



From sick elderly to super-grandparents. A typology of elderly representations in Romanian video advertising

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Abstract

The aim of this paper was to study the elderly representations in Romanian video advertising in order to identify a typology corresponding to these representations. The research method that I used was the content analysis with a dominant qualitative approach, but also including quantification elements. The commercials that I selected for my analysis promoted health products, banking and insurances and fast moving consumers' goods (FMCG). The identified typology is composed of five types of elderly representations: Super-Grandparents, Seclusive Elderly, Sick Elderly, Funny Elderly, and High-Tech Elderly. The representation types and their stereotypical content varied depending on the type of product/service that was promoted and on the public addressed by commercials.

Keywords

Elderly, commercials, advertising, representations, typology

Introduction

Video advertising and the representations they create for various social categories constitute a research topic frequently approached by social scientists. Advertising that portrays the elderly is a particular category because it perpetuates images and representations of a growing age group, given the aging population phenomenon. The study of older people's representations in video advertising is relevant for understanding the social construction of age and the experience of aging itself. It is also relevant for understanding the perceptions we have towards the elderly, the power relations that

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exist between age categories and the statuses and roles that are specific to these categories.

The elderly social category has been differently perceived over time, depending on the social organization and on the characteristics of the population in a given society. Older people were valued for their life experience and for their wisdom or they were marginalized because of their physical degradation and their disqualification for participating to military campaigns. They were regarded as an integrant part of society or as a group that only consumed resources without contributing to social development.

The negative representations of old people have been present in all historical periods, whether we talk about Antiquity, the Middle Ages, or the Modern Age. We can distinguish between these representations within every historical period because of their content and their dissemination among individuals. Advertising is an efficient way of disseminating representations and stereotypes about social categories. Advertising appeared together with the first civilizations, in Babylon and Egypt, but the first video commercials were broadcasted during the 1950s (Nasra 2010).

Advertising is not only a way of promoting products and services, but it is also a communication medium used to reiterate stereotypes, contributing to the social reconstruction of the reality we live in. People select cultural resources, such as stereotypes, in order to give meaning to the situations they are involved in and to manage them as to promote their perspective in relation to other individuals (significant others). These relations can be marked by professional or existential crisis that make reality seem meaningless or anomic, as Durkheim said (Bancroft, Rogers & Stapley 2010) and to become degraded. By selecting, reshaping and activating stereotypes, people, as cultural human beings, manage to give meaning to the interactions marked by such crisis.

Theoretical perspective

Aging studies from a sociological perspective

The theoretical background of my paper was based on a conceptual set that facilitated the analysis of age as a social institution. The concepts I discussed in this paper were: the social construction of age, performing age, the double standard of aging, **gender displays and age displays**, and positive aging. A brief presentation of these concepts is available below.

We perform our age during actions and interactions with other individuals and doing so we also construct meanings for other age categories, not only for the one that we are part of (Rughiniş et al. 2015). From this perspective, **age is a social construct**, which results from meanings that are agreed during social interactions between individuals. Age is socially constructed, it is *done* (doing age) by individuals through interactions and negotiations for meaning, as is the case with gender, “a routine accomplishment embedded in everyday interaction” (West & Zimmerman 1987, p. 125). The social constructivism’s perspective of age was approached by social scientists, who theorized the social construction of age through social and cultural practices (Turner 1996 apud Szmigin & Rutherford 2009, p. 86). From this theoretical perspective, we can

assume that age is rather social than it is chronological (Laz 1998, p. 92). The statement *Act your age* is a form of informal social control (Ibidem, p. 87), because individuals perform their age under the condition of existing constraints to perform a predefined role. The deviations from this role are sanctioned by other social actors.

Age categories are associated with social institutions, are inserted in typical relations that result from the status/role system and generate power relations. Age categories are also associated with stereotypes, which leads to typical narratives about aging. Age-related stereotypes differ with regard to their content and impact for old women compared to old men. The double standard of aging, a concept proposed by Susan Sontag, (1979) emphasizes the fact that aging is not a uniform biological reality, but its significations regarding the subjective experiences and the social implications for authority and quality of life differ based on the gender social organization. For example, beauty is frequently an important source of value for femininity, whereas aging is related to a loss of beauty. Hence, older women tend to experience a more emphasized devaluation than older men do.

We can study the social construction of age by observing different mediums and situations of interaction, a variety of these situations being represented in advertising. An example of a study on this topic is the one conducted by Erving Goffman. Goffman, in his classic study entitled *Gender Advertisements*, published in 1976, analyzed print commercials that illustrated gender displays. Goffman started from a conceptualization of gender that stressed its social and interactional construction and also the power hierarchy that was affirmed and reaffirmed by the dichotomy masculinity/femininity. In his study, Goffman proposed a set of indicators that captured this differentiation of power, using the analogy child/woman or, more generally, incompetent/competent. The indicators that Goffman used to capture the properties of gender displays were: relative size of the male and female characters, feminine touch (the particular way that women touched objects and touched themselves), function ranking (the individual who executed and coordinated the action), ritualization of subordination (the images transmitted the hierarchy between men and women by body positioning and facial expressions) and licensed withdrawal (generally women did not look at the camera, their neck was inclined, they seemed absent or confused) (Goffman 1976).

Starting from the analysis that Erving Goffman carried out in the study *Gender Advertisements*, **I propose in this paper the concept of age displays**, a concept that is similar to *gender displays*. The *age displays* make possible the identification of someone's age and illustrate the stereotypical traits associated to age categories. These traits particularly bring out competency and incompetency cases and emphasize the place the elderly occupy within the social structure. Age displays mark situations of hierarchy and/or subordination among various age categories.

Age can be displayed by physical traits, symbols that stress some of the body signs that appear when the individual is in a certain stage of his or her life. Physical traits, such as grey hair, wrinkles, muscle reduction, decrease in skin elasticity are just a few of the symbolic resources that are selected in advertising as to display old age. Above the physical aspect, age displays are connected to the social involvement and to individuals as

social agents. The age displays that are related to the body influence the perception of seniors' agency, meaning that physical traits that are specific to old age are usually associated with a loss of control over one's own body. This loss of control involves the decrease of agency, which determines a low involvement in community and society (Gilleard & Higgs 2011).

The representations that are associated with age and aging process are referring to the social relations that elderly people are involved in and to seniors' relational patterns to other individuals. The types of relations the elderly are involved in determine their behavior and their life style options, which generate various narrations about old age and aging. Baldassare, Rosenfield and Rook (1984) indicated the importance to distinguish between different types of social relations, since they cause effects on older individuals' welfare (p. 557). Taking this into account, I differentiated in my paper between couple relationships, family relationships and friendships for the elderly. This typology of relationships can determine the extent to which the elderly are represented in commercials as being active and involved in social relations. The typology of social relations also reveals the extent to which the age displays indicate the position that the elderly occupy within the social structure through the relationships they have with other individuals.

Another important characteristic of age representations in the advertising consists in the activities that are performed by people who are portrayed in commercials and the activity framework. A first distinction with regard to the activity framework is between public and private sphere. The humor that accompanies the activities and the way it values or devalues the elder's portrayal and their abilities of using digital devices contribute to outlining a typology of the elderly representations in advertising. Age displays bring out characteristics such as seniors' competency or incompetency, which also generates valorizing or devaluing narrations about old age and aging. The specific conditions the elderly perform various activities in commercials propagate messages about their agency and the way the power hierarchy is structured in a given society.

