, marketing people remain afraid of "contaminating their youth market" by associating with older consumers (Gubernick, 1996).

Another reason cited for the focus on youth is that the media and marketing industries are comfortable working with younger markets; this is familiar territory, they understand it and since they are not prepared to deal with the challenge of taking on the over-50s market, they avoid it (Corlett, 1998). One problem is advertising executives themselves. The average age of most advertising executives is below 50 years, and many researchers have commented on the lack of empathy this seems to create with the over-50s population (Greco, 1989; Bedell, 1998; Flanagan, 1994; Treguer, 1998). Thomas and Wolfe, (1995) found that the average age of US advertisers' representatives was 31 years, and the average age of agency representatives was 28 years. A similar picture emerges in Europe, where executives are also in their 20s and 30s (Miller, 1998; Treguer, 1998). The driving force behind agency youth bias is a disconnection between agency demographics and those of the marketplace (Lee, 1997). Agencies go after customers largely of their own age and cultural make up, and shy away from customers over fifty (Treguer, 1998). As a result, agencies rarely have creative professionals with a true understanding of life after 40 years; they do not understand or appreciate the aesthetics of older generations, and are fixated on advertising that impresses their peers and wins awards, but has little relevance to older consumers (Lee, 1997; Goerlich and Stipp, 1995; Nielson and Curry, 1997).

The radio and television industry are in part to blame for these attitudes. In the USA, network television programmers focus on younger audiences because it earns more advertising revenue than programming for older audiences (Rubel, 1995; Garron, 1998). TV time buyers pay almost \$24 per 1,000 to reach the 18-35 year-old audience, and only \$10 per 1,000 to reach older audiences (Grossman, 1998). Advertisers pay a premium for shows that reach younger viewers

because they are harder to reach; adults aged 18-49 years watch about 40 per cent less TV than older people. It is estimated that over 90 per cent of all US radio advertising dollars spent are geared to people under age 45 years (Hamel and Schreiner, 1989). In the UK, older people listen to more radio than any other group (over 20 hours per week, compared to 17 hours for those aged 16-24 years), and yet those under 30 years of age have more radio stations catering to them than anyone else. Older people also watch more television in the UK, with nearly 5 hours per day compared to 2.7 hours for the 16-24-year-olds, and yet television planners remain desperate to retain younger audiences (ITV, 1998; Ramp-ton, 1998; Kay, 1998; Marrin, 1998). Television advertisers on both sides of the Atlantic are obsessed with pleasing young adults (Thomas and Wolfe, 1995), and are willing to pay these premiums to reach a less affluent and shrinking group. This eagerness to spend money reaching young people is based on past evidence that younger people are the biggest consumers, and yet this is no longer the case. Those large numbers of young baby boomers are now large numbers of over-50s (Russell 1997). The money could be more effectively spent reaching older, more wealthy consumers, and at a much cheaper price. The justification given for television advertising spend is that younger people are bigger buyers of products advertised on television (Goerlich and Stipp, 1995), but this may be because television advertising is irrelevant to older people, as are the products featured in this media. Given their heavy usage of television, in conjunction with their size and buying power, older viewers are an attractive target for commercial messages (Johnson and Cobb-Walgren, 1994). If advertisers took the opportunity to target older people with advertising and products that were relevant to them, they may see quite a dramatic difference in the level of advertising effectiveness. So, perhaps rather than blame television and radio programmers we should look more closely at the advertisers they are trying to please. It is the advertisers and sponsors themselves who are ultimately responsible for the composition of their advertisements, and they continue to insist on youthful images for their commercials and the shows they support (Thomas and Wolfe 1995). The combined prejudices of advertisers and advertising agencies has resulted in continued negative attitudes towards an ageing population. They have not fully realised how different today's over-50s are from past generations and continue to view them as non-buyers who are difficult to please

(Thomas and Wolfe, 1995; Mitchell, 1996; Semon, 1995; Doka, 1992).

However, past failures with the older market are more likely to have been the result of products and advertising which were poorly perceived and marketed (Semon, 1995), creating a vicious circle of disinterest in the older consumer. A better understanding of the motivations and constraints which influence the 50-plus consumer could help marketers and advertisers deliver more appropriate products and services.

How do you solve a problem like the older consumer?

