



Dr. Lluís MAS

Universitat Pompeu Fabra. España. lluis.mas@upf.edu

Dra. Maddalena FEDELE

Universitat Ramon Llull. España. maddalena.fedele@gmail.com

Dra. Olatz LARREA

Universitat Internacional de Catalunya. España. olarrea@uic.es

Characters' portrayal in the television ads consumed by 5-8 year-old children in Spain

Representación de los personajes en los spots televisivos consumidos por niños de 5 a 8 años en España

Received: 14/10/2017 - Reviewed: 25/01/2018 - Published 08/02/2018

Abstract

TV advertisements play a key role in the portrayal of models, values and roles. Children may interiorize and use them in the construction of their own identities. Previous studies on body image portrayed by media focused on the characters' weight appearance, and concluded that media strongly emphasize the 'ideal slim'. However, no studies have focused on the TV advertisements consumed by children under 9. The objective of this research is to describe the portrayal of the characters represented in the television commercials most consumed by 5-8 year-old Spanish children. The body, intellectual and social features of 427 characters from the 133 most consumed commercials by children is content analyzed. Results show that these characters tend to be children or young adults, white skin, brown hair and slender. These characters tend to be portrayed alone, active and happy, and dressed casually. The main characters can only be further characterized by being shown in body or medium shots with a prominent use of sound effects. These results confirm the physical, intellectual and social ideals and add to the theory in this field.

Keywords

Body image; Characters; Children; Media portrayal; TV commercials

Resumen

La publicidad televisiva tiene un papel decisivo en la representación de modelos, valores y roles. La población infantil puede interiorizar estas representaciones y utilizarlas para construir sus propias identidades, incluyendo su imagen corporal. Estudios anteriores sobre la imagen corporal se han centrado en el peso aparente de los personajes, concluyendo que los medios enfatizan fuertemente el 'esbelto ideal'. Sin embargo, no existen estudio centrados en la publicidad televisiva consumida por niños/as menores de 9 años. El objetivo de esta investigación es describir la representación de los personajes en la publicidad televisiva más consumida por niños/as entre 5 y 8 años. Los rasgos corporales, intelectuales y sociales de 427 personajes en 133 spots son analizados mediante análisis de contenido. Los resultados muestran a personajes niños o adultos jóvenes, de piel blanca, pelo castaño y esbeltos. Estos personajes tienden a ir vestidos informalmente y se muestran en acción, solos y felices. Los personajes principales se diferencian de los secundarios por mostrarse en plano entero o medio y con un uso prominente de efectos sonoros. Estos resultados confirman el patrón físico, intelectual y social de los ideales, y refuerzan la teoría en este campo de estudio.

Palabras clave

Imagen corporal; Personajes; Población infantil; Publicidad televisiva; Representación mediática

1. Introduction

Body image has become a crucial line in media research due to its social and health implications. In the past, limited research has focused on the influence of media content on body dissatisfaction in children. In the study conducted by Martin and Kennedy (1993), authors elaborate on body self perception of girls through the ages of 8 to 11 and described how girls reading fashion magazines activated a comparison between themselves and fashion models and celebrities and concluded that girls ended up feeling bad about it. Related with exposure to fashion magazines (Field et al., 1999) stated that elementary-school girls showed a poor body image as a result of reading weight and beauty information on magazines. Recent review on communications theories (Grabe, Ward & Hyde, 2008) have shown that repeated exposure to media content leads viewers to high levels of acceptance of media portrayals as representations of reality (Gerbner, Gross, & Morgan, 2002; Brown, 2002). In this sense research by Grabe, Ward & Hyde (2008) concludes that:

Media's consistent depiction of a thin ideal leads women to see this ideal as normative, expected, and central to attractiveness. However, because media presentations of women's bodies are so skewed, showcasing an ideal that is out of reach to most, adopting this reality may lead to decreased satisfaction with one's own body (2008:460).

Body dissatisfaction develops during childhood, among 40-50% of the children between 6-12 report feeling unsatisfied with their physical aspect (Abramovitz & Birch, 2000; Hendy, Gustitus & Leitzel-Schwalm, 2001; Davison, Markey & Birch, 2003; Phares, Steinberg, & Thompson, 2004; McCabe & Ricciardelli, 2005; Skemp-Arlt, Rees, Mikat & Seebach, 2006; Mancilla, Vázquez, Amaya, Álvarez, 2012). TV advertisements play a key role in the portrayal of models, values and roles. Children may interiorize and use them in the construction of their own identities, including their own body image. These media portrayals usually associate slimness to positive features such as popularity or group appreciation (Grabe et al, 2008; Levine & Murnen, 2009). In fact, previous studies on body image portrayed by media have focused on the characters' weight appearance, and have concluded that media strongly emphasize the 'slimness standard' or the 'ideal slim' (Carrillo, Jiménez Morales & Sánchez, 2013).

Although research on advertising and under aged has focused principally on food advertisement (e.g.: Kelly et al., 2010), several studies have analyzed the characters' portrayal of gender (e.g.: Furnham & Paltzer, 2000; Matthes, Prieler & Adam, 2016; Peak, Nelson & Vilela, 2011; Peruta & Powers, 2017), race (e.g.: Maher, Herbst, Childs & Finn, 2008; Michelle, 2012; Merskin, 2008; Peruta & Powers, 2017) or age (e.g.: Chen, 2015; Ramos-Soler & Carretón-Ballester, 2012; Vergara & Vergara, 2012). These studies have demonstrated a perpetuation of gender, racial and age stereotypes, with an overrepresentation of male characters compared to female ones, as well as an overrepresentation of the Caucasian race compared to the others, and an underrepresentation of the elders. Despite a substantial body of research on the characterization of body ideals in the media and the influence of these ideas on body image, very few studies have focused on a representative sample of the TV advertisements consumed by children under 9 to account for the actual characters being observed by this population.

The objective of this study is to describe the body, intellectual and social patterns of the characters shown in the TV ads consumed by 5 to 8 age children in Spain. Also, this study tries to find significant differences in the portrayal of the main and secondary characters in these ads. First, a review of the literature on body image and characters' portrayal in TV fiction and TV commercials is presented. Then, a content analysis of 404 characters is conducted.

2. Body ideal and body image

A growing body of research has started to investigate body image as a result of exposure to the thin ideal in many different social and cultural settings. Studies in this area have produced broad conclusions on the implications that body ideal can have on body image affections, and findings show a direct relation of body image disturbance as a prediction factor for eating pathology (e.g., Stice & Shaw, 2002). Furthermore, other studies (Ricciardelli and McCabe, 2001; Clark & Tiggemann, 2008) state that in modern societies such dissatisfaction affects more girls than boys and is mostly related to weight and shape. According to gender differences on body ideals, "results reported specific estimates for the number of preadolescent girls who desire a thinner body size to range between 28% and 55%" (Clark & Tiggemann, 2008:76). In developed countries, negative body image has been revealed as an essential contributor to the development of young and adult obesity as well as the appearance of eating disorders (Smolak, 2002).