Commercials often illustrate an ideal process of aging, distorted in comparison with age displays and narrations about ageing that we encounter in our daily life. The concept of *positive aging* identifies and differentiates between several styles or ways of getting old and formulates moral distinctions between these styles. Positive aging reflects the orientation towards individualistic consumerism, voluntarism and decentralization (Hepworth 2005, p. 176). Such an orientation approaches aging as a social problem and tends to a normalization of aging through positive aging strategies. Elderly who are healthy, in good shape, who practice diverse activities and are financially independent are valued, whereas individuals who are physically old, who are confronted with financial difficulties, isolated and socially uninvolved tend to be stigmatized. This form of aging is considered to be negative, the argument being that it generates social dependence. Positive aging strategies encourage individuals' responsibility towards maintaining a good health and being economically active. This way, individuals are able to maintain themselves independent during old age and to not request social security services. This approach raises several issues regarding the valorization of elderly, because

older people who access social security services tend to be stigmatized and blamed due to certain vulnerabilities that would be caused by their lack of responsibility (Davey & Glasgow 2006, p. 26).

Similar studies regarding age representations

There are several studies in the specialty literature that classify the representations of elderly based on certain descriptors. The content analysis conducted by Zhou and Chen (1992) on Canadian advertising from 1990 included descriptors for the following variables: age, gender, race, occupation, role importance to commercial's theme, place (residential, business, neither) activity, association with people, and product association (p. 347). Their results showed that older people in these commercials were represented as being involved in **transgenerational contacts**. They were not isolated from their family or the community they were part of.

Seniors' portrays in Australian advertising were "relatively neutral", as mentioned the authors of the study published in 2006, Higgs and Milner (p. 9). The authors **did not identify representations of isolated, frustrated or confused elderly**. Older people that appeared in these commercials were portrayed as having passive roles and as being symbols of wisdom. Although the representations were positive, they did not reflect the diversity of traits and life experiences the elderly had.

Williams, Ylänné and Wadleigh (2007) conducted a study called *Selling the 'Elixir of Life': Images of the elderly in an Olivio Advertising campaign* and analyzed the advertising for a company that produces margarine. Researchers grouped the commercials from this campaign in four categories, based on the advertising content and on the manner the elderly were represented.

The first category that resulted from the analysis contained commercials that presented older people in traditional roles from the Mediterranean area. The commercials referred visually to the extended family, to the **"perfect grandfather/grandmother"** stereotype (Williams et al. 2007, p. 12). For example, the grandmother who handled domestic work and did not understand the way technology worked, but had the advantage of wisdom and longevity (p. 12). The second category marked a **distance from the traditional** first category (p. 13). Examples from this category included representations of an older woman who practiced yoga or drove a convertible. The third category of commercials presented the images of some **playful elderly**, who enjoyed life. The last category was formed of commercials that were produced starting from the concept of *positive aging*. The content of these commercials was remarkable because it was related to **romantic and sexual attraction**, aspects that are usually avoided when representing the elderly (p. 18).

In the article *Representations of older adults in television advertisements*, the authors created a typology of the age representations they identified in TV commercials from five American TV networks. This typology was composed of the following representation types: *Golden Ager*, *Perfect Grandparent*, *Severely Impaired*,

Shrew/Curmudgeon, John Wayne Conservative, Recluse, and Despondent (Lee, Carpenter and Meyers 2007).

Another research that studied the written press from Finland (Uotila, Lumme-Sandt & Saarenheimo 2010) used a quantitative content analysis to capture data from a sample of 50 Finnish magazines and newspapers. The authors analyzed age as a social construct, mass-media being considered one of the factors that constructed the public image of the elderly (p. 105). The image that Finnish media vehiculated was that of **old people being victims of loneliness**, representing them as outsiders, as socially peripheric (as people who were not involved in human relationships) (Uotila et al. 2010, p. 125).

Another example is Chen's study (2011), which identified nine types of characters that were present in advertising starring older people from Great Britain and Taiwan: *Competent, Conservative/Traditional, Engaged in Female-Male Relations, Golden Ager, Humorous, Unwell and Declining Health, Incompetent, Engaged in Intergenerational Relations and Vulnerable* (p. iii). The author conducted a content analysis using comparative method and critical discourse analysis for TV advertising in Great Britain and Taiwan. In Taiwanese commercials, seniors' involvement in family relationships was emphasized and the characters were presented inside their homes. British commercials were opposed to Taiwanese ones, the elderly being present in opened spaces, in an entertaining framework. The differences between representation types were based on cultural elements that normalized the age displays and the way age was performed in European, respectively Asian area.

An analysis of the most popular magazines in Finland that addressed the elderly revealed supersaturated stereotypic content, but they encouraged a physically and mentally active life style for the elderly. The Finnish representations tended to **normalize an active aging and old age** which conformed to consumerism (Lumme-Sandt 2011). This lifestyle is not accessible to the elderly public at large and tends to stigmatize alternative aging styles, hence it can be interpreted as an anti-aging discourse.

The counter-stereotypic portrayal of older people in the most viewed YouTube videos was documented by Oró-Piqueras & Marques (2017). In general, older people in these videos were "competent, innovative and sexually active" (p. 263), despite stereotypical negative images of aging being also present.

The tactics that appeal to older people on the market were discussed by scholars who emphasized the particularities of market segmentation for older consumers and the advertising models that were more favorably perceived by the elderly. Moschis (1992) presented a segmentation model called *Gerontographics*, which was more effective in identifying consumer segments among older consumers because it approached aging as a multidimensional process. According to the *Gerontographics* model, adults aged 55 and over can be grouped into the following segments (p. 20 - 23): *Healthy Hermits* (they are in good health, psychologically withdrawn from society, have few social contacts, and a negative attitude towards technological innovations), *Ailing Outgoers* (they are in relatively poor physical condition, socially active, interested in learning and doing new things), *Frail Recluses* (they are in poor health, inactive, socially isolated, psychologically

withdrawn from society), and *Healthy Indulgers* (they are in rather good health, independent, active, socially engaged).

Another study conducted on 163 women between 60 and 80 years of age offered a marketing strategy that paid more attention to older consumers. This study revealed that older people tend to prefer advertising models that are closer to their age. Older looking models in advertisements increased the likelihood of older women purchasing the items worn by the models (Kozar & Damhorst 2008).

Studying the articles that I presented in this section, I observed several dimensions of analysis that were relevant in portraying old age: a physiological dimension, a relational one and an action dimension. Hereinafter I introduce indicators that correspond to these dimensions in order to observe if the classification of Romanian advertising is consistent or inconsistent with the ones identified by the authors discussed above.

Methodology

My research objective for conducting this study on elderly representations in Romanian video advertising is to identify a typology corresponding to these representations. My study is an exploratory research on the topic of representations of the elderly in Romanian video advertising and its theoretical contribution aims to provide a classification of representation types, emphasizing the social construction of the aging process. The research questions that I address are:

- How are the elderly represented in Romanian video advertising?
- How do the advertising representations that target the elderly differ from the advertising representations that target other age groups?

I differentiated between the age categories in commercials' target group so I could answer the second research question. In this study, I focused on the advertising that addressed the segment which contained either the elderly, or several age categories, including the elderly. The second research question points to the assumption that elderly representations in commercials differ, based on the characteristics of the public that was addressed by commercials.