The first step is for marketers to stop thinking of older consumers as a "problem" because that is not how they view themselves. NSM's Prime Time study into older women's attitudes found that 69 per cent believe that their best years of their lives are yet to come, and 83 per cent of them do not even think of themselves as being old (Fairley, 1999). Older people do not have a problem with being old, but do have a problem with marketers and advertisers who think that they are "past it". Advertising agencies have convinced themselves that older people want to see young people in advertisements in their belief that most older people aspire to youth (Miller, 1998).

No-one ever aspires to be old ... it's ... the cult of the young. People today have aspirations that are younger than their actual age (Martin Smith, managing director of advertising agency Bartle Bogle Hegarty).

But is this really true, or is it the misapprehension of young advertisers who think that everyone must want to be like them? It is now being suggested that advertising agencies have got it wrong. Certainly many people do feel cognitively younger than their chronological age (Barak, 1987; Barak and Schiffman, 1980; Stephens, 1991; Carrigan and Szmigin, 1999). But rather than wishing to see only young people to identify with in media images, older people also want to see images which are aspirational in their terms; healthy, fit-looking people in their age group (Miller, 1998; Dychtwald, 1997; Corlett, 1998; Marrin, 1999).

Deevoy (1998) suggests that perhaps:
... the British consumer is learning to aspire to conditions other than mere youth?

This is borne out by recent research conducted by NSM's for IPC Magazines, who found that 62 per cent of older women want to see women their own age in advertisements (Fairley, 1999). The study also concluded that:

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

Many women are also annoyed that most advertisements are targeted at younger women (Fairley, 1999), and resent being sold anti-ageing cream by "a fresh-out-of-school girl whose only wrinkles are in her T-shirt".

Fairley (1999) states that all the outdated ideas about what it is like to hit mid-life (and above) are being torn up. Yet, advertising and television are still both guilty of presenting misrepresentative and stereotypical images of older people. Several studies have shown that the majority of advertisers do not use older people in advertising, or that when they do, they are used in stereotypical and unflattering portrayals (Carrigan and Szmagin, 1998; 1999; Zhou and Chen, 1992; Greco, 1989; Ursic *et al.*, 1986; Gantz *et al.*, 1980; Peterson, 1992; 1995; Peterson and Ross, 1997). A recent study by the BBC and Age Concern into "Older people on television" showed not only that very small numbers of older people appeared on television as presenters, reporters or interviewees, etc., but that fictional programmes "seemed to be convinced that older people were, by and large, crotchety old geezers ... grumpy, interfering, lonely, stubborn - and not interested in sex" (Kay, 1998). With a target for older people set at 20 per cent (the proportion of over-60s in the UK population), only BBC2 reached as high as 16 per cent, and Sky One only managed 5 per cent representation of older people. What is needed is a more accurate representation of older people in advertising and television; treating older people as a "funny minority" is grossly unfair on the part of the mass media (Spath, 1998). Ambassador Julia Alvarez, speaking at the launch of the UN International Year of Older Persons, commented:

I suggest that we could begin ... by bolstering the image of older people in the media ... the image of older people as full, useful and active citizens must become implanted in the popular imagination.

Another major flaw in the strategy of advertisers is the assumption that what works when advertising to younger consumers will also work with older consumers, and this again is quite wrong. Their insistence on using "shallow, mass market-oriented, technologically extravagant, condescending concepts" as one study puts it (Nielson and Curry, 1997) has meant that their efforts to reach the older market have been, for the most part, ineffectual. The assumption then is that older consumers are not responsive, rather than the reality, which is that they

will not respond to ill-conceived advertisements designed for another generation.

The ethical question

One could say that marketers and advertisers are victims of their own ineptitude, and that they are the only people suffering from their inability to reach older consumers. Economically, they are losing potential sales, but at the same time a broad section of the community is being poorly served as consumers, which in itself is unacceptable. However, their actions also carry ethical and moral consequences which should not be ignored. A key UN principle for the Year of Older Persons, in 1999, is that older people "should be treated fairly, regardless of age, gender, racial or ethnic background, disability or other status, and be valued independently of their economic contribution". Significantly, age is considered to be potentially discriminating, alongside race and gender. Unlike its counterparts, racism and sexism, ageism is a much more subtle bias and as such, often goes unrecognised (Capowski and Peak, 1994). Those affected by ageism find that it is no less unfair than other forms of discrimination, and the frustration and resentment caused are just as severe (Worsley, 1996). As we have shown, the marketing and advertising industries are particularly ageist, and are contributors to the social disenfranchisement that older people experience. It is telling, that a recent landmark decision by the Employment Appeals Tribunal in Ireland, was in response to the dismissal of an advertising executive for being too old.