Some studies have tried to determine the main factors that explain body image construction on children in an attempt to understand its roots and to develop intervention tools. The review done by Smolak (2004) observed historical ethnic, gender, age and cross-cultural differences in the levels of body esteem, thus suggesting that culture and society are essential variables in the construction of body image. Particularly on children's body image, theories state that weight and shape constitute central variables to determine body dissatisfaction among children, as showed by Smolak and Levine's model (2001). Other studies, such as Ricciardelli, McCabe, Holt, & Finemore (2003), conclude the same on adults, this is, "sociocultural factors" (e.g., family, friends, media) and "psychological factors" (e.g., negative affect, self-esteem, autonomy) play a critical role, besides "biological factors" (e.g., gender, age).

According to such results, a considerable amount of studies recognize that body image disorders are partially influenced by media in general (and children serial fiction, advertising or video games in particular) as physical stereotype generators (Botta, 1999; Harrison & Cantor, 1997; Myers & Biocca, 1992; Stice, Schupak-Neuberg, Shaw & Stein, 1994; Hamilton & Waller, 1993; Irving, Dupen & Beren, 1998).

But media exposure is not the only risk to develop a distorted body image in children. Research has shown that "negative body image can occur when an individual does not attain their desired ideal appearance goal" (Clark & Tiggemann, 2008:77). Studies suggest that the awareness of unrealistic cultural beauty ideals (Richardson, Paxton & Thomson, 2009) and the awareness of the internalization processes reduce the likelihood of suffering from a distorted body image.

Evidence suggests (Keery, van den Berg, & Thompson, 2004; Mitchell, Petrie, Greenleaf & Martin, 2012) that appearance-related conversations can turn about an important risk factor for body image concerns, specifically among girls:

Studies conducted with girls consistently reveal an association between appearance comparison and body dissatisfaction (Keery, van den Berg, & Thompson, 2004; Mitchell, Petrie, Greenleaf & Martin, 2012). Adolescent girls frequently engage in appearance-related conversations with family, peers, and friends (Jones, 2004). Exposure to these conversations has been shown to increase thin ideal internalization and body dissatisfaction (Clark & Tiggeman, 2006). Although fewer studies have investigated the impact of appearance-related conversations on boys' body image concerns, negative appearance-related conversations have been associated with an increase in muscularity and the tendency to engage in such comparisons is positively associated with muscularity dissatisfaction (Smolak & Stein, 2006), as well as higher levels of body image dissatisfaction among adolescent boys (Bird et al. 2013:4).

3. The portrayal of characters in TV fiction series and TV advertising

The portrayal of fictional characters has been analyzed especially in relation to gender, race and age in television series and commercials, and, more recently, in videogames (e.g.: Burgess, Stermer & Burgess, 2007; Planells-de la Maza, 2014; Yvette, 2011). Most studies focused on television fiction shows have analyzed gender stereotypes, and concluded that "male and female characters have often been portrayed in stereotypical ways" (Glascock, 2001: 656), even if the work of behind-the-camera female producers (Lauzen, Dozier & Cleveland, 2006) or scriptwriters (Kharroub & Weaver, 2014) can foster an unbiased gender representation.

Also, in the last few years, some studies have pointed out a more equal gender representation in more recent television shows, as Globan and Pavic state: "Television started presenting new main heroines that are equally courageous, independent, intelligent and violent as their male partners although they continue to perpetuate the stereotypical depiction in terms of physical attractiveness and sex appeal" (2016: 136). Also, Zayer, Sredl, Parmentier and Coleman (2012) found that characters from HBO series *Entourage* and *Sex and the City* could "negotiate the tensions between more traditional gender roles and the assumption of contemporary roles through consumption" (Zayer et al., 2012: 333). Finally, Tous-Rovirosa and Aran-Ramspott (2017) found that at least in Northern European contexts, women were represented more equally in relation to politics.

However, the stereotypical gender representation in television fiction series include both the physical and psychological characteristics (e.g.: Elasmr, Hasegawa & Brain, 1999; Fouts & Burggraf, 1999 and 2000; García-Muñoz & Fedele, 2011a; García-Muñoz & Fedele, 2011b) and the social and occupational roles (e.g.: García-Muñoz, Fedele & Gómez-Díaz, 2012; Greenberg & Colette, 1997; Lauzen, Dozier & Horan, 2008; Mastro & Ortiz, 2008; Signorielli, 2009; Signorielli & Bacue, 1999; Signorielli & Kahlenberg, 2001). As García-Muñoz and Fedele (2011b) pointed out, female characters are often underrepresented, portrayed as

younger than their male counterparts, slimmer and dressed in a more provocative way (Signorielli & Bacue, 1999; Fouts and Burggraf, 2000; Barriga, Shapiro & Jhaveri, 2009), depicted more often as victims or in weaker positions, while male characters are normally represented as stronger and more powerful (Mastro & Ortiz, 2008), and more violent and aggressive (Fernández-Villanueva, Revilla-Castro, Domínguez-Bilbao, Gimeno-Jiménez & Almagro, 2009; Scharrer, 2001). Also, women are more likely to be connected with the family, friends and love, while male characters are more often associated to their occupational roles (García-Muñoz, Fedele & Gómez-Díaz, 2012; Lacalle & Gómez, 2016; Lauzen, Dozier & Horan, 2008; Tous-Roviroso & Aran-Raspott, 2017; Signorielli & Bacue, 1999; Signorielli & Kahlenberg, 2001). In addition, other age groups are also underrepresented in television series and portrayed in stereotypical ways. For example, the elders are represented mostly in relation to family, especially old females (Kilinc & Uztug, 2016). Perales and Pérez-Chica (2008) carried out an analysis of the infantile stereotypes represented in fiction programs, news and commercials, and emphasized the recurrent use of minors in both television contents and advertising messages, since "the representation of children creates a current of sympathy for the product" (Perales & Pérez-Chica, 2008: 302). Finally, Vergara and Vergara (2012), who analyzed the portrayal of children in children's advertising broadcast in Chile, concluded that advertising was reinforcing gender stereotypes since boys were more likely to have a central role than girls.