The method that I used to conduct this research was the **qualitative content analysis, including quantification elements**. I analyzed the elderly representations in advertising for health products, banking and insurances, and advertising for FMCG also (the last category includes commercials for mobile phone and Internet service providers, cooking oil and an *Antiboredom* television campaign).

I selected 70 video commercials totally based on the presence of older people as main and/or secondary actors. I identified old people in these commercials based on their physical appearance and on their age (when it was mentioned), so I analyzed the age displays of people aged 65 and over, due to demographic considerations (Transgenerational Design Matters 2009). I grouped these commercials in two categories: commercials that addressed the elderly and commercials that addressed other age groups (but may also include the elderly). I included the health products commercials in corresponding categories, based on their target audience. With regard to the

commercials for banking and insurances, I grouped them in the category that addressed other age groups, because these commercials were directed towards the younger groups that would invest in a pension fund so they could use it when they got older. I also selected videos that I included in the *Other topics* category and I processed the material manually.

I selected the commercials that had been broadcasted in Romania on TV, between 2000 and 2016, in order to study relevant advertising for the current audience. I searched for these commercials on YouTube during February 2017, using key words, such as: *seniors in commercials, old people in commercials, health products advertising, health products advertising for the elderly, and advertising for pension.*

Starting from the theoretical background and the current state of research on this topic, the purpose of my content analysis was to identify representation types of the elderly in Romanian video advertising. My analysis was based on the following **indicators, structured on dimensions** that ensured the comparability with other studies from this area of research (see *Table 1* below).

Table 1. Dimensions and indicators of analysis

Dimension	Indicators
The Physiological Dimension	Grey hair
	Wrinkles
	Body posture (humpbacked, hunched)
	Poor health condition
The Relational Dimension	Involvement in couple relationships
	Involvement in family relationships
	Involvement in friendships
The Action Dimension	Practicing activities in public or private sphere
	Humorous activities
	Activities that involve technology use

My analysis was focused on three dimensions, each of these capturing age representations and age displays in commercials. The first dimension brought to focus **the physiological and bodily aspects** that pointed to the individual's life stage (in this particular case, the old age). The physiological dimension captured the age displays through the medium of corporeality. As Day & Hitchings (2011) mentioned, the physiological dimension, together with the biological dimension, tended to dominate the conceptualization of aging and to be correspondent to the chronological age. The indicators that I proposed for this dimension signaled the presence or the absence of certain physical traits that displayed someone's old age (hair color, skin aspect, body posture, health condition).

The second dimension captured the **social involvement** and the agency of the individuals as mechanisms that displayed age. The indicators that I proposed for the relational dimension emphasized seniors' involvement in relationships with a spouse or partner, with members of the family, or with friends.

For the last dimension, I decided to analyze the **actions and activities the elderly performed in commercials**. I included this dimension in my study because I intended to bring up for discussion actions and behaviors that older people performed in commercials. These actions and behaviors allowed the age displays to become visible and intelligible beyond the physiological level. Certain behavioral patterns could be associated in the social memory with the affiliation to age categories. Therefore, age is also evoked in collective memory by the activities practiced by the elderly.

One of the indicators that I introduced in my study captured the humorous nature of the advertising representations. Another aspect that I intended to illustrate was the variation of the humorous messages that were vehiculated in advertising. Some commercials triggered laughter among audience because the elderly were funny and the audience laughed together with them, while other commercials presented the elderly as being ridiculous and the audience laughed at them. The second case was described by Carrigan and Szmigin (2000), who depicted it as caricatural representations.

Empirical analysis and results

Conducting the empirical analysis on the video commercials that I selected, I identified the representation types of the elderly corresponding to these commercials. The empirical analysis revealed the following representation types of the elderly:

1. Super-Grandparents
2. Seclusive Elderly
3. Sick Elderly
4. Funny Elderly
5. High-Tech Elderly

Elderly representations - Representation types

These representation types reflected the social construction of age and the age displays in advertising, these aspects being relevant with regard to both age representations and the aging process. Hereinafter, I presented every representation type that I identified in Romanian video commercials.

Super-Grandparents were a socially valued category. The grandfather/grandmother status was the most frequent in the representations of this type. The age displays that characterized this representation type were signs of the body (the grey hair or the physiognomy that displayed the process of aging). The characters were in good health, which allowed them to practice activities that required effort together with their grandchildren (for example, they played hopscotch or went to the amusement park). Regarding their relational characteristics, they were frequently involved in family relationships.



Figure 1. Super-Grandparents, Aspacardin commercial, number 22 from Annex 1

Super-Grandparents were an integrant part of the family and had a special relationship with their grandchildren, this fact being illustrated in Figure 1. The relationship between the grandparents and the grandchildren generated social value to aging and to the old people involved in it. Such a relationship, which included specific behavior, was possible because of some traits that only grandparents had (they showed a particular kind of affectivity towards their grandchildren, their behavior was ludic, and they disposed of and invested various resources to please their grandchildren). *Super-Grandparents* were economically prosperous and exposed this by offering gifts to their grandchildren. Economic prosperity was exposed especially in banking and insurances advertising.

Super-Grandparents performed activities both in the private sphere (they told stories to their grandchildren, they showed them photos) and in the public sphere (they took their grandchildren to swimming, to amusement parks), which proved that they were alongside their grandchildren regardless the activities they performed. *Super-Grandparents* were funny during the interactions with grandchildren and were also perceived as being funny by the audience. This was not a caricatural form of humor that stigmatized the elderly, but a form of humor that attracted appreciation and value for *Super-Grandparents* from the audience. In the commercials that I analyzed, they were not represented as technology users.

I also included in the category of *Super-Grandparents* three commercials for banking and insurances that portrayed the elderly as involved in collaborative intergenerational relationships with younger people. Although the people from these commercials were not related, I thought this was a non-alienating, socially inclusive way of representing the elderly. Seniors were valued for the avocations (crochet, cooking) they shared with younger counterparts. These commercials constructed an image of social exchange, with younger and older people sharing their experiences and adding to

their daily routine activities that were stereotypically associated to other age categories than the one they were part of. For example, the young women in these commercials took the older ones to the mall, to the hairdresser, they taught them how to play videogames and learned from the older women how to crochet or how to make pickles instead.

In these three commercials, the characters were all women, which suggested that the intergenerational collaboration might be influenced by the gender of the individuals involved in this kind of relationship. The commercials can be interpreted as being confirmatory for the stereotype according to which women are more empathetic than men, more receptive to other people's needs and prone to help them.

Seclusive Elderly were portrayed as people whose physical traits displayed visibly the aging process. The age displays often included white hair, wrinkles and the characters' posture was rather cast down. They were not represented as being sick, but often displayed inactivity or lack of energy. The relational dimension was absent because *Seclusive Elderly* did not get in touch with other individuals. They were old people who spent most of their time alone. They were neither visited nor appreciated by younger family members. They were inactive, bored, did not have humor and did not get in contact with the world exterior to their homes. The commercials that added a humorous side to the representation used a caricatural form of humor. The elderly in these commercials did not possess the quality of being funny, but determined the laughter of the audience because of their caricatural and stereotypic portrayal. They did not use technology; they lived in a vetust social world that was isolated from modernity.