Advertising is a means of social communication (Leiss *et al.*, 1990), and plays a significant role in the socialisation process by providing visual symbolic models for learning how to behave (Langmeyer, 1993). Past research into race and gender role models has demonstrated the importance of advertising in influencing social relationships both positively and negatively (Langmeyer, 1993; Hess, 1974). As with gender and race, how older people are featured in advertising has implications for the social and psychological well-being of the elderly. Smith *et al.* (1984) found that advertisements provided expectational messages to older people about their behaviour. The negative portrayal of older people in advertising negatively affects their self-perception. In the same way as cues in advertising provide symbolic models for older consumers' behaviour and affect their self-image, those cues affect wider societal attitudes towards older

people (Swayne and Greco, 1987; Zhou and Chen, 1992; Langmeyer, 1993).

Advertising sends visual cues that are picked up by society. When older people are depicted, it is in "ads characterising older persons as sick, feeble, infirm, deaf or confused" (AARP, 1998), or "those smug faces with the inevitable pipe stuck in them" (Clark, 1988) which are unrepresentative of the reality of today's over-50. Most older people fit none of these negative images. Trevor Beattie of advertising agency TBWA admits that advertisers "lie about life", which may be acceptable in some instances (Davies, 1996). However, if that lie perpetuates social discrimination and harm, then the deception becomes untenable.

Some advertisers would argue that advertising is not a social service, is limited in its ability to change prejudices and that it is questionable even to try to do so (Davies, 1996). But, advertising experience biases social judgement, and advertising is a major influence affecting the way that children and adults view their roles in society (Lyonski and Pollay, 1990). Although some may question whether the selling of baked beans is a vehicle for changing social prejudices, to abdicate all responsibility is unacceptable. Unfortunately, too many within the advertising industry are still dealing with a set of prejudices developed in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, rather than the society of the 1990s (Sawchuck, 1995). Marketing has depicted youth as the ultimate virtue, and ageing as a horrible problem. The self-perception of some advertising executives who see themselves as opinion leaders and somewhat separate from the rest of society, may in fact be the problem; they are literally out of touch with society.

The images of mass media are a cultural resource, and they provide important evidence of the kinds of cultural resources a specific society draws on to give meaning to later life. Advertisements provide a visual, symbolic model for learning how to behave. Images, therefore, can act as representations of the general ideals which shape social practice (Featherstone and Hepworth, 1995). With this in mind, social gerontologists advocate radical deconstruction and displacement of negative images of ageing and the elaboration of an alternative positive imagery. This means the deconstruction of the long-held associations between old age and illness, disability, disengagement and decline, and a more positive elaboration of the new norms of positive ageing. As Vincent (1995) argues, society needs to build a community of values that does not devalue and restrict people on the basis of age criteria:

this is as much the responsibility of advertising, as it is the rest of society. If advertising can change the way that it portrays ageing, then this will be a valuable contribution to the deconstruction of negative ageing imagery. We have seen the many ways in which advertising can be held culpable of perpetuating the negative image of ageing, it is time that the marketers and advertisers took on board Julia Alvarez's comments, and played their part in bolstering the image of older people in the media.

Showing respect for your elders

If advertisers and marketers are to have any success with older consumers, they must stop treating age as a social stigma. Recognising and reflecting the validity of older people in society through their advertising strategies is the first step. This will require research and development of advertising messages which are relevant to the over-50s, and not simply transpositions of "youth" campaigns.