Research on gender portrayals in TV advertising started in the US in the 1970s, then in Europe in the 1980s and in Asia in the 1990s, generally concluding that "gender roles are highly stereotypical in television advertisements" (Matthes et al., 2016: 315). Also, the authors remember that female and male characters are used to represent different categories of products, being the first ones more associated to the so-called "body products" (Matthes et al., 2016: 315), and more likely to be represented in home-settings. Concerning occupational roles, male characters are more likely to be depicted working and female characters tend to be represented as homemakers (Matthes et al., 2016: 315). These authors, who carried out a global comparative study among 13 Asian, American and European countries, found coincident gender stereotypes around the world (Matthes et al., 2016). Accordingly, Peak, Nelson and Vilela (2011: 192) carried out a comparative analysis across seven countries and concluded that male characters "were featured in prominent visual and auditory roles, while females were still portrayed in stereotypical ways". Furnham, Abramsky and Gunter (1997), who compared the weekend children's television programming in the United States and United Kingdom, found that in both cases, male characters used to appear more often than female ones, in addition to have central and authoritative roles. Eaton (1997) pointed out an underrepresentation of female characters in prime-time promotional announcements broadcast on five American television networks (ABC, NBC, CBS, FOX, and UPN).

With regard to race portrayals, several studies have found an overrepresentation of Caucasians as opposed to an underrepresentation of non-Caucasian characters (African-Americans, Asians and Latinos) (Maher et al., 2008; Merskin, 2008; Peruta & Powers, 2017). And second, this study found significant differences in racial representation according to different advertised products: racial groups generally associated with negative stereotypes (such as African-Americans and Hispanics) were overrepresented in restaurant commercials, while Caucasians and Asians, who are more often attributed positive stereotypes, were more associated with toys' ads (Maher et al., 2008: 87). Michelle (2012), who analyzed gender and ethnic representations in New Zealand TV commercials, found that both male and female characters were depicted in a stereotypical way in relation with each ethnic category, being Māori/Pasifika women and Asians of both genders mostly absent.

In Spain, Espinar-Ruiz (2006) carried out an analysis of gender representation in both programming and advertising aimed at children. With regard to advertising, firstly, the author highlighted the scarcity of commercials featuring only female characters (9.6%), especially in comparison with those played exclusively by male characters (56.1%). The author also pointed out the greater likelihood of representing female characters in very early ages (pre-school). The author emphasized that female characters were more likely to possess magical powers and have a greater linguistic ability, while male characters were intelligent, not very imaginative and more associated with a low capacity of expressing their feelings in a transparent way. On the other hand, Martínez, Nicolás and Salas (2013), by analyzing toy commercials broadcast in Christmas periods in Spain, found that male characters were overrepresented comparing to female ones, as well as more associated to vehicles and action toys and to values such as competition, individualism, power and strength, among others; while female characters were associated to dolls and accessories toys and to values such as beauty and motherhood. Moreover, Valls-Fernández and Martínez-Vicente (2007)'s contribution must be mentioned. The authors analyzed the gender representation in television advertisements broadcast by the three main Spanish channels (TVE1, Antena3 and Telecinco) and found several gender differences. For instance, "men appeared in greater percentages than women in all occupation types", while "women were shown in greater proportion than men in childcare activities" (Valls-Fernández & Martínez-Vicente, 2007: 691).

In light of this review, we pose two research questions:

RQ1. What is the body, intellectual and social pattern of the characters shown in the TV ads most consumed by Spanish children?

RQ2. Is the portrayal of main characters as opposed to secondary characters reinforcing gender, race and social stereotypes?

4. Methodology

A content analysis is conducted on 133 commercials from the children's most consumed commercials in television from January to June 2015, according to Kantar Media. More specifically, the body features of 427 characters are content analyzed following a template of the body and intellectual traits of characters, the roles played in the ad, the body as the main message and any audiovisual features used to emphasize this body.

This analysis is conducted by 5 pairs of researchers. Each pair of two researchers was handed a coding manual with all the instructions for the coding process. All characters shown with a human body structure were coded regardless of being nonhuman. The age, social class, family and friends' affiliation, occupation, emotional state and personality were blindly estimated by coders, so that a decision was made if both agreed. If not, a third coder had to make another blindly estimation to decide the codification of the feature. The body as a message refers to the crucial relevance of the body (its characteristics, shape, size, color) to the plot and/or message of the commercial. Coders were trained before engaging in the codification process.

The variables analyzed are the following: general features of the character (gender, age, and class), role played, emotional state, personality, facial features, body features, clothes, action, body as a message and features to stress the body.

The descriptive analysis of all features is reported and a chi-square analysis is applied to test correlations between the importance of characters -main and secondary- and these features.

5. Results

Firstly, we describe the main features found in the general portrayal of characters in commercials broadcasted in Spain and most consumed by children. This pattern is based on body and personality traits, social and occupational roles, and audiovisual production features.

Of a total of 427 characters, 54.8% (n=234) are men, 41% (n=175) women and 4.2% (n=18) are not defined. Regarding protagonism, 55% (n=235) are main characters and 45% (n=192) are secondary ones. Also, mainly the characters (62.1%, n=265) appear alone, while only 37.9% (n=162) are accompanied of other characters.

As shown in Table 1, most of characters are young adults (39.8%, n=170) or younger, being the 40% children or adolescents (n=171), while only one fifth of the sample belong to the adult age, being the 12.9% (n=55) average adults, and 4.7% (n=20) senior adults. The color of the skin tends to be white (377.88.3%), being other colours less than 10%. Eyes are more likely to be dark (more likely brown than black) than light (green or blue), and so is the hair. Particularly, the hair is mainly dark (64.9%, n=277), that is brown or black, although there is considerable amount of blonde or red-haired characters (22.3%, n=95) and black-haired characters; very few are bold (4.4%, n=19). The hair is also more likely short and kind of short than long. The body of these characters is mainly slim (75.2%, n=321), some are athletic (8.4%, n=36), and very few are fat (5.4%, n=23) or have wide hips (1.6%, n=7), being the body shown by a half body shot (45.7%, n=195), full body shot (28.8%, n=123), American shot (18.5%, n=79), and close-up (7%, n=30). Regarding the muscles, most of the characters were normal -not muscle built nor weak (73.1%, n=312), some were athletic (9.4%, n=40) or flabby (6.3%, n=27), and very few are weak (2.6%, n=11) or really muscle built (2.1%, n=9). These characters are dressed mostly informal (58.5%, n=250); and only a few are shown dressing party dresses (1.6%, n=7) or naked (1.4%, n=6). Regarding the type of dresses, the vast majority is casual (69.6%, n=297), and, among other style, 1 case is sensual (0.2%).

