Blogging and Television Viewing in Japan

TANI Masana AND SHIGYO Ayako

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, blogging has developed rapidly all over the world as a tool that allows people without specialized knowledge in communications to transmit information via the Internet. The phenomenon has taken off especially in Japan, which is a major “blog nation.” Blogs became increasingly popular in Japan from around 2004, and as of January 2008 an estimated 16.9 million blogs and total of 1.35 billion blog posts originate from this country.\(^1\) Some statistics estimate, adding in those who only read but not write blogs, the number of people who either read or wrote blogs in 2007 was over 35 million.\(^2\) A feature of Japanese blogs is the tremendous number of posts: 37 percent of blog posts around the world in the fourth quarter of 2006 were in Japanese, making it the most abundant language in the global blogosphere, even surpassing English and Chinese.\(^3\) The number of blog articles is increasing at a rate of 40-50 million articles per month,\(^4\) and even if approximately 40 percent of those articles were to be excluded as “spam,”\(^5\) the world of blogging is still spacious enough for further expansion.

The world has never seen a medium through which ordinary people can send out information in a visible form to such a wide range of readers. Among the huge amounts of information in blog posts, all sorts of opinions and discussion concerning television programs and stations are naturally to be found, and it is quite certain that television viewers who read such blogs are influenced by them in one way or another.

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\(^1\) Survey by the Institute for Information and Communications Policy, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2008. Details can be found at www.soumu.go.jp/iicp/chousak-enkyu/data/research/survey/telecom/2008/1008-1-02-2.pdf.

\(^2\) According to the survey by the Video Research Interactive Inc., those who have read or written blogs in 2007 totalled 35.27 million people, a 28 percent increase over the previous year of 27.52 million.

\(^3\) Released by the U.S. blog search service, Technorati, Inc., on April 5, 2007.

\(^4\) Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2008 survey. See note 1.

\(^5\) Based on the results of a survey conducted from October 2007 to February 2008 by Nifty Corporation, which is developing a filtering device that automatically detects spam blogs.
In order to explore how this shift in the viewing environment is affecting television-viewing habits and viewers’ opinions of the media, between November 2007 and February 2008 we conducted surveys designed to assess blog writers and readers in terms of quantitative and qualitative data using an Internet-administered questionnaire. The analysis of the data gathered is presented below.

OUTLINE OF THE QUANTITATIVE SURVEY

The chief objectives of the quantitative survey were to observe the attributes, habits, and attitudes of blog users as a whole and to understand what television means for blog users and their viewing habits, which could not be sufficiently grasped in previous studies. November 5–8, 2007, 561 people who both read and write blogs (hereafter referred to as “bloggers”) and 578 people who only read but do not write blogs (hereafter referred to as “blog readers”) were selected through a screening survey by an Internet research company for subjects willing to answer our Internet questionnaire. The quantitative survey of these people was carried out via the Internet from November 12 to 15.

CHARACTERISTICS OF BLOGGERS

Just how many bloggers and blog readers are there? According to our screening survey, 20 percent of the subjects both read and write blogs, and 36 percent are blog readers. Together, then, 56 percent of the subjects of the screening survey are blog users.

It must be noted here that there are nearly twice as many blog readers as there are bloggers. This number underlines the necessity of including not only blog writers but also blog readers in any study of Internet blogging.

Growing Popularity among Older People

Figure 1 shows that bloggers are more abundant among younger people. Over 30 percent of those aged between 16 and 29 are bloggers, and if the number of blog readers is included the total comes to around 70 percent. It is also noteworthy that 19 percent of those in their 40s and 13 percent of those in their 50s and 60s also have their own blogs. When blog readers are included in this figure, about half of people in these age groups read and/or write blogs. Because their sheer numbers are so large, those in their 50s and 60s make up

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6 Among major studies in this area are that noted in footnote 1 above and Burogu hakusho 2007 [2007 White Paper on Blogs], by Nomura Research Institute Blog Survey Team and Six Apart, Ltd., RBB Press, 2006.
29 percent of all bloggers. While blogs tend to be used widely among younger people, the use of blogs is also expanding among older people. There was no significant difference in ratio between gender groups: 49 percent were male and 51 percent were female.

The Internet as Part of Everyday Life

When asked how often they use the Internet, 94 percent of bloggers answered “almost daily.” Also, when asked whether they use or have used other Internet services besides blogs, more than 60 percent responded yes for “their own websites,” “web forums,” “chat rooms,” and “social networking services” each, which was much more than for blog readers (Figure 2). This means that many bloggers are heavy Internet users who are frequently online.
Figure 3. Frequency of Writing and Reading of Bloggers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Writing (n = 561)</th>
<th>Reading (n = 561)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Once a day, almost every day</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 to 5 times a week</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once or twice a week</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Once or twice a month</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less*</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* "Less" in the writing segment includes cases of virtually no writing at all

Figure 4. Topics Read in Blogs

- Diaries and columns by ordinary people: 64% (n = 561)
- Diaries and columns by celebrities: 29% (n = 561)
- News and events: 27% (n = 561)
- Travel and local information: 24% (n = 561)
- Comments about products and services: 21% (n = 561)
- Gourmet and cooking: 24% (n = 561)
- Movies: 17% (n = 561)
- Music: 13% (n = 561)
- Sports: 15% (n = 561)
- Television programs: 9% (n = 561)
- Animation and comics: 11% (n = 561)
- Video games: 9% (n = 561)
- Childcare: 4% (n = 561)
- Other: 7% (n = 561)

Bloggers (n = 561) Blog readers (n = 578)
Frequency of blog posts and blog readings is also significant. Over 60 percent of bloggers update their blogs at least once a week, and 16 percent do so every day. The frequency with which they read blogs was even more significant: 85 percent of bloggers read blogs at least once a week, and 44 percent read almost every day (Figure 3). Even among blog readers, those who read every day reached 33 percent. For many bloggers and blog readers, reading and writing blogs are daily activities.