All advertising tries to appeal to the consumer, whether by humour, emotion or some other route, such as fear. Appeals which succeed with younger markets will not necessarily work with an older audience. For example, what a teenager finds humorous will not necessarily elicit amusement from an older adult. The use of humour with older people needs to be done with empathy for what they find funny. Older consumers do like humorous advertisements, but sarcasm and jokes at another's expense (which work well with young audiences) are less effective with older markets. Absurd humour, clever wordplay, and self-deprecating asides are more effective in reaching a mature audience (Wolfe, 1998). It is also important not to show older people in an advertisement being made to look ridiculous; they want to laugh with the advertisement, rather than be the joke itself. Campaigns such as Cadbury's Roses chocolates which depict two older women "lifting" a car to help a "nice young man" continue to perpetuate the stereotype of dotty old women (Lavery, 1998). What might be funny to a young person, too often hits a sensitive spot with older consumers (Miller, 1993). An advertising campaign which is currently proving successful in the UK is that for Batchelors Pasta'n'Sauce Helpline. The product is targeted at advertising-literate young single people who want to eat in a hurry, but has also appealed to the older market as a result of the advertisements depiction of a middle-aged "mumsy" figure who constantly gets the better of her nervous young assistant (Mills, 1999). The success of

the campaign lies in the fact that it uses an older woman to reach a younger audience, but does so without patronising or stereotyping.

Older audiences also prefer "clever" and "real life" campaigns rather than those which rely on sexiness (*Marketing*, 1998). Family-based advertisements such as the Oxo "family" have long been successful, but a recent Allied Dunbar advertisement which depicts a middle age couple who find themselves facing a surprise pregnancy has also been praised for depicting the fact that sex is not restricted to the young, and does so in a relevant and humorous manner (Lavery, 1998). American Express found that they had to invert many traditional advertising techniques to succeed with older consumers, for example, "MTV" style quick-cut editing was irritating; arrogance did not sell, and "mature excitement" was very different to "adolescent excitement" (Nielsen and Curry, 1997). "Quick, choppy, sight and sound bites" are out of sync with the way that mature people lead their lives, and Nielsen and Curry (1997) found that the only message that such techniques sent out was that such an advertisement is not for older consumers. Thomas and Wolfe (1995) agree that advertising which "appeals blatantly to narcissism, hedonism and materialism" will turn off older audiences. In order to reach an older audience, common advertising techniques which succeed with young audiences need to be rethought. Long (1998) found advertisements which were effective with older audiences, such as Renault Clio (Nicole and Papa) or Allied Dunbar, used character, narrative, humour and an unhurried pace to promote the brand. It has also been found that celebrity endorsers are not necessarily successful with older audiences. In the USA, Krakowka (1995) cautions that 76 per cent of her older respondents found the use of celebrities in advertisements unpersuasive, and Long (1998) also found UK respondents critical of media celebrities such as actors Bob Hoskins and Frank Windsor, and radio personality Terry Wogan. They felt there was something belittling about people so "willing to exploit their position by stooping to commercialism", which is a very different set of values to today's younger consumers (Long, 1998).

Many authors are beginning to recognise that advertising needs to appeal more to older consumers by responding to their "life stage" rather than simply their age (Lee, 1997; Dychtwald, 1997; Holland, 1991; Moschis *et al.*, 1997; Lavery, 1998). Some over-50s are forming new households post-divorce; some are empty nesters with no mortgage or

children to support; some are still putting children through education, and some are surrogate purchasers for grandchildren (Peterson and Ross, 1997). The various roles that older people play – influencer, decider, buyer or user – need to be recognised by advertisers. For example, those older people who are experiencing "early adulthood" events at later ages often have more money to spend on them (Lee, 1997) and may be more attractive targets than younger consumers of products such as household goods or cars. Role models such as Lena Horne advertising Gap clothing at aged 79; or Jack Nicholson experiencing fatherhood in his 60s have little in common with the majority of media portrayals of fading, decrepit and tottering old people. A new image of age is required for the media to truly reflect how older people exist in society today, and it is more relevant to the cognitive age that people feel, than the chronological age they have reached. Dychtwald (1997) talks of the "three looks of aging"; those who refuse to do anything about physical ageing; those who try to cosmetically and surgically re-create their youth, and the middle ground which is to "try and age with health, beauty and vigour: a more natural, comfortable middle ground". This middle ground is where advertisers should be aiming. Neither impossibly young, or decrepit images of age will succeed; rather a more realistic middle ground of fit, healthy and active role models of older people are required to convince older people that they are truly being understood by marketers and advertisers.