Table 1: Characters' Physical Traits

Physical Trait	Categories (% , frequency)				
Age	Children/Pre-adolescents (28.3%, n=121)	Adolescents (11.7%, n=50)	Young adults (40%. n=70)	Adults (13%, n=55)	Senior adults (5%, n=20)
Skin	White (88.3%, n=377)	Dark/Black (5.9%, n=25)	Other colour (3.5%, n=15)		
Eyes	Black (12.2%, n=52)	Brown (33%, n=141)	Green (9.8%, n=42)	Blue (5.9%, n=25)	
Hair Color	Black (14.3%, n=61)	Brown (50.6%, n=216)	Blonde (17.6%, n=75)	Red (4.7%, n=20)	Grey/White (3.5%, n=15)
Hair Length	Short (38.2%, n=163)	Over the shoulders (23.7%, n=101)	Under the shoulders (20.4%, n=87)	Long-back (8.7%, n=37)	
Body Constitution	Slim (75.2%, n=321)	Athletic (8.4%, n=36)	Fat (5.4%, n=23)	Wide hips (1.6%, n=7)	
Muscles	Normal (73.1%, n=312)	Athletic (9.4%, n=40)	Flabby (6.3%, n=27)	Weak (2.6%, n=11)	Muscle built (2.1%, n=9)
Dress	Informal (58.5%, n=250)	Work suits/Uniforms (10.3%, n=44)	Sport clothes (7%, n=30)	Formal/Suits (5.9%, n=25)	Underwear/Bathing suits (4.9%, n=21)
Type of dresses	Casual (69.6%, n=297)	Conservative (8%, n=34)	Urban tribe (2.3%, n=10)	Untidy (1.9%, n=8)	Other style (4.2%, n=18)

Source: Own.

Characters' social and psychological traits are shown in Table 2. Regarding social class, we observed an overrepresentation of high and middle class (50.1% of the total) and the absence of lower class, while the profession of characters is mostly not identified (74%, n=316), being 30 characters students (7%). The characters were maintaining different types of relations. When characters are family-related (less than one third of the sample), the connection is mother or father (10.3%), son or daughter (10.1%) or siblings (5.9%). Considering other social relations, 38 characters were boyfriend/girlfriend (9%), 62 were friends (14.5%), 30 were colleagues at work or education center (7%), 6 were bosses (1.4%), 15 were heroes (3.5%) and 9 were villains (2.1%).

Regarding their mood, these characters were shown mostly happily (65.6%, n=280), and, at a second level, angry (14.5%, n=62), tired (4%, n=17), with a physiological state –hungry, energetic, healthy- (6.6%, n=28) or sad (3.8%, n=16). Psychologically, those characters were mainly normal or stable (265.62.1%) and extroverts (89.21%); very few were introverts (7.1.6%) or instable (14.3.3%).

Table 2: Characters' Social and Psychological Traits

Social & Psychological Traits	Categories (% , frequency)				
Social class	High class (34.4%, n=147)	Middle class (15.7%, n=67)			
Professional roles	Students (7%, n=30)	Professionals (4%, n=18)	Famous (3%, n=13)	Workers (3%, n=12)	Scientists (0.7%, n=3)
Familiar roles	Mother/Father (10.3%, n=44)	Son/Daughter (10.1%, n=43)	Siblings (5.9%, n=25)	Grandparents (0.5%, n=2)	Other familiar (1.6%, n=7)
Relational roles	Friends (14.5%, n=62)	Boyfriend/Girlfriend (9%, n=38)	Colleagues/Boss (8.4%, n=36)	Heroes (3.5%, n=15)	Villains (2.1%, n=9)
Mood	Happy (65.6%, n=280)	Angry (14.5%, n=62)	Physiological state (6.6%, n=28)	Tired (4%, n=17)	Sad (3.8%, n=16)
Personality	Normal/Stable (62.1%, n=265)	Instable (3.3%, n=14)		Extroverts (21%, n=89)	Introverts (1.6%, n=7)

Source: Own.

As for their narrative actions, these characters appear in action, specifically playing (34.9%, n=149), posing (12.9%, n=55), eating (11.7%, n=50), attacking (8.9%, n=38), working (7.3%, n=31), giving advice (5.6%, n=24); in very few cases, they are taking care of themselves (2.8%, n=12) and thinking (2.8%, n=12), relaxing (1.4%, n=6) or tidying up (0.7%, n=3). These actions were taking place either at home (34.4%, n=147) or outdoors (20.4%, n=87), although some took place in a fictional place (11%, n=47), in a setting (7.5%, n=32), restaurant (5.4%, n=23), transport (3.3%, n=14), in the gym (3%, n=13), working (0.9%, n=4) or in the office (0.2%, n=1).

Specifically about body image, in 11% of cases (47 characters), the body was used as the message, with an emphasis on the whole body (5.2%, n=22), face (2.8%, n=12), arms (2.1%, n=9), hands (0.7%, n=3) and legs (0.2%, n=1). Music was marginally used to emphasize the body: 3.3% (n=14) of jingles and 5.9% (n=25) of original music. The frame of the shot was used 26 times (6.1%) to emphasize the body, and graphical elements were used 15 times (3.5%) for the same purpose. Finally, the off voice was used 16 times (3.7%) in the case of women characters and 23 (5.4%) in the case of men characters.

Secondly, to test the significant differences between main and secondary characters, a chi-square analysis is applied. As Table 3 shows, there are some significant differences between main and secondary characters. This analysis shows that main characters are more likely to appear alone (70.6%, n=166) than secondary characters (51.6%, n=99) ($\chi^2 = 16.331, .000$), tend to be children (31.1%, n=73 and 19.8%, n=38, respectively) ($\chi^2 = 16.541, .011$), appear more as son or daughters (14%, n=33) than the secondary characters (5.2%, n=10) ($\chi^2 = 20.686, .002$). Also, main characters are happy (68.5%, n=161) as opposed to 61%, n=119) ($\chi^2 = 25.575, .000$), while secondary characters are angry (20.3%, n=39) as opposed to 9.8%, n=23). Main characters are also more extroverts (24.7%, n=58) than secondary characters (16.1%, n=31) ($\chi^2 = 11.457, .022$). Even if there is no difference in their body constitution, the body of main characters is shown in its entirety (35.3%, n=83) as opposed to 20.8%, n=40) ($\chi^2 = 12.236, .007$). The color of eyes of main characters is more likely to be blue and green (9.4%, n=22 and 11.5%, n=27) as opposed to 1.6%, n=3 and 7.8%, n=15), while secondary characters' eyes are more often not shown (53.6%, n=103) as opposed to 27.2%, n=64) ($\chi^2 = 36.574, .000$). The hair is more likely to be blonde or red in main characters (22.6%, n=53 and 5.1%, n=12) than in secondary ones (11.5%, n=22 and 4.2%, n=8) ($\chi^2 = 18.184, .011$). Main characters dress more informally (60.4%, n=142) than secondary characters (56.3%, n=108) ($\chi^2 = 18.687, .017$) and casual (75.7%, n=178) as opposed to 62%, n=119) ($\chi^2 = 21.324, .002$). Finally, the body tends to be a message with more likelihood for main characters (14%, n=33) than secondary characters (7.3%, n=14) ($\chi^2 = 4.916, .018$); also, there is more likelihood that music is used to emphasize the body ($\chi^2 = 9.090, .028$).