WHAT IS READ AND WRITTEN IN BLOGS

When asked what blogs they read, “personal diaries and columns” was the most popular response, at 76 percent of bloggers and 64 percent of blog readers, much higher figures than for the second place response: “diaries and columns by celebrities.” Information provided by ordinary individuals is the most popular content among both bloggers and blog readers. Answers that came third or below show that people read blogs in many different categories. “Television programs” came tenth, with 11 percent of bloggers and 9 percent of blog readers selecting it as one of the topics they read (see Figure 4).

Eighty-five percent of bloggers gave “daily events / diaries” as the main topic about which they write for their blogs. Numerous categories follow, in almost the same order as in the case of favorite categories read. Of bloggers, 21 percent responded that they write about television programs (Figure 5).

Figure 6 demonstrates the difference in blog topics among different age and gender groups. Men in their 30s and below write mainly about sports, news, and music. Many women in the same age group write about music and movies, along with a broad range of different topics, and they tend to write about their jobs far more than other age groups. Travelling was the most favored topic among the 40s and older, especially among men. TV programs were a popular topic among women in their 30s and younger, and interest in such programs among men in their 40s and older was noticeably low.

Convenience, Record-keeping, and Self-expression

What motivates these bloggers to write? Subjects were asked to choose any number of relevant items. “Easy to update,” “serves as a record-keeper,” “to let other people know about me,” and “to let my friends and acquaintances know about me” were all equally popular responses, receiving about 40 percent each (Figure 7). Closer observation reveals that many gave more than one answer in the questionnaire, meaning that they have diverse motives for continuing to update their blogs.

Popular among older people is “easy to update,” among women “serves as
Figure 5. Topics Written About in Blogs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily events / diary</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel / local information</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News / events</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movies</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Record of and thoughts about one’s job</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gourmet / cooking</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comments about products and services*</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Television programs</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favorite celebrities</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childcare / family</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video games</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animation and comics</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Record of and thoughts about school life</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* “Comments about products and services” include those of affiliate advertisements

(n = 561)

Figure 6. Popular Blog Topics Written (by age and gender)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(%)</th>
<th>Men in 30s or younger (n = 137)</th>
<th>Women in 30s or younger (n = 167)</th>
<th>Men in 40s or older (n = 137)</th>
<th>Women in 40s or older (n = 120)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TV Program</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movie</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Celebrities</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation/job</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel/local info</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Shaded areas: over 30 percent
Figure 7. Reasons for Writing Blogs*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Easier to update than websites</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As a record-keeper</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To let other people know about me</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To let my friends and acquaintances know about me</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To make friends with same interests</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To find out what others think through comments and trackbacks</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To make money</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because it is popular</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To become famous</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The above list of reasons is simplified

a record-keeper,” and among younger people “to let others know about me.” “To make more friends with same interests” and “to find out what other people think through comments and trackbacks,” which are distinctive features of blogs, came out to only 19 percent each. Both men and women in their 30s gave those responses more often than those in other age groups.

Figure 8 shows the difference in reading preferences between bloggers and blog readers. Bloggers gave “to enjoy reading private blogs,” “to find out about what friends and acquaintances are doing” and “to make more friends with same interests” as their favored responses, but blog readers responded “to find out about what celebrities are doing” and “to read word-of-mouth communication among consumers” more than bloggers. This can be roughly interpreted as follows: bloggers focus on information exchange between individuals, while blog readers use blogs as a source of information about celebrities and society at large.

WHAT DO BLOGS MEAN TO BLOGGERS

How do bloggers interpret blogs as a media device? To answer this question, we conducted a survey in which subjects were given ten different daily situations and asked to select which medium was most suitable for each case.
A Best Device for Transmitting Information
The four situations as shown on Figure 9 are most popular among bloggers. “Expressing one’s feelings or thoughts” ranks the highest, with 49 percent seeing blogging as the most suitable medium for that purpose. In a public-opinion poll of Japanese citizens aged 16 and older conducted in 2007 by the NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute,7 “conversation with others”

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Figure 8. Reasons for Reading Blogs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Bloggers (n = 561)</th>
<th>Blog readers (n = 578)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To enjoy reading private blogs</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To find out what my friends and acquaintances are doing</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To make more friends with same interests</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To collect information about my hobbies and interests</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To find out what celebrities are doing</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To read word-of-mouth communication among consumers</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 9. Media Ratings among Bloggers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Radio</th>
<th>Television</th>
<th>Printed Media</th>
<th>Blogs</th>
<th>Email</th>
<th>Internet*</th>
<th>Conversation with others</th>
<th>None of the above</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expressing one’s feelings or thoughts</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finding tips and insider information</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirming one’s ideas do not diverge from those of others</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing the same feelings and ideas</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* “Internet” excludes blogs and email. (n = 591)

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7 Aramaki Hiroshi, Hirata Akihiro, and Ishibashi Ari, “Hitobito no johokan to media e no hyoka: Nettowaaku shakai no naka no terebi ni kansuru yoron chosa karai” [People’s Views on Information and Assessment of the Media: From the Public Opinion Survey on Television
ranked the highest at 61 percent, but in our survey bloggers seem to feel that blogs suit them best as a means of expression. Among its many features, a blog’s ability to disseminate information receives high approval ratings from bloggers.