Figure 2. Seclusive Elderly, Allianz commercial, number 46 from Annex 1

The advertising for banking and insurances applied to the *Seclusive Elderly* representation type. The elderly in these commercials spent their time at home, used matchboxes and playing cards to spend their time (as we can notice in Figure 2) or they checked the door viewer while they were constantly waiting for the postman. These commercials evoked a social construction of age that depicted the elderly as being financially dependent, as having too much free time and practicing few activities. The message of these commercials was that older people belonged behind closed doors, away from the public sphere occupied by young, active people, who were economically prosperous.

Sick Elderly were represented as suffering from diseases that were difficult to treat (because their condition was critical or because of the financial impediments they faced). This category of elderly was portrayed as vulnerable. In the advertising, age was displayed by physical traits that symbolized the organism's vulnerability: grey hair, wrinkled skin, body posture that indicated the precariousness of their health condition.



Figure 3. Sick Elderly, HelpNet commercial, number 31 from Annex 1

In some of the commercials that I analyzed, the *Sick Elderly* type was represented as being involved in couple relationships or being close to family members. The double standard of aging was observable when analyzing couple relationships where both partners were old, but the woman took care of the sick man. Commercials that presented the woman as being sick portrayed her as being rather helpless or as being helped by strangers. Figure 3 illustrated such a situation in which an older woman received care from the pharmacy's staff. The message of this commercial was that the interaction with the pharmacy's staff might successfully replace the relationship based on care and support between family members or other people closed to the elderly.

The advertising had a pronounced affective content and promoted the idea of solidarity as a consequence of products'/services' acquisition. Another portrayal of *Sick Elderly* was related to the medicalization of old age, with older people in commercials buying medicine, although they were not in an advanced degraded condition. In this case, the characters not only managed to maintain a good or satisfying health condition because of the medicine they bought, but they were also able to live a successful aging, due to the autonomy that such medicine provided them with (Jones & Higgs 2010). The medicalization of old age is embedded in a reconceptualization of normality, the absence of pathology being necessary, but not sufficient for what is considered to be "the normal stages of the lifecourse" (Pickard 2013, p. 968). Some of these commercials contained humorous messages that were transmitted by famous actors.

I included in the category of advertising that portrayed *Sick Elderly* commercials for medicine that treated prostate diseases. An important observation about these commercials is that the products they promoted addressed men that were over the age of 50, but the age displays that appeared in commercials tended to present younger men. The male characters in these commercials seemed to be younger than 50 years of age, which contradicted the expectations regarding the characters' portrayal. From a relational perspective, the age displays portrayed couples that were remarkable because of the age difference between the partners, women being younger than their partners. These couples often faced difficulties due to the man's prostate disease. Therefore, the commercials that portrayed products for older men seemed to address another audience than the older men. The couples that appeared in commercials displayed status indicators corresponding to a prosperous financial situation (the car, the clothes) and the man was the one that always executed and coordinated the action (he drove the car, pushed the car, while the woman only was by his side).

In a paper on this topic, Bradley and Longino Jr. (2001) draw attention to the commercials that presented people whose chronological age was mentioned, but whose appearance was younger. Such representations valued young people, while the age displays and the physical signs of aging were hidden. Although the individuals were old, their physical appearance was attractive and young. Otherwise stated, the aging process was stigmatized and the normative model in the commercials was the old people with a young body (p. 225).

Bradley and Longino Jr. (2001) offered an explanation for the representation of people chronologically old, but with a younger look. Older people perceived themselves

as being younger than their chronological age, so the models in commercials tended to be younger because the advertising companies tried to relate to the self-image of their consumers (p. 21). Other authors mentioned the producers' lack of empathy, given the fact that the producers were younger than 50 years old (Lee 1997 apud Bradley & Longino Jr. 2001). Another explanation referred to the incomes of the elderly, which were lower than the incomes of younger age groups, so the commercials targeted especially the younger audience (Gunter 1998 apud Bradley & Longino Jr. 2001). This explanation applied to the commercials that promoted products for several age groups, but not to those that promoted medication for prostate diseases.

The commercials that portrayed **Funny Elderly** usually had a humorous message, but they differed with regard to the representations they constructed around the concept of old age/aging. Some of these representations portrayed the elderly as a source of humor because of their intrinsic characteristics, but their message had stigmatizing connotations for the age status and roles. The advertising that applied to this kind of portrayals reiterated social constructs that were based on stereotypes and prejudices. The audience perceived the old characters as ridiculous. The impression was that *we laughed at the elderly* as opposed to the commercials that were funny due to the context in which the elderly were put, so *we laughed with the elderly*.



Figure 4. Funny Elderly, Dona Pharmacy commercial, number 43 from Annex 1

In the first case, the age displays were connected to the indicators corresponding to the physiological dimension (grey hair, body posture, vulnerable health condition) and they emphasized the aging process of the body, turning it into a source of humor. The characters in these commercials were involved especially in family relationships, the comic being constructed around the mother-in-law status. Whether they transmitted physical violence signals (a mother-in-law who had a dominant stature intended to give a massage to her son-in-law, another mother-in-law who crushed a zucchini while she was talking to her son-in-law) or they were not a pleasant company, the mother-in-law status depicted in commercials conflictual social relationships.

In the commercials that were representative for *laughing with the elderly*, the characters showed corporeal signs that were specific for the aging process, but the humor was concentrated on their features, other than the biological ones. These features were manifested when the elderly interacted with family members and friends while they were performing activities.

Funny Elderly were often presented in the public sphere (in the commercials that I studied, the *Funny Elderly* type was represented in pharmacy as a public location) but also in the private sphere. In Figure 4 we can notice an example of *Funny Elderly* character. The female character was in the public sphere and performed activities that were characteristic for a detective, a situation which appealed to the audience's amusement. The digital literacy of the characters for this representation type was limited to the usage of mobile phones. The commercials that portrayed old people as *Funny Elderly* were the most numerous among the ones that I analyzed.

I created the **High-Tech Elderly** category to include the commercials that portrayed old people who were familiar with technology and digital devices use (digitally literate). The indicators corresponding to the physiological dimension captured characteristics such as grey hair, wrinkles, body posture that were specific for old people and a satisfying health condition as the typical age displays for the characters. The relationships they were involved in were generally friendships, their friends being people close to their age and having similar interests. The advertising also included portrayals of digitally literate elderly who were part of the extended family.

Their activities implied the use of devices such as tablets, smartphones or computers. During the talks they had with their friends, they used specialized terms from the IT domain. The characters conducted their discussions and practiced their activities in closed spaces, inside their homes or elsewhere in the private sphere. The commercials portrayed in equal measure men and women who were digitally literate. The age displays in these commercials communicated physiologically and relationally to the audience the age category that the *High-Tech Elderly* belonged to. The age displays were also present during the activities that the elderly performed. These activities were specific for older people, but their performance required abilities for understanding and using technology. Figure 5 contains an image of an old character that belonged to the *High-Tech Elderly* category.

Most of the commercials from the *High-Tech* category promoted a service for Internet connection (I included these commercials in the *Other topics* category). The old

characters that appeared in the commercials talked about technology while being in obsolete rooms. Their discussions focused on IT topics (Java, username), but these topics were according to their interests. These interests were depicted in advertising as being characteristic for older people (for example, a gobelin site).