Table 3: Significant differences between main and secondary characters

Characters/ Features	Main	Secondary
Appearance	Alone	Group
Age	Children	Young adults
Family relatives	Son or daughter	Parents
Emotional state	Happy	Angry
Personality	Extroverts	Introverts
Body	Blue or green eyes, blonde or red hair	Brown or dark hair
Clothes	Informally or casual	Formal
Body as a message	Music emphasis	No

Source: own.

In sum, results show that these characters tend to be children or young adults that appear alone, in the role of son or daughters, happy, extroverts and stables. Their body tends to be shown and they have blonde hair, blue and green eyes. They are dressed informally and their body is more likely to be used as the main message.

6. Discussion

These results describe body, intellectual and social pattern of the characters shown in the TV ads most consumed by Spanish children. In general, they seem to portray the pattern associated with normality: more men than women, slim, happy and active. Since reality is far from being this homogenous, we argue that TV commercials portray an idealized and biased body, personality and social context of the characters. The ideal slim with white skin, extrovert and happy, is portrayed in the most part of characters. So, first, in response to RQ1, these characters are slim or athletic, white, with brown or dark eyes. Intellectually, they are happy, stable, extroverts. And socially, they are shown playing, eating or attacking, at home and outdoors.

Secondly, although the slimness of the body and the gender differences are not significant to portray main or secondary characters, some other features slightly reinforce the Western stereotype. Success and importance, represented by the main character, is associated with individuality, happiness, extroversion, clear hair and eyes and the body as whole. Thus, in response to RQ2, the main characters are more likely to be white and young boys, happy and extroverts, stable, portrayed alone, outdoors and endorsed in some kind of active role. Although characters in general tend to have brown or dark hair and dark eyes (the most dominant in Spain), main characters have more chances to be blonde and have blue and green, reinforcing even more the Western stereotype. No surprisingly, the body tends to be a message with more likelihood than secondary characters.

By describing the characters portrayed in a representative sample of commercials observed by children, this study adds to the field of research of media influences on the "ideal" standards. Exposure to media images portraying idealized thin and muscular individuals is commonly associated with the onset of body image concerns (Levine & Murnen, 2009). Most of those studies have concentrated on the appearance of characters, concluding that the graphic, audiovisual and electronic media emphasize what has come to be called the "thin standard" or the "thin ideal" (Carrillo, Jiménez Morales & Sánchez, 2011). The current study adds the intellectual, personality and social traits to the characterization of these standards. What is

more, it does so in the case of the actual advertising consumed by very young children in Spain. This line of research is crucial to account for the influences of these messages at such an early age. It should be taken into account that the exposure to media images containing ideally thin and muscular individuals is commonly associated with a concern about self-body image. In other words, media disseminate a message base in the statement "it is good to be thin"; and therefore the fact of being thin is portrayed on media in association with a variety of positive features like popularity, social appreciation, physical activity, intelligence, etc. (Malkin, Wornian, & Chrisler, 1999; Nemeroff, Stein, Diehl, & Smilack, 1994; Spitzer, Henderson, & Zivian, 1999; Grabe et al., 2008; Levine & Murnen, 2009). In fact, mass media are one of the many sociocultural influences that regulate the thickness prejudice as "horrible and ugly", and to put on weight like a symbol of the gluttony, the avarice, the indolence and even haughty. It has been observed, that some of the consequences of adopting body ideals can lead to behavior such as dieting, bingeing and purging, and skipping meals (Grabe et al., 2008).

Finally, no differences have been found regarding the gender of main and secondary characters. Although young people and adolescents have been often represented in fiction programs according to traditional gender stereotypes and models (Aubrey, 2004; Galán-Fajardo, 2007; Guarinos, 2009; Heintz-Knowles, 2000; Signorielli, 1987), more recent studies stress a more equal representation of boys and girls, especially in specific shows targeted at teenagers, such as teen series (López-Sánchez, Tur Viñes & García del Castillo, 2010; Fedele, 2014).

7. Conclusion

This study has described the physical, intellectual and social patterns of the characters observed by 5 to 8 Spanish children. It has also found some significant differences between main and secondary characters. As expected, the slim ideal and normal Western stereotypes are still dominant. The picture drawn in this study follows the normality pattern with no deviations. However, as reported in the literature review, this normality may drive to the internalization of ideals and, eventually, the distortion of children (and future adolescents) body image.

A distorted body image can lead to important physical, mental and health disorders (Bird, Halliwell, Diedrichs & Harcourt, 2013). In this regard, it has been pointed out that about 40-50% of children aged 6-12 are unsatisfied with their physical appearance. Recent studies as the one conducted by Bird et al. (2013) associate the poor body image self-perception in children and adolescents with serious implications both in the physical health (eg; limited physical activity, lack of healthy eating conducts) and in the psychological health (depression, anxiety, problems of interpersonal relations).

This study has some limitations which have to be pointed out. First of all, it is a descriptive analysis that uses qualitative method, so it has a low contrastive power. Rather, this study can be used to launch hypothesis on the basis of the dominant characters shown so that experimental designs can see the influence of them in the body image. On the basis of the representative sample of commercials analyzed, the portrayals defined can be used for experimental research. Previous to these potential experimental designs, these data should be used to find significant gender differences. The scientific evidences state that dissatisfaction affects both genres, but the type of distortion differs according to the genre. Typically, girls desire a thinner body; whereas boys usually wish to have a muscular physique with minimal body fat (Grogan, 2008; Lawler & Nixon, 2011). Thus these gender-specific differences require consideration when developing intervention content for girls and boys (Bird et al., 2013; Frederick, Peplau & Leverd, 2006).

We strongly recommend the study of mediating variables such as the internalization of ideals and the self-objectification to account for media effects on body image. In addition, although TV media contents are still widely consumed by children today, no one can neglect the importance of social networking sites as cultural systems that produce dynamic and transactional effects about children's personality and SNS use. Therefore, future experimental research should combine body ideals, sociales roles and personality and gender differences. Finally, regarding the most immediate practical outcomes of this study, these results can be used to further a critical and media literacy approach to the influence of television advertising in the construction of 5-8 year-old children's body image.