Blogs also receive high approval for their ability to confirm information, as 25 percent of bloggers see blogs as a suitable device for “finding tips and insider information” and 19 percent for “confirming one’s ideas do not diverge from those of others.” As a tool most suitable for “sharing the same feelings and ideas,” 18 percent chose blogs, the third-highest ranking only after “television” and “conversation with others.” A significant number of bloggers thus point out the influence blogs have on society. Women in their 30s or younger gave especially high marks to blogs; 23 percent said blog is a tool for “sharing the same feelings and ideas,” about the same as “television” (21 percent).

These findings show that blogging is increasing its presence as a definitely valuable medium for bloggers.

**High Marks for the Internet**

Figure 10 compares the results of the survey regarding these four situations with the findings of the abovementioned public-opinion poll about where the Internet stands.\(^8\) These numbers represent total numbers of people who

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\(^8\) Aramaki et al. 2007.

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Finding tips and insider information</th>
<th>Bloggers (n=561)</th>
<th>Blog readers (n = 578)</th>
<th>Japanese aged 16 and older* (n = 2,572)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Expressing one’s feelings or thoughts</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirming one’s ideas do not diverge</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>from those of others</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing the same feelings and ideas</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Survey by NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute
choose blogs, email, or the Internet (everything other than blogs and email) as the most suitable tool, or in other words, the percentage who saw the Internet as the most suitable tool.

The number of people who considered the Internet useful for each of the four purposes increased in correlation to the degree of their involvement with blogs. More bloggers and blog readers than the general public gave the Internet as the best device for the other six purposes not mentioned here.9 Blog users are not only heavy Internet users, but give high marks to the Internet as a medium.

THE TV BLOGGERS

We have so far outlined the status of blog users as a whole. Now let us focus on the relationship between blogs and television.

Television as an Information Source

As shown in Figures 4 and 5, writing or reading blog entries about television programs made up 11 percent and 21 percent of bloggers respectively. Those percentages are not particularly large. They are slightly less than those who

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9 “Finding information necessary to work or daily life,” “Learning about events and trends in society,” “Keeping up with topics of conversation,” “Seeking casual entertainment,” “Passing the time,” and “Obtaining reliable information.”
write about movies and music, and slightly more than those who write about video games and animation/comics.

While the questionnaire used the phrase “television programs,” we also asked if they write about issues that they saw and/or heard on television (such as interviews of sports players and various news segments), because we thought they were probably writing not just about television programs but also about topics originating on television. Those who answered “frequently,” “often” and “sometimes” were as high as 49 percent among bloggers (Figure 11). This shows that television is a prominent source of blog topics.

“TV Bloggers”: Women Prefer Dramas
Let us take a closer look at bloggers who write about “television programs,” whom we will hereafter refer to as “TV bloggers.” TV bloggers, as seen in Figure 6, are relatively numerous among younger people and few among older men. Far more women than men, 61 percent and 39 percent respectively, are TV bloggers. The most popular genre of TV program was drama, mentioned by 60 percent of TV bloggers (Figure 12). Female TV bloggers in their 20s, 30s, and 40s are enthusiastic supporters of dramas, with 70 percent claiming to have written about them.

Following “drama” is “variety shows.” This genre was chosen by a relatively large number of TV bloggers in their 30s and younger. News, which ranked third, was popular among men regardless of age group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drama</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variety / comedy</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News</td>
<td>44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movies</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animation</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobbies / interests</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Documentaries</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Wide show” / information shows</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Programs for children</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(n = 117, TV bloggers)
Opinions” and “Impressions” about TV Dominate

The majority of the TV bloggers—nearly 70 percent—said they write blogs about TV programs to “let other people know my opinions and impressions” (Figure 13). When asked in a separate question regarding “reasons for reading blogs about TV” and “what types of TV blogs you read,” they answered “to find out what others thought about the program” (79 percent) and “to read opinions and impressions of other people” (79 percent). In other words, TV bloggers more often write and read about their own or other people’s opinions and impressions about television programs than such primary information as programs’ content, storyline, or performers.

People who write blogs about TV programs “to attract attention and increase view counts” were a minority: only 14 percent among TV bloggers.
Those who like “to read and share opinions with other people through commenting and trackbacking” and those who wish “to make more friends with same interests”—both distinctive features of blogs—remained around 20 percent.

HOW TV BLOGGERS WATCH TELEVISION

How do these blog users watch television? Compared to blog readers, bloggers spend less time watching television on weekdays (Figure 14). While 27 percent of blog readers watch television more than three hours a day, only 20 percent of bloggers spend the same amount of time. On the other hand, 23 percent of blog readers and some 34 percent of bloggers watch television less than an hour a day. About one-third of all the bloggers surveyed spent less than an hour watching television. Although blog readers spend less time watching television than do the average Japanese, bloggers spend even less.\(^\text{10}\) This was consistent regardless of age, gender, or timing on a holiday or not. Also, the more frequently the blogger wrote, the less time was given to television. The amount of time spent watching recorded programs was almost the same between bloggers and blog readers.