Conclusion

Although there is some evidence that the status and image of the 50-plus market is being improved within the media, there is still a great deal of room for improvement. Too much attention is being paid to the youth market at the expense of the over-50s who offer a potentially more lucrative reward if marketers and advertisers get it right. More creativity and innovation are required from advertisers who may well know how to reach the younger consumer effectively, but who seem to misunderstand and misinterpret what older consumers require. There are a few specialist agencies who have realised the importance of the over-50s market, and offer more empathetic services, but most mainstream agencies still regard the use of older models, and any links with older consumers as a commercial disaster. Despite the evidence to the contrary, there is still reluctance

to accept that younger people can find older people relevant in commercial appeals.

It also needs to be recognised that most older people accept and enjoy their life stage, and are as willing to spend their money as any other generation, but only if the product and the message are relevant. More importantly perhaps, there is a moral imperative for the media as a whole to show respect to older people, and to stop treating them as mildly amusing second-class citizens. Not only should more appropriate messages be used to reach older consumers, there should be more older people featured in the media, and in advertising for older people. Peterson and Ross (1997) have recognised that there are a number of people responsible for the current dismissiveness of older people by the media – advertising agencies, television and commercial producers, marketers and manufacturers. As the UK's Labour Government promote themselves on the back of "Cool Britannia" (i.e. young Britannia) they too seem to have missed the point that they actually preside over a nation of much older citizens. Youth does not have a monopoly right over society, and it is time that the media recognised this and took up the challenge of reaching the growing over-50s population.

References

- AARP (1998), *You and Advertising: A Few Words about Advertising and AARP's Acceptance Policies*, (Brochure), American Association of Retired Persons, Lakewood, CA.
- Bainbridge, J. (1998), "Baby-boomers: a generation vexed", *Marketing*, May 7, pp. 20-1.
- Barak, B. (1987), "Cognitive age: a new multi-dimensional approach to measuring age identity", *International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, Vol. 25 No. 2, pp. 109-25.
- Barak, B. and Schiffman, L.G. (1980), "Cognitive age: a nonchronological age variable", in Olson, F.J. (Ed.), *Advances in Consumer Research*, Ann Arbor, MI, p. 28.
- Bedell, G. (1998), "All these familiar faces hit the big time after 50", *Night and Day*, September 27, pp. 26-8.
- Capowski, G. and Peak, M.H. (1994), "Ageism: the new diversity issue", *Management Review*, Vol. 83 No. 10, pp. 10-16.
- Carrigan, M. and Szmigin, I. (1998), "Older models in contemporary consumer advertising: usage and portrayal in print media", working papers in commerce, University of Birmingham.
- Carrigan, M. and Szmigin, I. (1999), "Usage and portrayal of older models in contemporary consumer advertising", forthcoming in *Journal of Marketing Practice: Applied Marketing Science*.
- Clark, E. (1988), *The Want Makers*, Hodder and Stoughton, London.
- Corlett, C. (1998), "Shattering the stereotypes of the 50+ shopper: marketing", *Vital Speeches of the Day*, Vol. 64 No. 15, pp. 478-80.
- Davies, J. (1996), "Advertising's last taboos", *Campaign*, March 8, pp. 30-2.
- Day, E. and Stafford, M.R. (1997), "Age-related cues in retail services advertising: their effects on younger consumers", *Journal of Retailing*, Vol. 73 No. 2, pp. 211-33.
- Deevoy, A. (1998), "Will you still need me, will you still feed me, when I'm 84?", *Night and Day*, April 26, pp. 7-10.
- Deutsch, F.M., Zalenski, C.M. and Clark, M.E. (1986), "Is there a double standard of aging?", *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, Vol. 16 No. 9, pp. 771-85.
- Doka, K.J. (1992), "When gray is golden: business in an aging America", *The Futurist*, Vol. 26 No. 4, pp. 16-21.
- Dychtwald, M.K. (1997), "Marketplace 2000: riding the wave of population change", *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, Vol. 14 No. 4-5, pp. 271-86.
- Fairley, J. (1999), "It's a fabulous time to be 40", *Woman and Home*, March, pp. 38-40.
- Featherstone, M. and Hepworth, M. (1995), "Images of positive aging: a case study of *Retirement Choice* magazine", in Featherstone, M. and Wernick, A. (Eds), *Images of Aging: Cultural Representations of Later Life*, Routledge, London, pp. 29-47.
- Flanagan, P. (1994), "Don't call 'em old, call 'em customers", *Management Review*, Vol. 83 No. 10, pp. 17-22.
- Gantz, W., Gartenberg, H.M. and Rainbow, C. (1980), "Approaching invisibility: the portrayal of the elderly in magazine advertisements", *Journal of Communication*, Winter, pp. 56-60.
- Garron, B. (1998), "CBS decides to age gracefully", *Broadcasting and Cable*, Vol. 128 No. 3, pp. 84-5.
- Goerlich, B. and Stipp, H. (1995), "Why youth rules", *American Demographics*, Vol. 17 No. 5, pp. 30-1.
- Greco, A.J. (1989), "Representation of the elderly in advertising: crisis or inconsequence?", *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, Vol. 6 No. 1, pp. 37-44.
- Greco, A.J., Swayne, L.E. and Johnson, E.B. (1997), "Will older models turn off shoppers?", *International Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 16, pp. 27-36.
- Grossman, L. (1998), "Aging viewers: the best is yet to be", *Columbia Journalism Review*, Vol. 36 No. 5, pp. 68-9.
- Gubernick, L. (1996), "Gray hair is cool", *Forbes*, Vol. 157 No. 9, pp. 116-18.
- Hamel, R. and Schreiner, T. (1989), "Tune in to older listeners", *American Demographics*, Vol. 11 No. 10, pp. 54-6.
- Hess, B. (1974), "Stereotypes of the aged", *Journal of Communication*, Autumn, pp. 76-85.
- Holland, J.R. (1991), "Reaching older audiences: aging America presents communications