Figure 5. High-Tech Elderly, Carrefour commercial, number 67 from Annex 1

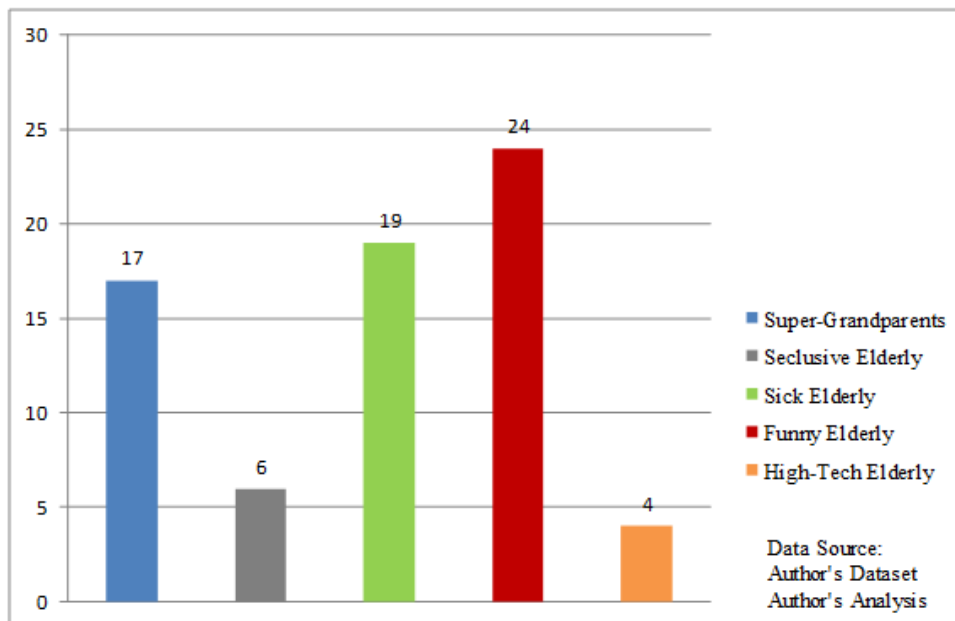
One of the commercials that I analyzed was remarkable for the female character who was elegantly dressed and talked about a medical product that cured the problems related to the female urinary system. The age displays of this woman were the grey hair and the visible signs of the aging process that marked her body. Her elegant posture and clothes did not try to hide the age displays. She used the tablet to search for information and emphasized the benefits of the product that helped her with to be active (thanks to the product, she could make effort, she could laugh). The commercial constructed a model for active aging that accepted the body changes specific for the aging process, but combated the degradation of health condition. A less favorable aspect of this commercial is that there are old people in Romania who cannot identify themselves with this representation, because it seems characteristic for people who have high income and education levels.

Table 2 synthesizes the information regarding the representation types of the elderly in Romanian video advertising, comprising the main characteristics for each representation type.

Table 2. Representation types of the elderly identified in Romanian video advertising

Representation types of the elderly	General Characteristics	Number of commercials for each of the representation types
<i>Super-Grandparents</i>	Older people were socially valued Involvement in intergenerational relationships Special relationships with their grandchildren Intergenerational collaboration Active-aging model	17
<i>Seclusive Elderly</i>	Inactive elderly Non-involved in relationships with other individuals Captives in the private sphere	6
<i>Sick Elderly</i>	Vulnerable health condition Represented together with life partner or the extended family Famous actors promoted the product	19
<i>Funny Elderly</i>	Funny and socially valued elderly vs. funny elderly because of the negative stereotypes	24
<i>High-tech Elderly</i>	Digitally literate elderly Represented in the private sphere Technology was incorporated into the life-style stereotypically associated to the elderly Neutral aging representations	4

Chart 1 presents the distribution of the five types for elderly representations that I identified in the 70 commercials that were part of my analysis.

Chart 1. Representation types of the elderly in 70 video commercials


Differences between the representation types of the elderly based on the advertising audience

After identifying the representation types of the elderly in Romanian video advertising, I drew attention on the differences existing between these representations, depending on the audience they addressed. I captured the differences of the elderly representations in commercials that addressed an audience composed mainly of older people (due to the products/services that addressed specific needs of older people) or an audience composed of other age categories (some of them including the elderly).

The representation types that I discussed earlier were identified following an analysis of the commercials that differed based on the product/service they promoted: health products commercials (44 commercials), banking and insurances commercials (17 commercials) and a category that I called *Other topics* (9 commercials), which contained commercials for fast moving consumers' goods (FMCG). Regarding the advertising for health products, the commercials that addressed the elderly were fewer (16 commercials) than those that addressed more age categories (28 commercials).

Beyond the numerical difference, the commercials were also different because of the representation types they approached. Commercials that addressed older people applied to a variety of representation types. The type that prevailed was *Sick Elderly* (in 8 from 16 commercials), this representation type being proper to emphasize the products the commercials promoted (health products). Besides the representation as *Sick Elderly*, the advertising for health products applied to other representation types, too (*Super-Grandparents*, *Funny Elderly*, *High-Tech Elderly*). The only type that was not among the ones addressing the older audience was *Seclusive Elderly*. In general, the commercials that addressed the elderly approached various representation types. Therefore, the audience detected several social constructs in their content, such as the age displays and age performance.

The health products advertising that addressed several age categories (not only the elderly) usually approached representation types as *Funny Elderly* (17 commercials from 28) or *Sick Elderly* (10 commercials from 28) in order to portray the old age. One of the commercials portrayed the elderly as *Super-Grandparents*. *Seclusive* and *High-Tech Elderly* were not identified in these commercials. When health products commercials addressed several age categories, the representation types were less diverse, funny representations being preferred. Some commercials chose funny representations that outlined the double standard of aging (the mother-in-law and the son-in-law, but the father-in-law was never portrayed in such a hypostasis). These portrayals were not among the ones that addressed exclusively the elderly as their audience.

Banking and insurances commercials often chose the *Super-Grandparents* representation type (in 10 commercials from 17). Other representation types of the elderly that I identified in these commercials were *Seclusive* and *Funny Elderly*, *Sick* and *High-tech Elderly* not being approached in these commercials. In the advertising for banking and insurances the age displays that prevailed were characteristic to wealthy older people, *Super-Grandparents* being remarkable for their generosity towards their

grandchildren. At the opposite pole, there were *Seclusive Elderly*, old people who did not have economical resources, who spent their time at home without having relationships with other people (besides their life partner) and did not have an occupation. *Seclusive Elderly* displayed traits that were stigmatized in these commercials. Their portrayal symbolized failure, being constructed in opposition to the values that the advertising for banking and insurances vehiculated. Another characteristic for these commercials was the homogeneity of the representation types. From the five types that I identified in Romanian video advertising, two were preponderantly approached in the advertising for banking and insurances.

These commercials addressed other age categories than the elderly, hence their messages targeted a younger public. This may be one of the reasons the old age was constructed either as a positive experience, as a stage of life that was economically and personally successful, or as an unpleasant experience for the individuals. The second case was illustrated as being the negative result of inappropriate or irresponsible choices that people made in the previous stages of their lives.