The cause-and-effect relationship—whether writing blogs is eating into the amount of time watching television—is not clear. As far as can be observed at present, there seems to be a negative correlation between amount of time writing blogs and that watching television.

\(^\text{10}\) Compared with the results of “The Public Opinion Survey on Television in the Network Society” (for details, see the Aramaki paper in this issue of *NHK Broadcasting Studies*), our research shows that both bloggers and blog readers spend less time watching television than others.

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**Figure 15. Average Daily Television Viewing Time of “TV Bloggers” (weekday)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hardly ever</th>
<th>30 mins.-1 hr.</th>
<th>1-2 hrs.</th>
<th>2-3 hrs.</th>
<th>3-4 hrs.</th>
<th>4 hrs. or more</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All bloggers</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV bloggers</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(\(n = 561\)) (\(n = 117\))
TV Bloggers Spend Long Time Watching TV

A different pattern surfaces when we focus on the amount of time TV bloggers’ give to watching television (Figure 15). People who write about television programs on blogs already spend more time watching television compared to bloggers as a whole. Thirty percent of TV bloggers watch television for three hours or more—much more than the average blogger—and 21 percent, less time than bloggers as a whole, watch television for an hour or less. The percentage of TV bloggers who watch television for three hours and more is higher than that of blog readers (27 percent), not to mention that of bloggers as a whole. This further confirms that TV bloggers are “television viewers.” As shown in Figures 4 and 5, television ranked tenth among various blog topics, but it rose to second place among bloggers who watch television for four hours or more.

Behavior Upon Reading TV Blogs

Do bloggers, after reading blogs about television programs, actually watch the programs or do something related to them? As seen in Figure 16, which asks if bloggers have ever engaged in any of the behaviors listed at the left after reading blog articles, 45 percent answered “none of the above.” This means 55 percent take some kind of an action after reading blogs about television. Specifically, although 23 percent “watched the actual program on television,”
20 percent “searched under the title of the program,” 31 percent “visited the website of the program,” and 13 percent “saw a video of the program on the Internet,” which are all noteworthy figures. In other words, a significant number of bloggers tend to study or watch television programs on the Internet after they have read about them in blogs. There is little difference in these figures between bloggers and blog readers.

When we look at TV bloggers, their figures are higher than those of bloggers as a whole in almost all of the items listed at left in the figure. TV bloggers are more influenced by blogs about television programs written by others, leading them to either watch them or take other actions related to them.

OUTLINE OF THE QUALITATIVE SURVEY

The quantitative research showed that, while bloggers spend less time watching television, TV bloggers not only spend more time watching but also watch new programs after reading articles about them. For the television industry this suggests that, while the popularity of blogs may eat into people’s time spent watching television, television and blogs will coexist as long as television provides a level of content that motivates blog users to write and/or read about it. Based on this assumption, we conducted a survey to assess qualitative questions regarding the situation and needs of TV bloggers.

What do TV bloggers specifically write in their blogs? What motivates them to keep a blog? How do they communicate with each other through blogs? How do their views and their viewing style of television change as they continue their blogs? Our objective is to answer questions like these that could not be included in the quantitative survey.

This survey was conducted using the “online group interview” method. We first selected those who met the following conditions through a screening process from among an Internet research company’s questionnaire monitors:

- People who updated their blog at least once a month and also periodically read other people’s blogs
- People whose blogs include writing about television programs and information obtained from television, at a rate of at least two to three comments per blog article.

After reviewing many blog articles about television, we discovered that there were mainly two types of TV bloggers: those who focus on a single program genre, and those who write about a wide variety of topics obtained from television, regardless of genre. We then chose seven “TV bloggers” each, defined as Types A and B as described below, and asked them to take part in the survey.
Figure 17. Profiles of Surveyed Drama Bloggers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Blogging for</th>
<th>TV viewing time (hour/day)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Part timer</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>1 year</td>
<td>4-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Osaka</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Tokyo</td>
<td>7 months</td>
<td>5-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Fukuoka</td>
<td>3 years</td>
<td>3-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Hyogo</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family’s business assistant</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Shiga</td>
<td>2 years</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magazine editor</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>Chiba</td>
<td>1.5 years</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Type A: Maintain blog about a single program genre, most typically dramas (hereby referred to as “drama bloggers”)

Type B: Maintain blog about a wide variety of topics from whatever information may be obtained from television, regardless of genre (hereby referred to as “all-round bloggers”)

In an attempt to explore differences and similarities between these two groups, a moderator posted multiple questions on a web forum, where subjects could freely respond, once a day. The survey was held from January 31 to February 8, 2008.

Because one of the primary objectives of this survey was to assess the communications of active and leading TV bloggers and, on that basis, forecast future television viewing styles, in selecting the subjects we gave priority to those with a plentiful supply of blog entries and well-developed communication with others, rather than attempting to achieve a balance in terms of age and gender. Given that the sample therefore consists of TV bloggers who lead the way in this genre, the data obtained from this research do not necessarily represent TV bloggers as a whole. Figures 17 and 18 list their profiles.