8. Bibliographical references

- [1] Abramovitz, B. A. & Birch, L. L. (2000). Five-year-old girls' ideas about dieting are predicted by mothers' dieting. *Journal of the American Dietetic Association*, 100(10), 1157-1163. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0002-8223\(00\)00339-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0002-8223(00)00339-4)
- [2] Aubrey, J. S. (2004). Sex and Punishment: An Examination of Sexual Consequences and the Sexual Double Standard in Teen Programming. *Sex Roles*, 50(7/8), 505-514. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:SERS.0000023070.87195.07>
- [3] Barriga, C. A.; Shapiro, M. A. & Jhaveri, R. (2009). Media Context, Female Body Size and Perceived Realism. *Sex Roles*, 60(1/2), 128-141. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-008-9482-7>
- [4] Bird, E. L.; Halliwell, E.; Diedrichs, Ph.C. et al. (2013). Happy Being Me in the UK: A controlled evaluation of a school-based body image intervention with preadolescent children. *Body Image*, 10(3), 326-334. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2013.02.008>
- [5] Botta, R. (1999). Television images and adolescent girls, body image disturbance. *Journal of Communication*, 49(2), 22-41. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1999.tb02791.x>
- [6] Brown, J. D. (2002). Mass media influences on sexuality. *Journal of Sex Research*, 39(1), 42- 45. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224490209552118>
- [7] Burgess, M. C. R.; Stermer, S. P. & Burgess, S. R. (2007). Sex, Lies, and Video Games: The Portrayal of Male and Female Characters on Video Game Covers. *Sex Roles*, 57(5-6), 419-433. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9250-0>
- [8] Carrillo, M. V.; Jiménez Morales, M. & Sánchez, M. (2013). *Medios de comunicación y culto al cuerpo*. Méjico: Pearson.
- [9] Carrillo Duran, M. V.; Sanchez Hernandez, M. F. & Jimenez Morales, M. (2011). Sociocultural and personal factors related to media and body cult that have an influence on young's wellbeing. *Comunicación y Sociedad*, 24(2), 227-252.
- [10] Chen, C. H. (2015). Advertising Representations of Older People in the United Kingdom and Taiwan. A Comparative Analysis. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 80(2), 140-183. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0091415015590305>
- [11] Clark, L. S. & Tiggemann, M. (2006). Appearance culture in 9- to 12-year-old girls: Media and peer influences on body dissatisfaction. *Journal of Social Development*, 15(4), 628- 643. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9507.2006.00361.x>
- [12] Clark, L. S. & Tiggemann, M. (2008). Sociocultural and individual psychological predictors of body image in young girls: A prospective study. *Developmental Psychology*, 44(4), 1124-1134. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.44.4.1124>
- [13] Davison, K. K.; Markey, C. N. & Birch, L. L. (2003). A longitudinal examination of patterns in girls' weight concerns and body dissatisfaction from ages 5 to 9 years. *International Journal Eating Disorders*, 33(3), 320-332. <https://doi.org/10.1002/eat.10142>
- [14] Eaton, C. B. (1997). Prime-time stereotyping on the new television networks. *I&MC Quarterly*, 74(4), 859-872. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769909707400413>
- [15] Elasmr, M.; Hasegawa, K. & Brain, M. (1999). The portrayal of women in U.S. prime time television. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 43(19), 20-24. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838159909364472>
- [16] Espinar-Ruiz, E. (2006). Imágenes y estereotipos de género en la programación y en la publicidad infantil. Análisis cuantitativo. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 61. Available at <https://goo.gl/3HYsVX>
- [17] Fedele, M. (2014). *Los personajes jóvenes en la ficción televisiva: identidades, modelos y representaciones juveniles en la era digital*. Final Research Report Alianza 4 Universidades. Department of Communication. Universitat Pompeu Fabra. [unpublished].
- [18] Fedele, M. (2015). Slim and curvy girls, slim and muscular boys: adolescents' portrayals in the current teen series broadcast in Spain. In ECREA Gender Section Symposium. Tarragona, Spain.

- [19] Fernández-Villanueva, C.; Revilla-Castro, J. C.; Domínguez-Bilbao, R.; et al. (2009). Gender Differences in the Representation of Violence on Spanish Television: Should Women be More Violent? *Sex Roles*, 61(1/2), 85-100. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-009-9613-9>
- [20] Field, A. E.; Cheung, L.; Wolf, A. M. et al. (1999). Exposure to the mass media and weight concerns among girls. *Pediatrics*, 103(3). <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.103.3.e36>
- [21] Fouts, G. & Burggraf, K. (1999). Television situation comedies: female body images and verbal reinforcements. *Sex Roles*, 40(5/6), 473-481. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1018875711082>
- [22] Fouts, G. & Burggraf, K. (2000). Television situation comedies: female weight, male negative comments, and audience reactions. *Sex Roles*, 42(9/10), 925-932. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1007054618340>
- [23] Frederick, D. A.; Peplau, L. A. & Leverd, J. (2006). The swimsuit issue: Correlates of body image in a sample of 52,677 heterosexual adults. *Body Image*, 3(4), 413-419. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2006.08.002>
- [24] Furnham, A.; Abramsky, S. & Guntek, B. (1997). A Cross-Cultural Content Analysis of Children's Television Advertising. *Sex Roles*, 37(1/2), 91-99. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1025692804434>
- [25] Furnham, A. & Paltzer, S. (2010). The portrayal of men and women in television advertisements: An updated review of 30 studies published since 2000. *Scandinavian Journal of Psychology*, 51(3), 216- 236. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9450.2009.00772.x>
- [26] Galán-Fajardo, E. (2007). Gender construction and Spanish fiction TV. *Comunicar*, 15(28), 229-236. Available at <https://goo.gl/8UczFC>
- [27] García-Muñoz, N. & Fedele, M. (2011a). The Teen Series and the Young Target. Gender Stereotypes in Television Fiction targeted to Teenagers. *Observatorio (OBS*) Journal*, 5(1), 215-226. Available at <https://goo.gl/PtHzID>. <https://doi.org/10.15847/obsOBS512011389>
- [28] García-Muñoz, N. & Fedele, M. (2011b). Retrato de los adolescentes en la ficción televisiva. Un estudio de caso. *Ámbitos*, 20, 71-86. Available at <https://goo.gl/j94fNw>
- [29] García-Muñoz, N.; Fedele, M. & Gómez-Díaz, X. (2012). The Occupational Role of Television Fiction Characters in Spain: Distinguishing Traits in Gender Representation. *Communication & Society*, 25(1), 349-366. Available at <https://goo.gl/JvpJcV>
- [30] Glascock, J. (2001). Gender roles on prime-time network television: Demographics and behaviors. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 45(4), 656-669. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15506878jobem4504_7
- [31] Globan, I. S. & Pavic, A. (2016). The Beautiful and Dangerous: A New Depiction of Heroines in North American Television Drama Series. *Media Studies*, 7(13), 136-151. <https://doi.org/10.20901/ms.7.13.8>
- [32] Grabe, S.; Ward, L. M. & Hyde, J. S. (2008). The role of the media in Body Image concerns among women. A meta-analysis of experimental and correlational studies. *Psychological Bulletin*, 134(3), 460-476. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.134.3.460>
- [33] Gerbner, G.; Gross, L. & Morgan, M. (2002). Growing up with television: Cultivation processes. In BRYANT, J. & ZILLMAN, D. (Eds.), *Media effects: Advances in theory and research* (pp. 43- 67). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- [34] Greenberg, B. S. & Collette, L. (1997). The changing faces on TV: A demographic analysis of network television's new seasons, 1966-1992. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 41(1), 1-13. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838159709364386>
- [35] Grogan, S. (2008). *Body Image. Understanding body dissatisfaction in men, women, and children*. London: Routledge.
- [36] Guarinos, V. (2009). Televisual Teenager Phenomena. Adolescent Prototypes in TV Series in Spain. *Comunicar*, 17(33), 203-211. <https://doi.org/10.3916/c33-2009-03-012>
- [37] Hamilton K. & Waller G. (1993). Media influences on body size estimation in anorexia and bulimia. An experimental study. *Br J Psychiatry*, 162, 837-40. <https://doi.org/10.1192/bjp.162.6.837>