The *Other topics* category comprised various representations, all of the five representation types being within the commercials from this category. The audience for these commercials was formed by various age categories, since the commercials promoted services such as mobile phones, internet connection, bank loans or campaigns that were supported by commercial companies. This category was remarkable because it included most of the representations for *High-Tech Elderly*, this being the dominant type (in 3 commercials from 9). Commercials in this category were preponderantly neuter in relation to age stereotypes. Although the age stereotypes were present, as the social constructs that illustrated the double standard of aging were (the crone construct or the unappreciated grandmother), these were not the dominant representations.

Discussion

In this section of the paper I discuss the **diversification potential of the elderly representations in advertising**. Together with an increased inclusion of the elderly in the target audience for advertising and implicitly for the products and services it promoted, the elderly could be evoked in the collective imaginary as a segment of consumers who were interested in a variety of products and services. The portrayal of older people as potential consumers for a broader spectrum of commercial goods would allow the distancing from the representation as *Sick* and medicine buyers, which prevails in current publicity. An increased inclusion of the elderly in the advertising might be achieved, bearing in mind the limitations and the filtrations that the advertising medium introduces while portraying any type of people.

The fact that Romanian commercials especially invoke younger consumers produces consequences for the representations of the elderly. For example, the elderly were predominantly invoked in health products commercials, which led to an overrepresentation of the *Sick* hypostasis and of the age displays corresponding to this representation type. Being portrayed as *Sick*, the elderly appeared as people whose only

concern was their vulnerable health condition, the age being displayed through traits and characteristics specific for their condition. Other dimensions or experiences of their life were not used in the commercial imaginary, under the circumstances of the limitation that advertising has in addressing older consumers.

An example of advertising campaign that addresses more age categories, including the elderly in the consumers' segmentation, is the **advertising campaign for Mega Image**. The print commercials located around Mega Image stores portray people from various age categories as consumers of the products commercialized by this supermarket chain. The activities that people in these commercials perform illustrate the company's vision on the quality of their products: "Nourishing, Healthy, Safe and Accessible" (Mega Image 2016).

The discrepancy that I observed between Mega Image commercials and the video commercials that I analyzed is caused by different portrayals and age displays of the elderly, which are distinct with regard to their activities and life style. Old people are portrayed as individuals who have a healthy lifestyle in Mega Image commercials, on the one hand, but on the other, the *Sick* hypostasis prevails in Romanian advertising.

An important observation is that Mega Image is a Belgian company and its commercials reflect the social realities and culture that are specific for the Belgian society. Unlike these commercials, the Romanian ones that I analyzed reflect the age representations that are present in the collective imaginary of Romanian society. These commercials evoke aging types that are consequential for the seller – customer relation by integrating the elderly in consumer segments whose needs are generally limited to the physiological ones. Hence, the old people are excluded, in the Romanian commercial imaginary, from the potential consumers' category for various types of products. The advertising reflects the producers' preference for younger age categories. Besides the economic implications of this fact, the tendency to exclude the elderly from the customers' sphere is related to the stereotypes regarding seniors' passivity and their absence or invisibility in the social reality.

Pictures for Mega Image advertising campaign, photographed by the author along a route in Bucharest during May 2017, are available below (figures 6, 7 and 8).



Figure 6. Mega Image Advertising Campaign – Young People



Figure 7. Mega Image Advertising Campaign – Young/Adult People



Figure 8. Mega Image Advertising Campaign – Old People

Conclusion

Through my analysis, I identified five representation types of the elderly in Romanian video advertising: **Super-Grandparents**, **Seclusive Elderly**, **Sick Elderly**, **Funny Elderly**, and the **High-Tech Elderly**. The results that I obtained revealed some characteristics and age displays for each of the representation types. I identified the age displays for the physiological level (physical traits, body features, health condition), for the relational level (relationship types the elderly were involved in) and the activities that they practiced.

Super-Grandparents were a particular representation type because they were socially valued and were portrayed as an active aging model. They were involved especially in family relationships and the commercials that I analyzed prioritized the relationship with their grandchildren. *Seclusive Elderly* formed a category of representations that portrayed older people as victims of the aging process. They were not involved in relationships with other individuals, they were prisoners in the private sphere and did not have the necessary resources (physical, economical) for being present and remarked in the public sphere. *Sick Elderly* were represented as suffering from their vulnerable health condition. This was a devaluing representation that emphasized the double standard of aging because women took care of men in these commercials, but the reverse never happened. The *Sick Elderly* type brought to the fore the negative effects of the aging process on the body and corporeal displays. *Funny Elderly* were a socially valued category in the advertising that I analyzed, being present in the public sphere and being involved in diverse social relations (with family members, with friends). I also identified the *Funny Elderly* type as being devalued and stigmatizing the elderly and the aging process both for the corporeal traits and for the relationships and activities characteristic

to older people. *High-Tech Elderly* had the abilities to use digital devices, technology being an integrant part of their life style.

There were several correspondences between the representation types that I identified and the ones that other authors identified in their studies. Some examples that illustrate this fact: *Super-Grandparents* type was similarly conceptualized by Williams et al. (2007), who identified the *perfect grandfather/grandmother* type. Lee et al. (2007) also identified a typology that included the *Perfect Grandparent* type. The same authors included in their typology the *Recluse* type, which corresponded to the *Seclusive* type that I identified. Uotila et al. (2010) observed that the Finnish media portrayed the elderly as victims of loneliness. The results that Higgs and Milner (2006) obtained were opposed to this case. They showed that in Australian advertising old people were not portrayed as isolated. The *Funny Elderly* type was also identified by Chen (2011) as the *Humorous* type. Chen's typology also contained the type of *Unwell and Declining Health* and Lee et al. (2007) included the type of *Severely Impaired*, which corresponded to the *Sick Elderly* type that I identified. For the *High-Tech Elderly* type, there was no correspondence in the specialty literature.

The representation types that I identified differed based on the audience the commercials addressed. In the specialty literature, Lumme-Sandt (2011) revealed the existence of non-stereotypical and active aging content for commercials that addressed an older audience. I identified 16 commercials for health products that targeted older consumers. This advertising approached various representations and was different from commercials that targeted other age groups based on this aspect. The representations applied to the following types: *Sick Elderly* (8 commercials from 16), *Super-Grandparents* (4 commercials from 16), *Funny Elderly* (3 commercials from 16), *High-Tech Elderly* (1 commercial from 16).

On the contrary, commercials for health products that targeted various age categories (28 commercials) placed the elderly in a narrow-spectrum, portraying them either as *Funny Elderly* (17 commercials from 28) or as *Sick Elderly* (10 commercials from 28). Only one commercial from 28 portrayed old people as *Super-Grandparents*. The advertising for banking and insurances (17 commercials) addressed a young/adult audience and portrayed the elderly as *Super-Grandparents* (10 commercials from 17), *Seclusive Elderly* (5 commercials from 17) and *Funny Elderly* (2 commercials from 17). The advertising in *Other topics* category (9 commercials) was designed for a public formed of various age categories and the representation types were diverse: *High-Tech Elderly* (3 commercials from 9), *Super-Grandparents* (2 commercials from 9), *Funny Elderly* (2 commercials from 9), *Sick Elderly* (1 commercial from 9) and *Seclusive Elderly* (1 commercial from 9).

Limitations and directions for further research

In this paper, I discussed the representation types of the elderly in three advertising categories: health products, banking and insurances and a residual category, called *Other*

topics. I omitted in my analysis the original context of broadcasting, so I could not compare the advertising that targeted a younger audience with those that targeted older people in terms of the popularity of TV channels where these commercials originally appeared.