The drama bloggers surveyed were all women, mostly housewives in their 30s and 40s. Such devoted drama fans are they that some had flown to Korea to tour the locations of popular Korean dramas, and others had watched at least 90 percent of the Japanese drama episodes per season. This coincides with the quantitative findings of our research outlined above showing that most TV bloggers are women and that many of them write about dramas.
The all-round bloggers consisted of more men than women, and most were in their 40s. Two were in their 60s. When asked what they often watch on TV, they, unlike the drama bloggers, mentioned various genres, such as news, “wide shows” (talk shows, featuring gossip about celebrities and domestic news), variety shows, sports, dramas, and movies.

Members of both groups were heavy Internet users who wrote on web forums and community sites before they started blogging, and used both blogs and social networking services. The frequency with which they updated their blogs ranged from “three to four times a day” to “once or twice a month.”

**TV BLOG CONTENTS**

Regarding the kinds of articles bloggers post, our study found that the writing by drama bloggers tends to consist mainly of their views and emotional responses to the dramas viewed, in comments such as “it was entertaining” or “it was a really moving story,” which backs up the findings of the quantitative analysis. They also actively communicated with other bloggers and shared their thoughts about and enjoyment of the programs.

All-round bloggers, on the other hand, write mainly their views and responses to topics heard about on news programs and talk shows. More specifically, they preferred to write about issues that were given close attention in the news media and seized the interest of many people, such as about a foreign sumo wrestler’s return to his home country on the pretext of an
injury, a press conference regarding the alleged arrogance of a professional boxer, and the wedding reception of a celebrity couple. Their style of communication is not so much in the vein of harmonious exchanges reflecting a sense of shared interest and solidarity as toward conflict of views, tending to feature opposing or alternative positions.

THE BLOG AS TOOL

From the comments of the bloggers surveyed, we have discovered that those surveyed see blogs as a tool that functions in the following three ways:

1. A device for compiling a personal record or for self-expression.
2. A device to transmit personal impressions and views to a general and mass audience.
3. A communication device to connect with other people and society.

It was found that they valued the third feature most.

“At the beginning I did not expect there to be much communication, but I was surprised by the amount of exchange that was happening. I post content I want as many people as possible to know.” (male, 40s, all-round)

“It’s fun to read what parents of people the age of my own children think. My ideas as an older person are sometimes received favorably.” (male, 60s, all-round)

“I became a housewife after I had my first child, so I decided to start a blog in order to stay connected with society. It is a great way to grow and enjoy oneself at the same time.” (female, 40s, drama)

Writing blogs is a very personal activity, but those who write blogs learn about values and ideas held by other people of different ages, broaden their horizons, and attain a sense of connection with others and society.

From remarks by retirees and housewives, we can observe feelings of satisfaction in finding a “place” in the blogosphere. Blogs have now become something that is incorporated into and enriches the quality of a person’s life.

The quantitative analysis showed that communication was not a major reason for writing blogs, but for the active TV bloggers in this study, communication strengthened their commitment to maintaining their blog.

THE PROCESS OF COMMUNICATION

Next we surveyed how communication via blogging deepens and spreads through the blogosphere. Based on comments made by our subjects, we will
examine the process of that spread. The following is an example from among the drama bloggers who are fans of Korean dramas.

**Phase 1: Strengthening of Relationships and Bonds**
Drama bloggers frequently begin their exchange with comments about how they enjoyed the dramas they have watched. In the course of sharing these comments, their mutual understanding gradually deepens, and their bonds become tighter. A sense of solidarity emerges among them, and they develop bonds in which they discuss topics other than the dramas in question, such as Korean language and food, or branch off on completely tangential topics, such as childcare and education. They develop more communication partners up to a certain point, after which these partners become fixed and the relationship deepens further. We were able to witness during this study the formation of a new blogging community in which communication spontaneously sprung up among drama bloggers, who then exchanged information about their favorite dramas, and began visiting each others’ blogs regularly.

**Phase 2: The Emergence and Spread of a Community**
Take, for example, a community of three bloggers devoted to Korean dramas as shown at the center of Figure 19. They also belong to communities of other topics, and they move around freely within those groups; sometimes an individual might enjoy communicating in the drama community, and at other
times be involved in discussion in other communities. Through participation of this kind, multiple communities become loosely tied together. While each separate community is independent, all develop ties in which each one is influenced by others, further spreading the spheres of communication.

Active bloggers who skillfully manage their blogs, such as the subjects selected for this study, are innovators in the transmission of information. The information they transmit is not limited only to communications among bloggers within their small communities, but is also most likely to influence many others (blog readers and other Internet users; see Figure 20).

THE MOTIVATIONS OF TV BLOGGERS

The following summarizes what was learned from the qualitative research examining what motivates bloggers when writing posts. Drama bloggers basically write what they want to write. They write about a program not because it is a popular drama with high ratings, which would attract many readers to their postings, but rather because it is their favorite drama and something they feel is worth writing about.

“I feel the impulse to write when, although I am enjoying watching a certain drama, I don’t see anyone writing about it in their blogs. The more I wonder why people are not watching a drama that I think is great, the stronger the urge I have to blog about it.” (Female, 30s, drama)
These bloggers select the dramas about which to blog based on what they have themselves found out about their quality, with regard to the script, actors, producer, and so on. Many subjects reported that they are passionate bloggers about dramas with ratings that are not very high, such as *Utahime* (The Songstress)\(^{11}\) and *Ashita no Kita Yoshio* (Tomorrow’s Kita Yoshio).\(^{12}\) Just because a drama receives low ratings does not mean it is not written about in blogs.