- challenges and opportunities", *Public Relations Journal*, Vol. 47 No. 5, pp. 14-19.
- ITV (1998), "Regaining the heartland of younger viewers: a brief for the advertising education award 1998/99", <http://www.ipa.co.uk>
- Johnson, R.L. and Cobb-Walgren, C.J. (1994), "Aging and the problem of television clutter", *Journal of Advertising Research*, Vol. 34 No. 4 pp. 54-66.
- Kay, N. (1998), "Media must end outdated, cruel stereotyping", *Mediaage Newsletter*, presentation from Vienna Forum on Mass Longevity – a Good Story?, <http://www.mediaage.net>
- Krakowka, L.C. (1995), "Old folks boogie", *American Demographics*, June, pp. 29-31.
- Langmeyer, L. (1993), "Age role portrayals in magazine advertisements: a content analysis", in Summery, J.H. *et al.* (Eds), *Theories and Concepts in Era of Change*, Southern Marketing Association Proceedings 1983, Carbon-dale, IL, pp. 286-9.
- Lavery, K. (1998), "One foot in the grave", Keynote Speech at Washington Presentation – AARP Forum, October 6.
- Lee, R.A. (1997), "The youth bias in advertising", *American Demographics*, Vol. 19 No. 1, pp. 46-50.
- Leiss, W., Kline, S. and Jhally, S. (1990), *Social Communication in Advertising*, 2nd ed., Nelson, Scarborough, Ontario.
- Long, N. (1998), "Broken down by age and sex: exploring the ways we approach the elderly consumer", *Journal of the Market Research Society*, Vol. 40 No. 2, pp. 73-91.
- Lyonski, S. and Pollay, R.W. (1990), "Advertising sexism is forgiven, but not forgotten: historical, cross-cultural and individual differences in criticism and purchase boycott intentions", *International Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 9 No. 4, pp. 317-30.
- Mandese, J. (1992), "TV net's pursuit of youth creates void", *Advertising Age*, Vol. 63 No. 47, pp. 56-8.
- Marketing (1998), "Grey consumers feel overlooked by ad strategies", *Marketing*, November 19, p. 9.
- Marrin, M. (1999), "They're loud and proud: make way for the elderly", *Daily Telegraph*, January 14, p. 24.
- Marrin, M. (1998), "What a turn-off they have made of Radio 4", *Daily Telegraph*, October 22, p. 28.
- Mathes, E.W., Brennan, S.M., Haugen, P.M. and Rice, H.B. (1985), "Ratings of physical attractiveness as a function of age", *Journal of Social Psychology*, Vol. 125 No. 2, pp. 157-68.
- Mazis, M.B., Ringold, D.J., Elgin, S.P. and Denman, D.W. (1992), "Perceived age and attractiveness of models in cigarette advertisements", *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 56, pp. 22-37.
- Miller, C. (1993), "Image of seniors improves in ads", *Marketing News*, December 6, pp 8-11.
- Miller, R. (1998), "When did you last wear the jeans?", *Goodtimes*, December/January, pp. 28-31.
- Milliman, R.E. and Erffmeyer, R.C. (1990), "Improving advertising aimed at seniors", *Journal of Advertising Research*, December/January, pp. 31-6.
- Mills, D. (1999), "Campaign of the month", *Daily Telegraph*, January 22, p. 9.
- Mintel (1995), *Leisure Report*, May, Mintel Marketing Intelligence.
- Mitchell, A. (1996), "Why grey means gold", *Management Today*, January, pp. 76-7.
- Moschis, G., Euehun, L. and Mathur, A. (1997), "Targeting the mature market: opportunities and challenges", *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, Vol. 14 No. 4, pp. 282-94.
- Nielsen, J. and Curry, K. (1997), "Creative strategies for connecting with mature individuals", *Journal of Consumer Marketing*, Vol. 14 No. 4-5, pp. 310-30.
- Peterson, R.T. (1992), "The depiction of senior citizens in magazine advertisements: a content analysis", *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 11, pp. 701-6.
- Peterson, R.T. (1995) "The portrayal of senior citizens by banks in newspaper advertisements: a content analysis", *Journal of Professional Services Marketing*, Vol. 12 No. 2, pp. 95-106.
- Peterson, R.T. and Ross, D.T. (1997), "A content analysis of the portrayal of mature individuals in television commercials", *Journal of Business Ethics*, Vol. 16 No. 4, pp. 425-33.
- Rampton, J. (1998), "Pretty relieved", *The Magazine*, December, pp. 46-9.
- Reid, A. (1997), "Young titles may be lucrative but don't forget older women", *Campaign*, July 11, p. 14.
- Rubel, C. (1995), "Older people deserve high-quality TV shows", *Marketing News*, Vol. 29 No. 21, pp. 14-16.
- Russell, C. (1997), "The ungraying of America", *American Demographics*, Vol. 19 No. 7, pp. 12-5.
- Sawchuck, K.A. (1995), "From gloom to boom: age, identity and target marketing", in Featherstone, M. and Wernick, A. (Eds), *Images of Aging: Cultural Representations of Later Life*, Routledge, London, pp. 173-87.
- Semon, T.T. (1995), "Gerontophobia in marketing research", *Marketing News*, Vol. 29 No. 1, pp. 23-4.
- Smith, R.B., Moschis, G.P. and Moore, R.L. (1984), "Effects of advertising on the elderly consumer: an investigation of social breakdown theory", in Belk, R.W. *et al.* (Eds), *1984 AMA Educators' Proceedings*, American Marketing Association, Chicago, IL, pp. 1-5.
- Social Trends (1997), Vol. 27, HMSO, London.
- Spatu, F.A. (1998), "Mass longevity – a good story?", speech at Vienna Forum on Older people, November 20-21, Austria.

