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The representation of mature adults in TV commercials: A cross-cultural content analysis of portrayals in Poland and in the U.S.

Abstract

The aim of the article is to examine the portrayals of mature adults (55+) in television commercials in Poland and in the United States. It is important to analyze the portrayal of this group as, on the one hand, they are a lucrative and growing consumer market, however, on the other hand, past studies have shown that this segment has been often stereotyped and underrepresented. It is hypothesized that due to clear differences in the value systems and socio-economic characteristics of both countries, the representation of the mature segment of consumers will differ significantly in terms of their overall portrayal. A purposive sample of 15 Polish commercials and 15 U.S. commercials was selected since the researchers wished to focus on particular portrayals rather than analyze a large sample of commercials. The method was a comparative content analysis. Each commercial was examined particularly for the social context, the activities performed by the individuals, gender representation, health status, race, image, role and product/service type. The findings showed that older people play various roles, however, cultural values and differences were evident in the commercials placed in both countries. This could be seen in the content and focus of the ads.

Keywords: mature adults, old age, TV commercials, advertising, image

JEL Classification: J14, M37, Z13

1. Introduction

The number of mature adults in the world is on the rise. Gretchen Livingston (2015) reporting for the Pew Research Center states that mature adult populations worldwide are rising, “thanks in large part to global increases in life expectancy, populations in all regions of the world are expected to age dramatically in the coming decades, according to the United Nations.” (para. 3). The mature adults represent a large portion of the total population—in 2017 in Poland the share reached 16.8%, and in the U.S. it was 15.4% (United Nations, 2017) and they have significant purchasing power. Many mature adults are Baby Boomers and the Baby Boomer generation represents a lucrative market. According to “The Financial Times” (Foy & Ward, 2014), Euromonitor has forecasted that Baby Boomers’ spending power will reach \$15 trillion in 2020. It was also estimated that in Poland, in 2016, about 26.7% of Polish pensioners’ expenses covered food and drink products, 6.8% drugs and medical equipment, 3.6% clothing and footwear, 2.4% alcohol and cigarettes, and 7.1% transport, education and entertainment (Statistics Poland, 2017). Taking into account the fact that they receive regular monthly income, it can be stated that despite being specific consumers, they represent a substantial purchasing power in a number of sectors (Szewczyk, 2017). It is thus important for businesses to take this consumer group seriously.

In the literature on the older population, there is a focus on the fact that they are subject to negative stereotyping more than other social groups (Dail, 1998). It is claimed that negative stereotyping is strengthened by the existing preconceptions about their health and social status, cognitive and physical ability as well as personality traits or work capabilities. Such images are also spread in the mass media.

A few reasons have been suggested by gerontologists (Butler, Lewis & Sunderland, 1991), as to why old age and the elderly are approached with a negative attitude in the U.S. They comprise:

1. A history of mass immigration, still ongoing, mostly consisting of the young leaving the elderly behind in Europe and Asia.
2. A nation founded on principles of individualism, independence, and autonomy.
3. The development of technologies that demand rapid change and specialized skills.
4. A general devaluation of tradition.
5. Increased mobility of the population within a large continental space.
6. Medical advances that have relegated most deaths to later life, producing a tendency to associate death with old age. (p. 30)

According to the authors, these factors make old age be perceived as an undesired phase of life and the elderly as troublesome. In fact, apart from the first reason, the remaining ones can also be safely applied to Polish society and its value system (cf. Błachnio, 2016; Michalski, 2017). For example, Michalski (2017), writing about mature adults in Poland, points to the fact that individualism is strongly emphasized in the contemporary culture, which overshadows the relations of an individual with a larger group or society (e.g. family) leading to a crisis of a community and traditional values, and thus undermines the role of the elderly in a society. Similarly, Błachnio (2016), states that economic migration, technological development and individualism lead to a difficult situation of the elderly in the Polish society. As a result, the elderly are perceived as a burden nobody is willing to take care of.

To finish with the potential causes for a negative perception of old age perhaps one more reason should be added. In the contemporary culture of developed societies, youth is granted a privileged position. It is glorified for its beauty, physical fitness, freedom and independence. These values are contrasting with what is typically associated with old age. Consequently, in the society, and especially “in popular media, ageing is often portrayed as a process that should be stopped or controlled” (Fraser et al., 2015, p. 1024).

This study updates previously published research regarding the image and representation of mature adults in television commercials and will help identify existing lacunas. It aims at identifying existing differences in the portrayal of mature adults in TV commercials in Poland and the U.S. It is hypothesized that due to the differences in the value systems and socio-economic characteristics of both countries, the representation of the mature segment of consumers will differ significantly in terms of their overall portrayal. In order to analyze and compare the results, a content analysis was designed and applied.