Two types of information were found to boost the all-round bloggers’ motivation to blog. First is information that stirs the writer’s emotions, such as anger or indignation. Among political and economic topics, for example, are those that directly affect daily life, such as increased prices, or news about a wasteful spending of taxes by bureaucrats that makes light of people who work hard every day and pay their taxes.

“With so much news about social injustices these days, when I vent my anger in my blog I get a lot of responses. I think it shows that people think alike when it comes to rising prices and the growing gap between rich and poor.” (Female, 40s, all-round)

The second major source of motivation for bloggers is information, or events, that excite them in some way. Some examples given in the survey include the image of Fukushi Kayoko crossing of the finish line in the 2008 Osaka International Ladies Marathon.\(^{13}\) When all-round bloggers hear about or see an event that has a strong emotional impact on them, they seem to develop a strong urge to write about it on their blogs.

A deeper look into the all-round bloggers’ motivation for writing shows that, unlike drama bloggers, they think that blogs about television receive more comments and greater responses from readers.

“Topics relating to television attract a lot of people. When I turn on the TV and find it airing topics that might attract people’s attention, I always write about them on my blog before I forget what I have seen.” (Female, 40s, all-round)

\(^{11}\) A drama series aired on Fridays starting October 12, 2007 at 10:00 P.M. Average viewer ratings were in the lower numbers of 8.0 percent. (Following average ratings are household viewer ratings of the Kanto region surveyed by Video Research Ltd.)

\(^{12}\) A drama series aired on Tuesdays starting January 8, 2008 at 10:00 P.M. Average ratings were 7.1 percent.

\(^{13}\) Fukushi Kayoko, a Japanese record holder of half marathon, took part for the first time in a full marathon held in Osaka on January 27, 2008. She had to slow down and fell several times after 30 kilometers, but she did not withdraw from the race and finished in 19th place. Her gutsy struggle was all recorded on live television.
As such, they apparently decide what to write while keeping in mind what they like to write about and what has captured the interest of society (Figure 21). Those that “capture the interest of society” are, for example, hot topics and news that elicit a lot of attention, and dramas with high viewer ratings that, if written about, can attract attention from readers of the blog. Topics that overlap the spheres of “what I want to write” and “currently popular topics” in Figure 21 arouse in bloggers a particularly strong motivation to write.

Starting and Maintaining Blogs
Here we outline the steps from starting a blog to maintaining it on a regular basis, based on our findings about TV bloggers’ motivations for communicating and writing (Figure 22).

1. Begins blogging from urge and desire to express and record opinions about content seen on television.
2. Writing a number of times brings greater benefits to the writer than expected through communication with other bloggers with similar interests and taste.
3. The writer gradually feels fulfillment as he/she develops enjoyment and a sense of solidarity with others.
4. The writer continues blogging as a way of communicating with fellow bloggers he/she comes to know well.
Bloggers often gain more satisfaction from blogging and communication through blogs than they initially expected, which presumably prompts them to continue blogging.

**Bloggers See Themselves as Part of the “Media”**
The greatest surprise in our investigation of behavior and motivation of the TV bloggers was their keen interest in information. Multiple subjects claimed they watch TV and collect information via computer at the same time.

“I keep my laptop on while I watch TV. I look up things via the Internet, read other people’s articles, and read web forums where people are posting comments while they are watching TV.” (Male, 40s, all-round)

Others say that searching for topics to write about on their blogs every day has made them more sensitive about information and more strictly selective.
“Except when I am asleep or working, I am always looking for things to write about. I write about not only what I see on television and in the newspapers, but even what I see from the window from the train.” (Male, 30s, all-round)

“I used to live a carefree life without focusing on much of anything, but after I started blogging, I am always on the lookout for some kind of a theme for that day that I can write about in my blog.” (Male, 60s, all-round)

“Blogging has made me more sensitive about information. Before I write about a TV program or something that I’m interested in, I first try to find out how widely known it is, whether it’s new or popular information.” (Female, 30s, drama)

All-round bloggers are keenly conscious of being a form of media. This becomes especially pronounced when they write about current issues they heard on news programs and wide shows. Here are some of their responses.

1. Timeliness very important when writing about television
   “I believe it is important to be quick when writing about information on television. Not only do I get instant reactions, but more people will read what I say if it is posted right away, so I usually write as soon as I see something on TV.” (Male, 40s, all-round)

2. Readability; clarity
   “I add brief and concise titles so that people who are searching blogs can readily find my articles. I make my writing easy to view with scrolling text and a bold font.” (Female, 30s, all-round)

3. Staying neutral when writing about news.
   “Everyone has their own ideas about the news on television, so when writing about news I try to stay neutral and make sure I don’t stress my ideas too much in my blog articles.” (Female, 40s, all-round)

In relation to the third point, an all-round male blogger in his 40s said he would check the news from news websites and multiple news programs of different channels and select the most reliable information produced through careful news-gathering activities, before he wrote a blog about it.

The three points mentioned here are the same points about which TV producers themselves are concerned on a daily basis. Among the active bloggers surveyed, there are those who post information and views with a strong awareness of acting as part of the media and giving careful consideration to how their readers will receive their information. This is one of the most important findings obtained from the qualitative analysis.
Additionally, there are those who feel an affinity with television producers as fellow information-transmitters:

“I’m beginning to see the media (television) as a fellow transmitter of information. We differ greatly in scale, but I can vividly sense the odds they are up against.” (Male, 40s, all-round)

These active TV bloggers, who have a keen awareness about the value of information and of themselves as a part of the media, seem to suggest that their perception of the established medium of television is undergoing a change. In the next section, we examine their television-viewing behavior and their perceptions of television.