- Stephens, N. (1991), "Cognitive age: a useful concept for advertising?", *Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 20 No. 4, pp. 37-49.
- Swayne, L.E. and Greco, A.J. (1987) "The portrayal of older Americans in television commercials", *Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 16 No. 1, pp. 47-54.
- Thomas, V. and Wolfe, D.B. (1995), "Why won't television grow up?", *American Demographics*, Vol. 17 No. 5, pp. 24-7.
- Treguer, J. (1998), "French expert says advertisers ignore wealthiest market", *Mediaage Newsletter*, presentation from Vienna Forum on Mass Longevity – A Good Story?, <http://www.mediaage.net>
- Ursic, A.C., Ursic, M.L. and Ursic, V.L. (1986), "A longitudinal study of the use of the elderly in magazine advertising", *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 13, June, pp. 131-3.
- Vincent, J.A. (1995), *Inequality and Old Age*, UCL Press, London.
- Wolfe, D.B. (1998), "Boomer humor", *American Demographics*, Vol. 20 No. 7, pp. 22-3.
- Worsley, R. (1996), "Only prejudices are tired and old", *People Management*, Vol. 2 No. 1, pp. 18-24.
- Zhou, N. and Chen, M.Y.T. (1992), "Marginal life after 49: a preliminary study of the portrayal of older people in Canadian consumer magazine advertising", *International Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 11, pp. 343-54.