As an ulterior study direction, such an analysis could be conducted on other types of advertising – to the extent that it contained representations of older people. A productive study direction would be the comparison of Romanian advertising and global advertising for similar products. To what extent does the advertising for health products from other countries portray the elderly as being sick – or do they introduce new representation types? How often and in what hypostases are the older characters introduced in advertising for other types of products?

My study was based on a classification that took into account my own analysis criteria, in dialog with the specialty literature. Another important criterion of analysis would be social clothing codes of age, including covering head/hair, as a way of differentiating between several ways of aging, which could be shaped by the place of provenience. It would also be interesting to capture the perceptions and the experiences of the ones who watch these commercials and of the potential buyers for these products. How do the old characters influence their purchase decisions? Therefore, future research could interview older people or other age categories in order to test the climate of opinion with regard to the elderly representations in video advertising.

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Annex 1

List of commercials' links

Health products commercials

1. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w3P-g9zV_xo – ArtroStop Lady
2. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vnAXRLo_5kw – ArtroStop Rapid
3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zk56QRaFGTA> - ArtroStop Rapid
4. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AMPBnoRaf7o> - Catena
5. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZqDnyMmMdAg> – Catena
6. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pr1MJoUc2VA> – Catena
7. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T1RXMWtO1go> – Catena
8. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yADIOqEo7EU> – Catena
9. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D67Pre1p3Mg> – Catena
10. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2flpYT8mptY&list=PLuZG96ZHdCPcChZCaluSCEwtoVFE7NjII&index=6> – Aspenter
11. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6dgWdXN1mus&index=28&list=PLuZG96ZHdCPcChZCaluSCEwtoVFE7NjII> – Magnerot
12. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wX4ZeemEUD4&index=34&list=PLuZG96ZHdCPcChZCaluSCEwtoVFE7NjII> – Voltaren
13. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ogKy6vuv5c&index=48&list=PLuZG96ZHdCPcChZCaluSCEwtoVFE7NjII> – Prostenal
14. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sQdF_2ZxfYY&index=52&list=PLuZG96ZHdCPcChZCaluSCEwtoVFE7NjII – CoenziPrim
15. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LRD9NazuUu4> – Ibusinus
16. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ITMLexEfXPE> – Carmol
17. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IDo7WGCuTDo> – Feminost
18. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rnQv8NXNMjA> – Prostamol
19. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qibOOHhFEHk> – Catena
20. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hvixsQtrchQ> - Catena
21. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lzuKsQFKrml> – Catena
22. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L2h4yqZuvsA> – Aspacardin
23. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2nbsN_Ql3zo – Aspacardio

24. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A6JEqNsaW68> – Supramax Articulații
25. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mRS57Kc49nk> – Dona Pharmacy
26. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a8MWkooRNcY> –Dona Pharmacy
27. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YoXHitpFpZM> - Dona Pharmacy
28. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OrfZ75ghxxs> - Dona Pharmacy
29. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iYGPOY-uMil> - Dona Pharmacy
30. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Ak_WzTqodo - Dona Pharmacy
31. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZAYTkwbZ6Vw> - Farmacia HelpNet
32. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wRjc5Cj6B6E> – Celadrin Forte

33. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jm2rQA1M8Is> – Celadrin Forte
34. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kq_7Qsoches – RoboFelx
35. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NeBlohs-i1c> – Celadrin Forte
36. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LCFXIYIXf8s> – Movial Plus
37. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MqYo6cs9m8o> – Audionona
38. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zd6lqRsEDdM> – Audionova
39. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yB3wRgOc9ts> – Catena
40. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5YZyRKX8ouk> – Catena
41. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aHwgDtLzpwA> – Catena
42. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wn_FnVTsUpA – Catena
43. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YIVw2_4DktY - Dona Pharmacy
44. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sYV3pWvKpdU> - Catena

Banking and insurances commercials

1. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5P-h7x_e-FY – Allianz
2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u-jjhJXfJcc> - Allianz
3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D-dWRGNaRKM> – Allianz
4. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xXz367xrT5o> - Raiffeisen Bank
5. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P_aEaJ3ZKgY – B Transilvania Aegon
6. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9ZNtjSdaoso> – AIG
7. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jMDEiU3FgVw> - Raiffeisen Bank
8. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PiDNEVfnArI> - Allianz
9. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5hTl3Bi5Mfk> – Banca Românească
10. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7yfGWazeelM&index=4&list=PLxoJNBy6w8hGIM5MSgzoZexCKtJoytXla> – NN
11. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xBH6tqPKpJw&list=PLxoJNBy6w8hGIM5MSgzoZexCKtJoytXla&index=3> – NN
12. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ssvTaZo5q5w&list=PLxoJNBy6w8hGIM5MSgzoZexCKtJoytXla&index=2> – NN
13. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I_pBZ_IINbg&list=PLxoJNBy6w8hGIM5MSgzoZexCKtJoytXla&index=1 – NN
14. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S5ZFyrbddl4&index=6&list=PLxoJNBy6w8hGIM5MSgzoZexCKtJoytXla> - NN
15. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v1kvJZgXJLE&list=PLxoJNBy6w8hGIM5MSgzoZexCKtJoytXla&index=9> - NN
16. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bl88mZHU_h4 - NN
17. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ft3vlildL2U> - NN

Other categories

1. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sc-76rGfVBk> – Cosmote
2. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZGAGFwlv1lw> – Cosmote
3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DbQpWNtnOIQ> – Xnet
4. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pJCeLTJZ-vc> – Xnet
5. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qdl8il9w--c&list=PLsSis7o-tBzpj-FJz95msxzN7_xC2Ki2n&index=5 – Provident
6. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L98DhxTXQJE&list=PLsSis7o-tBzpj-FJz95msxzN7_xC2Ki2n&index=10 – Carrefour
7. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PgIpCUIZDmU> – Catena
8. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K6WAovPjxMo> – Antena 1
(Antiboredom Campaign)
9. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4cMgXC-LMV4> - #SelfieCuBunica -
Pupici pentru Bunici [#SelfieWithGrandma – Kisses for Grandparents
(Bunica Brand Campaign)]

Annex 2

Description of commercials

No	Audience addressed by commercial	Representation type	Product/Service	Last accessed on	Link
1	Elderly Audience (Mainly)	<i>Funny Elderly</i>	ArtroStop Lady	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w3P-g9zV_xo
2	Elderly Audience (Mainly)	<i>Sick Elderly</i>	ArtroStop Rapid	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vnAXRLo_5kw
3	Elderly Audience (Mainly)	<i>Funny Elderly</i>	ArtroStop Rapid	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zk56QRaFGTA
4	Elderly Audience (Mainly)	<i>Sick Elderly</i>	Aspenter	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2flpYT8mptY&list=PLuZG96ZHdCPcChZCaluSCEwtoVFE7NjII&index=6
5	Elderly Audience (Mainly)	<i>Sick Elderly</i>	Prostenal	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ogKy6vuvvm5c&index=48&list=PLuZG96ZHdCPcChZCaluSCEwtoVFE7NjII
6	Elderly Audience (Mainly)	<i>Super-Grandparents</i>	CoenziPrim	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sQdF_2ZxfYY&index=52&list=PLuZG96ZHdCPcChZCaluSCEwtoVFE7NjII
7	Elderly Audience (Mainly)	<i>High-Tech Elderly</i>	Feminost	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IDo7WGCuTDo
8	Elderly Audience (Mainly)	<i>Sick Elderly</i>	Prostamol	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rnQv8NXNMjA
9	Elderly Audience (Mainly)	<i>Super-Grandparents</i>	Aspacardin	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L2h4yqZuvsA
10	Elderly Audience (Mainly)	<i>Sick Elderly</i>	Aspacardio	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2nbsN_QI3zo
11	Elderly Audience (Mainly)	<i>Funny Elderly</i>	Supramax Articulații	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A6JEqNsaW68
12	Elderly Audience (Mainly)	<i>Sick Elderly</i>	Celadrin Forte	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wRjc5Cj6B6E
13	Elderly Audience (Mainly)	<i>Sick Elderly</i>	Celadrin Forte	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jm2rQA1M8ls
14	Elderly Audience (Mainly)	<i>Sick Elderly</i>	Celadrin Forte	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NeBlohs-i1c