WHERE TELEVISION STANDS IN TV BLOGGERS’ LIVES

Have the TV bloggers’ television viewing habits changed since they started blogging? Our survey found that drama bloggers are more aware of how they have changed than all-round bloggers.

Qualitative Changes in Television Viewing

Watching dramas on the assumption that they will be writing about them in their blogs has made drama bloggers more alert and focused viewers.

“I always liked TV dramas, so the amount of time I spend watching them hasn’t changed. I don’t think I would have become as serious a viewer as I am now if I didn’t write about it in my blog.” (Female, 40s, drama)

“When I’m watching a drama series that I like, I notice myself making mental notes of things I felt or observed in order to write about them the next day.” (Female, 40s, drama)

Some subjects claimed to have changed their viewing habits due to comments from other bloggers. As a result, their criteria for selecting what dramas to watch may have changed or they might begin to watch a drama in the middle of the series.

“I wasn’t watching Unfair at first, but a blogger friend recommended it to me, and I noticed it was popular in other blogs too, so I began watching it.” (Female, 40s, drama)

A notable number of drama bloggers asserted that blogging had made watching dramas much more enjoyable. They have gained two joys from blogging. The first is sharing their excitement with others.

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14 A police drama series aired on Tuesdays starting January 17, 2006, at 10:00 P.M. starring Shinohara Ryoko.
“Blogging has made dramas much more enjoyable than before. It’s great to be able to share a wonderful time with other people.” (Female, 30s, drama)

When drama bloggers post their impressions of a drama immediately after they see it, they almost instantaneously receive responses from other bloggers as well as new and more detailed information about the drama. This amplifies their excitement, giving them even greater satisfaction.

The second is the joy of learning different viewpoints from other people’s blogs, which may change one’s own point of view.

“I visited many blogs through tags in order to collect hints for the mysteries in the drama *SP*. I enjoyed searching to find people writing about the scenes from the drama that caught my attention and to discover that they felt differently from me when they were watching the same scenes.” (Female, 40s, drama)

Drama bloggers are people who wish to enjoy and talk about television contents at a deeper, richer level. For them blogs are a necessary tool for enriching their enjoyment in watching television.

**Meaning of Television**

How does television as part of the media stand in TV bloggers’ lives? Most TV bloggers agree that television has great merit as a supplier of topics to write about on their blogs. Some of them have commented, “Much of the information on television is visually represented and easy to describe in blogs,” “There is a shared recognition of the content because many people have seen it,” and “Writing about television increases the number of view counts.”

On the other hand, there were those whose comments have negative implications regarding the raison d’être of television.

“The information broadcast on television has a fairly strong influence on viewers. Anything that is presented in such a way that viewers suspect the information is fake could put them off. Television may lose out to the Internet unless it can continuously deliver new information faster than the Internet.” (Female, 40s, drama)

The importance and value of television for TV bloggers still stands firm because of its enormous size as a medium and its strong impact of broadcasting visual images. TV bloggers, however, also collect information from news sites, blogs, Internet forums, social networking services, and many other

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15 A drama series on air from November 3, 2007, at 11:00 p.m. on Saturdays, popular for the complexity of its storyline and interesting subplots. Despite being shown near midnight, the ratings averaged over 15 percent (15.3%).
sourcing sources via the Internet. Television is not necessarily the main authoritative information source it once was.

**What TV Bloggers Want from Television**

Then what do TV bloggers want from television? Several comments from subjects who were asked what they want from television expressed dissatisfaction. We may surmise that behind their responses is the distinctive perspective on the media and communication of the committed blogger.

**Demand 1: Deliver information accurately, objectively, and in multiple perspectives, from a fair and balanced viewpoint.**

“I often watch television as a source of information to judge things, so I do not want any inaccurate or exaggerated information.” (Male, 60s, all-round)

“Instead of only reporting incidents on news programs, I wish television stations would also talk about how to solve or prevent them. They should discuss the problems from various angles.” (Female, 30s, drama)

These bloggers are very sensitive to information and continuously read many different opinions on the Internet. They want television to provide perspectives as diverse as found in the blogosphere.

**Demand 2: Provide contents with real “quality.”**

“I am getting sick of variety programs that bully third-rate comedians and laugh at how they react. Give us programs made to really entertain the audience.” (Male, 30s, all-round)

All-round bloggers frequently watch variety programs and write about them in their blogs. That does not necessarily mean that they are satisfied with the programs; in fact, their comments suggest they watch them very coolly.

Here are what some of the drama bloggers had to say:

“I wish there were more dramas with original plots rather than those based on stories originally published as manga.” (Female, 30s, drama)

“Perhaps it has become too difficult to create television programs that are enjoyable for all generations. I believe that carefully produced programs that target a specific audience will ultimately win many viewers’ support.” (Female, 40s, drama)

Drama bloggers are “connoisseurs” of television content who enjoy programs at a deeper, richer level than the average viewer. They can immediately see through content-poor, superficial programs.