- [38] Harrison, K. & Cantor, J. (1997). The relationship between media consumption and eating disorders. *Journal of Communication*, 47(1), 40–67. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1997.tb02692.x>
- [39] Heintz-Knowles, K. E. (2000). *Images of youth: A Content Analysis of Adolescents in Prime-time Entertainment Programming*. Washington, DC: Frameworks Institute.
- [40] Hendy, H. M.; Gustitus, C. & Leitzel-Schwalm, J. (2001). Social Cognitive Predictors of Body Image in Preschool Children. *Sex Roles*, 44(9), 551-569. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1012291008803>
- [41] Kharroub, T. & Weaver A. J. (2014). Portrayals of Women in Transnational Arab Television Drama Series. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 58(2), 179-195. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838151.2014.906434>
- [42] Irving, L.; Dupen, J. & Beren, S. (1998). A media literacy program for high school females. *Eating Disorders*, 6(2), 119 -131. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10640269808251248>
- [43] Jones, D. C. (2004). Body image among adolescent girls and boys: A longitudinal study. *Journal of Developmental Psychology*, 40(5), 823-835. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.40.5.823>
- [44] Kelly, B.; Halford, J. C. G.; Boyland, E. J. et al. (2010). Television Food Advertising to Children: A Global Perspective. *American Journal of Public Health*, 100(9), 1730-1736. <https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2009.179267>
- [45] Keery, H.; van den Berg, P. & Thompson, J. K. (2004). An evaluation of the tripartite influence model on body dissatisfaction and eating disturbance with adolescent girls. *Body Image*, 1(3), 237-251. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2004.03.001>
- [46] Kilinc, O. & Uztug F. (2016). The Representation of Aging in Television Series. *Turkish Journal of Sociology*, 36(2), 502-506.
- [47] Lacalle, C. & Gómez, B. (2016). The Representation of Workingwomen in Spanish Television Fiction. *Comunicar*, 24(47), 59-67. <https://doi.org/10.3916/C47-2016-06>
- [48] Lauzen, M. M.; Dozier, D. M. & Horan, N. (2008). Constructing gender stereotypes through social roles in prime-time television. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 52(2), 200-214. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838150801991971>
- [49] Lauzen, M. M.; Dozier, D. M. & Cleveland, E. (2006). Genre Matters: An Examination of Women Working Behind the Scenes and On-screen Portrayals in Reality and Scripted Prime-Time Programming. *Sex Roles*, 55(7/8), 445-455. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-006-9100-5>
- [50] Lawler, M. & Nixon, E. (2011). Body dissatisfaction among adolescent boys and girls: The effects of body mass, peer appearance culture and internalization of appearance ideals. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 40(1), 59-71. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-009-9500-2>
- [51] Levine, M. P. & Harrison, K. (2004). Media's role in the perpetuation and prevention of negative body image and disordered eating. In THOMPSON, J. K. (Ed.), *Handbook of eating disorders and obesity* (pp. 695– 717). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- [52] Levine, M. P. & Murnen, S. K. (2009). Everybody knows that mass media are/are not [pick one] a cause of eating disorders. A critical review of evidence for a causal link between media, negative body image and disordered eating in females. *Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, 28, 9–42. <https://doi.org/10.1521/jscp.2009.28.1.9>
- [53] López-Sánchez, C.; Tur Viñes, V. & García del Castillo, J. A. (2010). Evaluación del protagonista-antagonista en los contenidos audiovisuales dirigidos a la infancia en cadenas de televisión españolas. *Revista Latina de comunicación social*, 65. Available at <https://doi.org/10.4185/RLCS-65-2010-918-553-560>
- [54] Maher, J. K.; Herbst, K. C.; Childs, N. M. et al. (2008). Racial Stereotypes in Children's Television Commercials. *Journal of Advertising Research*, 48(1), 80-93. <https://doi.org/10.2501/S0021849908080100>
- [55] Malkin, A. R.; Wornian, K. & Chrisler, J. C. (1999). Women and weight: Gendered messages on magazines covers. *Sex Roles*, 40(7/8), 647–655. <https://doi.org/0360-0025/99/0400-064>
- [56] Mancilla, A.; Vázquez, R.; Mancilla, J. M. et al. (2012). Body dissatisfaction in children and adolescents. A Systematic review. *Revista Mexicana de Trastornos Alimentarios*, 13(1), 62-69.