2. Representation of mature adults in the mass media

Literature review

Older individuals have been represented negatively in the media in the past. They have been stereotyped as being unhealthy, inactive and out-of-touch. Past studies on the portrayal of mature and elderly people in television series and commercials as well as other mass media products in different countries report that the population of the elderly in the mass media is generally both underrepresented and negatively stereotyped (i.e. Hiemstra et al., 1983; Swayne & Greco, 1987; Vasil & Wass, 1993; Robinson & Skill, 1995; Roy & Harwood, 1997). Moschis (2003) mentions how mature adults were portrayed over the years - they were very much out of the picture and advertisements that did exist, focused upon discounts for seniors.

In more recent studies, the problem of underrepresentation and stereotyping has still been highlighted. For example, the study on the portrayal of older people in prime time television drama series on four German networks conducted by

Kessler, Rakoczy and Staudinger (2004), who applied gerontological concepts in order to compare the portrayal of old age with “real-world” evidence, gave some interesting results. It was revealed that generally older people (rated as 60+) were underrepresented, but such a tendency was even stronger in the case of women and those of advanced age. In terms of social participation and financial resources of the elderly, the representation was overly positive. Additionally, both older women and men were portrayed in traditional gender roles. In the study on the representations of older adults in television advertisements in the U.S., Lee, Carpenter and Myers (2007) discovered that although in general the elderly were not so much underrepresented—older adults appeared in 15% of advertisements, while they comprised 18% of the population in the region where these advertisements aired—there was a gender bias observed as older women were underrepresented relative to men. Importantly, “[o]lder adults tended to play incidental roles in the advertisements and to promote a circumscribed, stereotyped set of products and services” (Lee, Carpenter & Myers, 2007, p. 23). In a cross-cultural comparison of the portrayals of older adults in U.S. and Indian magazine advertisements Raman et al. (2008) investigated media portrayals of older adults and other age groups. The results of content analysis of randomly selected magazine ads indicated that

older adults as well as children and teens were underrepresented in both cultures. Overall, women were overrepresented in younger age groups and underrepresented in older age groups, with this pattern being stronger in India. Indian advertisements portrayed characters in spousal relationships significantly more than U.S. advertisements. References to aging and older adulthood were more common in U.S. advertisements, as were overall associations between ill health and older adulthood. (p. 221)

Mature adults in America and in Poland are subject to negative portrayals. As researchers and marketers bring about awareness of this dilemma, content providers begin to slowly change their representations. There has definitely been an improvement over time, however still there are some stereotypes being forwarded in the media (Roy & Harwood, 1997; Reilly, 2005). According to a recent study that examined Super Bowl commercials between 2010 and 2014 (Brooks, Bichard, & Craig, 2016), mature adults were framed positively 80.49 percent of the time. Positive depictions included portrayals that showed mature adults as, “independent, proud, lively, loving, and productive” (p. 359). The majority of mature adults that appeared as characters in the study were Caucasian males. This study dealt specifically with Super Bowl commercials, yet it showed that depictions of mature adults are in some ways improving; however, the gender and race representation area is still in need of attention and reform.

In Poland, the studies of the demographic trends and the presence of the elderly in Polish press advertising revealed that the population of the elderly in Polish magazine advertisements was generally heavily underrepresented (Pawlina, 2010; Kowalewska, 2017, 2018). The studies additionally indicated that they were represented exclusively in family and medical contexts, presenting stereotyped

roles. Moreover, there was a strong gender bias, as elderly women largely outnumbered elderly men. The studies also showed that the elderly seldom act in TV commercials or press ads unless they are celebrities. Only then their age is unimportant (Pawlina, 2010). In terms of the advertised products, mature adults play a leading role only in ads for drugs and cosmetics, usually anti-aging (Łapacz, 2007; Stypińska, 2010; Stefaniak-Hryćko, 2012; Kowalewska, 2017, 2018). Kowalewska, however, notices a change in the image of mature adults in press advertisements and identifies a “luxury senior”, who is portrayed as independent, energetic and trend-setting (2017, p. 244).

It is important to focus on today’s commercials to see how exactly mature adults are continuing to be portrayed. Mature adults are more likely to watch television programs than other generations (Harwood, 2007). According to *The Nielsen Total Audience Report* (Nielsen, 2018) mature adults in America watch between 43 (those 55–64) and 51 (those 65+) hours of live and time-shifted television per week, whereas in Poland the average time spent on watching TV is than 30 hours per week (Wirtualnemedi, 2018) and it increases with age up to 45 per week among the retired (Wirtualnapolska, 2015). Marketers in the past were perhaps not cognizant of the mature adult market. The consumer segment is now strong therefore mature adults should be portrayed in a positive light. Moschis (2003) reports that the mature adult market is diverse, however, it is still framed as a homogeneous group.