**Demand 3: More Viewer-conscious Programs and More Viewer Participation.**

“Television is often a medium with a “we’ll do them the favor of informing
them” attitude that can seem condescending. I can’t understand how they can be so arrogant. I could understand if it was back in the days of Rikidozan [pro wrestler and national hero in the 1950s], but we now live in an age when we see television while doing something else and if we don’t like what we’re watching we just change channels. They don’t seem to realize that.” (Male, 40s, all-round)

“I get no response when I send comments to television stations. They need to show more respect for their viewers.” (Male, 40s, all-round)

As they maintain their blogs, TV bloggers seem to start perceiving television and blogging as the same medium and want to see the same interactive response from television broadcasters that they enjoy daily from their communications in blogging. Some drama bloggers have proposed for viewer participation:

“I wish there were a system where we can send comments about the program in real time, instantly, via the Internet.” (Female, 30s, drama)

“There should be an online popularity poll on the official website of dramas. If your vote helps serialize a drama or make it into a DVD, we would feel greater affinity with the program.” (Female, 40s, drama)

Viewer participation is a challenge that many television networks are currently grappling with, and the demand for further trials and experiments is growing rapidly.

USE OF OFFICIAL WEBSITES AND VIDEO WEBSITES

The quantitative analysis has clarified the kinds of behavior bloggers engage in after reading about television on blogs, such as going to the website of a television program, or watching a video of the program available via the Internet. The qualitative analysis also demonstrated that subjects rely on the official websites established for dramas and video sites, and make frequent use of them.

When drama bloggers watch a drama, they would then visit its official website, where they post comments on a forum at the site or read inside stories about the production posted there by staff members. Bloggers post on their own websites the new information they have thus obtained. Drama bloggers have responded favorably, too, to the spinoff dramas that have recently increased in number. When asked “what makes an official webpage interesting?” some of the answers included “details about the program, such as inside stories, trivia, and profiles of cast members including those in supporting roles,” “whether the webpage contains interesting gimmicks or not.” When elements that can spark communication with other bloggers are frequently
updated, they stimulate bloggers’ interest, making them visit the site frequently.

Subjects also reported visiting video websites such as YouTube in order to “watch favorite actors’ promotion clips that I missed,” and “to watch blooper footage of my favorite Korean drama actors.” Some might watch the first episode available for free on the Web to determine which drama to continue watching on television. All-round bloggers said they searched for dramas they missed or forgot to tape, or for old cartoons and music programs. TV bloggers use these websites for supplementary features that are not sufficiently provided by the conventional television medium.

CONCLUSION

This paper outlines the behavior and motivations of Japanese blog users—especially the committed group who are TV bloggers—and their perceptions and television-viewing habits. The survey findings show that blogging, the most attractive feature of which is its information-dissemination function, is spreading widely among people of different age groups, mainly young people, and thus is increasing its presence as a medium. What is written and read in blogs concerning television programs consists primarily of individual opinions and impressionistic comments. The word-of-mouth views and information that once circulated mainly in the form of “rumor” began to surface in visible form on the Internet and has spread with increasing volume when blogging, an excellent tool for such a purpose, became available. This new media environment is rapidly spreading among Japanese.

Also, active TV bloggers are increasingly watching television in a new style not previously observed, namely watching television while interacting with other people through blogs. Unlike viewers of the past, they no longer only passively receive the content transmitted on television. They write their impressions and opinions about the content on their blogs, involve themselves in daily communication with other bloggers, share responses, and discover ways to appreciate the content more fully and deeply. All this boosts their enjoyment of television.

In this new media environment, if the content of television is perceived as interesting, that appraisal spreads widely through blogs, rapidly raising its popularity. On the other hand, if such content does not satisfy bloggers, the opposite effect can immediately take place; a negative evaluation spreads just as widely and quickly, as our survey suggests.

Young people are highly unlikely to cease blogging soon. Older people
have a certain level of interest in starting blogs of their own, and younger generations are sure to join them. These data suggest that the Japanese blogging population will most likely continue to increase. As the walls separating television and computers, on the one hand, and broadcasting and the Internet, on the other, steadily come down, and if the computer and Internet infrastructure is further improved, more people will eventually watch television (or videos) on their computers and while surfing the web. This new viewing style of “watching television while online” will become more and more popular in the future not only through blogs but also with the use of social networking services and mobile devices.

Japanese television broadcasters, while aware of the changes occurring in viewing habits, are still at the initial trial-and-error stage when it comes to responding to them, although some have come up with a few experimental programs. For broadcasters, however, it is no longer possible to ignore the import of these new developments among viewers. The time is definitely approaching when television broadcasters must reconsider who their target audiences are, and adjust their values and production methods of television contents accordingly. Researchers in the field of research on television and viewing audiences, too, may be forced to change their theoretical constructions and research methods.

Because the subjects of these surveys were primarily computer users, the surveys do not sufficiently address the situation of the “mobile phone blogs” that are rapidly spreading among young people in their teens and 20s. This other world of blogging cannot be ignored today, and we will be following the trends in the future. Our future research needs also to explore international comparisons in order to determine whether the findings of our surveys are peculiar to Japan.

As the media environment continues to transform, we expect the circumstances to change constantly and at a rapid pace. Our research will continue with a watchful eye on this topic.

(Translated by Graham Carpenter)

For this quantitative research, those among the blog readers who gave “I wish to start my own blog soon” and “I wish to start my own blog someday” as their answers reached 57 percent among men in their 50s, and 65 percent among men in their 60s. The percentage among women in their 50s was 36 percent, and 45 percent among women in their 60s.