- [57] Martin, M. C. & Kennedy, P. F. (1993). Advertising and social comparison: Consequences for female preadolescents and adolescents. *Psychology and Marketing*, 10(6), 513–530. <https://doi.org/10.1002/mar.4220100605>
- [58] Martínez, E.; Nicolás, M. A. & Salas, A. (2013). Gender Representation in Advertising of Toys in the Christmas Period (2009-12). *Comunicar*, 21(41), 187-194. <https://doi.org/10.3916/C41-2013-18>
- [59] Mastro, D. E. & Ortiz, M. (2008). A Content Analysis of Social Groups in Prime-Time Spanish-Language Television. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 52(1), 101-118. <https://doi.org/10.1080/08838150701820916>
- [60] Matthes, J.; Prieler, M. & Adam, K. (2016). Gender-Role Portrayed in Television Advertising Across the Globe. *Sex Roles*, 75(7/8), 314-327. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-016-0617-y>
- [61] McCabe, M. P. & Ricciardelli, L. A. (2005). A longitudinal study of body image and strategies to lose weight and increase muscles among children. *Applied Developmental Psychology*, 26(5), 559-577. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.appdev.2005.06.007>
- [63] Merskin, D. L. (2008). Race and Gender Representations in Advertising in Cable Cartoon Programming. *Comparative Literature and Culture*, 10(2). <https://doi.org/10.7771/1481-4374.1356>
- [64] Michelle, C. (2012). Co-Constructions of Gender and Ethnicity in New Zealand Television Advertising. *Sex Roles*, 66(1/2), 21–37. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-011-0067-5>
- [65] Mitchell, S. H.; Petrie, T. A.; Greenleaf, C. A. et al. (2012). Moderators of the internalization-body dissatisfaction relationship in middle school girls. *Body Image*, 9(4), 431-440. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2012.07.001>
- [66] Myers, P. & Biocca, M. (1992). The elastic body image: The effect of Television advertising and programming on body image distortion in young women. *Journal of Communication*, 42(3), 103-133. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1460-2466.1992.tb00802.x>
- [67] Nemeroff C. J.; Stein R. I.; Diehl N. S. et al. (1994). From the Cleavers to the Clintons: role choices and body orientation as reflected in magazine article content. *Journal of Eating Disorders*, 16(2), 167-176. [https://doi.org/10.1002/1098-108X\(199409\)16:2<167::AID-EAT2260160208>3.0.CO;2-D](https://doi.org/10.1002/1098-108X(199409)16:2<167::AID-EAT2260160208>3.0.CO;2-D)
- [67] Peak, H. J.; Nelson, M. & Vilela, A. M. (2011). Examination of Gender-role Portrayals in Television Advertising across Seven Countries. *Sex Roles*, 64(3/4), 192-207. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-010-9850-y>
- [68] Perales, A. & Pérez-Chica, A. (2008). Learning identity: what kind of children do children perceive when they watch TV? *Comunicar*, 16(31), 299-304. <https://doi.org/10.3916/c31-2008-03-010>
- [69] Peruta, A. & Powers, J. (2017). Look Who is Talking to Our Kids: Representation of Race and Gender on TV Commercials on Nickelodeon. *International Journal of Communication*, 11, 1133-1148. Available at <https://goo.gl/dVhgDJ>
- [70] Phares, V.; Steinberg, A. R. & Thompson, K. (2004). Gender differences in peer and parental influences: Body image disturbance, self-worth, and psychological functioning in preadolescent children. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 33(5), 421-429. <https://doi.org/10.1023/B:JOYO.0000037634.18749.20>
- [71] Planells-de la Maza, A. (2014). La configuración y refiguración de la heroína de los videojuegos en el siglo XXI: mundos posibles y cuestiones de género en Tomb Raider (2013) y Bioshock Infinite (2013). In the AE-IC International Conference Bilbao 2014. Bilbao, Spain.
- [72] Ramos-Soler, I. & Carretón-Ballester, M. C. (2012). Presencia y representación de las personas mayores en la publicidad televisiva: el caso español. *Revista Española de Geriátrica y Gerontología*, 47(2), 55–61. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.regg.2011.11.010>
- [73] Ricciardelli, L. A. & McCabe, M. P. (2001). Children's body image concerns and eating disturbance: A review of the literature. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 21(3), 325–344. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0272-7358\(99\)00051-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0272-7358(99)00051-3)
- [74] Ricciardelli, L. A.; McCabe, M. P.; Holt, K. E. et al. (2003). A biopsychosocial model for understanding body image and body change strategies among children. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, 24(4), 475–495. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0193-3973\(03\)00070-4](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0193-3973(03)00070-4)

- [75] Richardson, S. M.; Paxton, S. J. & Thomson, J. S. (2009). Is BodyThink an efficacious body image and self-esteem program? A controlled evaluation with adolescents. *Body Image*, 6(2), 75-82. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2008.11.001>
- [76] Scharrer, E. (2001). Tough guys: the portrayal of hypermasculinity and aggression in televised police dramas. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 45(4), 615-634. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15506878jobem4504_5
- [77] Signorielli, N. (1987). Children and adolescents on television: A consistent pattern of devaluation. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 7(3), 255-268. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0272431687073003>
- [78] Signorielli, N. (2009). Race and sex in prime time: A look at occupations and occupational prestige. *Mass Communication and Society*, 12(3), 332-352. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15205430802478693>
- [79] Signorielli, N. & Bacue, A. (1999). Recognition and respect: A content analysis of prime-time television characters across three decades. *Sex Roles*, 40(7-8), 527-544. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1018883912900>
- [80] Signorielli, N. & Kahlenberg, S. (2001). Television's world of work in the nineties. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 45(1), 4-22. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15506878jobem4501_2
- [81] Skemp-Arlt, K. M.; Rees, K. S.; Mikat, R. P. et al. (2006). Body image dissatisfaction among third, fourth, and fifth grade children. *Californian Journal of Health Promotion*, 4(3), 58-61.
- [82] Smolak, L. (2002). Body image development in children. In CASH, T. F. & PRUZINSKY, T. (Eds.), *Body image: A handbook of theory, research, and clinical practice* (pp. 65-73). New York: Guilford.
- [83] Smolak, L. (2004). Body image in children and adolescents: Where do we go from here? *Body Image*, 1(1), 15-28. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S1740-1445\(03\)00008-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S1740-1445(03)00008-1)
- [84] Smolak, L. & Levine, M. P. (2001). Body image in children. In THOMPSON, J. K. & SMOLAK, L. (Eds.), *Body image, eating disorders and obesity in youth: Assessment, prevention & treatment* (pp. 41-66). Washington DC: American Psychological Association.
- [85] Smolak, L. & Stein, J. A. (2006). The relationship of drive for muscularity to sociocultural factors, self-esteem, physical attributes gender role, and social comparison in middle school boys. *Body Image*, 3(2), 121-129. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bodyim.2006.03.002>
- [86] Spitzer B.; Henderson K. & Zivian M. (1999). Gender Differences in Population Versus Media Body Sizes: A Comparison over Four Decades. *Sex Roles*, 700(7/8), 545-565. <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1018836029738>
- [87] Stice, E.; Schupak-Neuberg, E.; Shaw, H. E. et al. (1994). Relation of media exposure to eating disorder symptomatology: An examination of mediating mechanisms. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 103(4), 836-840. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-843X.103.4.836>
- [88] Stice, E. & Shaw, H. E. (2002). Role of body dissatisfaction in the onset and maintenance of eating pathology: A synthesis of research findings. *Journal of Psychosomatic Research*, 53(5), 961-962. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-3999\(02\)00488-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-3999(02)00488-9)
- [89] Tous-Roviroso, A. & Aran-Ramspott, S. (2017). Mujeres en las series policíacas contemporáneas. ¿Una geografía común de su presencia en la esfera pública? *El profesional de la Información*, 26(4), 684-694. <https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2017.jul.12>
- [90] Valls-Fernández, F. & Martínez-Vicente, J. M. (2007). Gender Stereotypes in Spanish Television Commercials. *Sex Roles*, 56(9/10), 691-699. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-007-9208-2>
- [91] Vergara, E. & Vergara, A. (2012). Representación de la infancia en el discurso publicitario en Chile. *Comunicar*, 19(38), 167-174. <https://doi.org/10.3916/C38-2011-03-08>
- [92] Yvette, W. D. (2011). Gender and Race Representation in Casual Games. *Sex Roles*, 65(3/4), 198-207. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-011-0007-4>

Financial Support: Proyecto Mineco CSO2014-58220-R.

¹ The descriptive analysis does not show missing values or the category other, so percentages do not always sum 100.