15	Elderly Audience (Mainly)	Super-Grandparents	Audionova	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MqYo6cs9m8o
16	Elderly Audience (Mainly)	Super-Grandparents	Audionova	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zd6lqRsEDdM
17	Several age categories	Super-Grandparents	Catena	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AMPBnoRaf7o
18	Several age categories	Funny Elderly	Catena	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZqDnyMmMdAg
19	Several age categories	Funny Elderly	Catena	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pr1MJoUc2VA
20	Several age categories	Funny Elderly	Catena	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T1RXMWtO1go
21	Several age categories	Funny Elderly	Catena	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yADlOqEo7EU
22	Several age categories	Funny Elderly	Catena	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D67Pre1p3Mg
23	Several age categories	Funny Elderly	Magnerot	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6dgWdXN1mus&index=28&list=PLuZG96Z_HdCPcChZCaluSCEwtoVFE7NjII
24	Several age categories	Sick Elderly	Voltaren	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wX4ZeemEUD4&index=34&list=PLuZG96_ZHdCPcChZCaluSCEwtoVFE7NjII
25	Several age categories	Funny Elderly	Ibusinus	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LRD9NazuUu4
26	Several age categories	Funny Elderly	Catena	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qibOOHhFEHk
27	Several age categories	Funny Elderly	Catena	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hvixsQtrchQ
28	Several age categories	Sick Elderly	Catena	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lzuKsQFKrml
29	Several age categories	Funny Elderly	Dona Pharmacy	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mRS57Kc49nk
30	Several age categories	Sick Elderly	Dona Pharmacy	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a8MWkooRNcY
31	Several age categories	Funny Elderly	Dona Pharmacy	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YoXHitpFpZM
32	Several age categories	Sick Elderly	Dona Pharmacy	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OrfZ75ghxxs

33	Several age categories	<i>Sick Elderly</i>	Dona Pharmacy	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iYGPOY-uMil
34	Several age categories	<i>Sick Elderly</i>	Dona Pharmacy	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Ak_WzTqodo
35	Several age categories	<i>Sick Elderly</i>	HelpNet Pharmacy	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZAYTkwBZ6Vw
36	Several age categories	<i>Sick Elderly</i>	RoboFlex	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kq_7Qsoches
37	Several age categories	<i>Sick Elderly</i>	Movial Plus	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LCFXIYIXf8s
38	Several age categories	<i>Funny Elderly</i>	Catena	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yB3wRgOc9ts
39	Several age categories	<i>Funny Elderly</i>	Catena	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5YZyRKX8ouk
40	Several age categories	<i>Funny Elderly</i>	Catena	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aHwgDtLzpwA
41	Several age categories	<i>Funny Elderly</i>	Catena	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wn_FnVTsUpA
42	Several age categories	<i>Funny Elderly</i>	Dona Pharmacy	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YIVw2_4DktY
43	Several age categories	<i>Sick Elderly</i>	Catena	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sYV3pWvKpdU
44	Several age categories	<i>Funny Elderly</i>	Carmol	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ITMLeXEFXPE
45	Several age categories	<i>Seclusive Elderly</i>	Allianz	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5P-h7x_e-FY
46	Several age categories	<i>Seclusive Elderly</i>	Allianz	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=u-jjhJXfJcc
47	Several age categories	<i>Seclusive Elderly</i>	Allianz	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D-dWRGNaRKM
48	Several age categories	<i>Super-Grandparents</i>	Raiffeisen Bank	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xXz367xrT5o
49	Several age categories	<i>Seclusive Elderly</i>	B Transilvania Aegon	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P_aEaJ3ZKgY
50	Several age categories	<i>Funny Elderly</i>	AIG	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gZNtjSdaoso

51	Several age categories	Super-Grandparents	Raiffeisen Bank	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jMDEiU3FgVw
52	Several age categories	Seclusive Elderly	Allianz	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PiDNEVfnArI
53	Several age categories	Funny Elderly	Banca Românească (Romanian Bank)	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5hTl3Bi5Mfk
54	Several age categories	Super-Grandparents	NN	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7yfGWazeeIM&index=4&list=PLxoJNBy6w8hGIM5MSgzoZexCKtJoytXla
55	Several age categories	Super-Grandparents	NN	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xBH6tqPKpJw&list=PLxoJNBy6w8hGIM5MSgzoZexCKtJoytXla&index=3
56	Several age categories	Super-Grandparents	NN	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ssvTaZ05q5w&list=PLxoJNBy6w8hGIM5MSgzoZexCKtJoytXla&index=2
57	Several age categories	Super-Grandparents	NN	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l_pBZ_IINbg&list=PLxoJNBy6w8hGIM5MSgzoZexCKtJoytXla&index=1
58	Several age categories	Super-Grandparents	NN	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S5ZFyrbddI4&index=6&list=PLxoJNBy6w8hGIM5MSgzoZexCKtJoytXla
59	Several age categories	Super-Grandparents	NN	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v1kvJZgXJLE&list=PLxoJNBy6w8hGIM5MSgzoZexCKtJoytXla&index=9
60	Several age categories	Super-Grandparents	NN	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bl88mZHU_h4
61	Several age categories	Super-Grandparents	NN	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ft3vlildL2U
62	Several age categories	Sick Elderly	Cosmote	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sc-76rGfVBk
63	Several age categories	Super-Grandparents	Cosmote	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZGAGFwlv1lw
64	Several age categories	High-Tech Elderly	Xnet	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DbQpWNtnOIQ
65	Several age categories	High-Tech Elderly	Xnet	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pJCeLTJZ-vc
66	Several age categories	Super-Grandparents	Provident	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qdl8il9w--c&list=PLsSis70-tBzpj-FJz95msxzN7_xC2Ki2n&index=5
67	Several age categories	High-Tech Elderly	Carrefour	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L98DhxTXQJE&list=PLsSis70-tBzpj-FJz95msxzN7_xC2Ki2n&index=10

68	Several age categories	<i>Funny Elderly</i>	Catena	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PglpCUIZDmU
69	Several age categories	<i>Funny Elderly</i>	Antena 1 (Antiboredom Campaign)	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K6WAovPjxMo
70	Several age categories	<i>Seclusive Elderly</i>	Bunica Brand Campaign	December 7 th 2017	https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4cMgXC-LMV4