3. Lacuna theory and cultural differences in portrayals

Although both cultural groups have been subject to positive and negative portrayals in the past, differences still exist in how the groups are represented in the media. Generally, when a member of a cultural group is subject to media portrayals, he or she may not be surprised by the content. When non-members view such portrayals, however, they may be somewhat surprised or confused. This is because the non-member has experienced a “gap”. Lacuna theory addresses such gaps. Gaps arise when individuals from different cultural backgrounds communicate with one another. They can also occur via media outlets. If one views a foreign movie, for instance, the person may have difficulty understanding the particular cultural references because he or she is not a member of the culture of origin and thus, has not experienced the situation or is unfamiliar with the information that is referred to.

According to Antipov et al. (1989) lacuna is “a term of description, for what is present in one culture but not in another” (p. 85). Lacunas naturally arise during intercultural encounters, however, researchers can hypothesize as to when they might arise. These possible lacunas will be referred to as “potential” lacunas for the purposes of the study. A researcher that is a non-member of the cultural group will identify the potential lacunas. Once the coding process is complete, the researchers see if potential lacunas emerge. The lacunas are then identified and explained. This study will not address language lacunas.

4. Research

4.1. Coding sample and unit of analysis

Research material from Poland comes from commercial blocks broadcast in prime time on public television (TVP1) on Saturdays in the first two quarters of 2018, whereas the U.S. commercials were collected on ABC and CBS in May and June 2018. A purposive sample of 15 Polish commercials and 15 U.S. commercials was selected since the researchers wished to focus on particular portrayals rather than analyze a large sample of commercials. The unit of analysis was the individual character, who could be identified as a mature adult or the elderly according to the following criteria: grey or white hair, visible wrinkles, clothing typical of this age group, being the oldest of at least three generations presented in a commercial or when the information on age above 55 was overtly given.

4.2 Categories for coding

In the study, the coding process was based on the following eight categories: social context, the activities performed by the individuals, gender representation, health status, race, image, role and product/service type. The options of social context category were limited to home, family, friends, professional, leisure, and other. Since in some commercials the setting changes a few times, it was decided to take into account all the instances separately. In the category of performed activity, all the activities which were performed by the discussed characters in a given TV commercial were enlisted. Gender representation was coded in three categories, such as male, female, and other. As for health status category, it was decided to use either option “healthy”, when the advertised product was unconnected with health issues and there were no cues of illness or other health related problem visible, or “to be improved” when one or both above mentioned conditions were met. In race category, on the basis of the skin color, accent, or facial features, three basic groups were established—Caucasian, African-American, and other, where “other” could be further divided into more specific minorities, for example, Hispanics, Asian, or Native American. In order to code the image of the portrayed characters positive, neutral, or negative, the following criteria were applied: positive—when the behavior which was shown was good or beneficial to others (*e.g.* hugging a grandson, cooking for children, helping others), neutral—when it did not concern others directly (*e.g.* putting makeup on, driving a car), and negative—when it was unpleasant or harmful to others (*e.g.* being grumpy, critical, or intolerant to others). In terms of role, there were three categories employed: major role was marked when the character functioned as the main character or spokesperson (a speaking role), minor role when they had a supporting role to the major characters, may or may not speak but remained active, and background role, when they appeared only for a short time, did not speak, and were not active (their absence would not influence the plot). Finally, the advertised product/service type category was open to include an unlimited variety of types.

Despite a limited research sample, the applicability of the research findings should not be underestimated since they may give grounds for some further cross-cultural studies of the issue with a larger sample or yet different coding criteria.

4.3 Results

Taking into consideration the fact that in the Polish commercials there were 40 instances of contexts, for the percentage values this sum was taken as 100%. Analogically, in the U.S. commercials, 25 was counted as 100%. The results are demonstrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Social context in which the mature adults are portrayed in the Polish and U.S. TV commercials

	Social context						Σ
	Family	Friends	Home	Professional	Leisure	Other	
PL	14 (35%)	2 (5%)	12 (30%)	4 (10%)	8 (20%)	0 (0%)	40
USA	3 (12%)	0 (0%)	7 (28%)	4 (16%)	10 (40%)	1 (4%)	25

In the examined sample, commercials available in Poland pictured the mature adults mostly in the family (35%) and home setting (30%). Leisure setting was less popular (20%), and a professional one was only occasional (10%). Only two commercials showed friends context (5%). By contrast, the U.S. commercials portrayed the mature adults mainly in the context of leisure activities (40%), and then home (28%). Professional (16%) and family (12%) context were occasional, whereas there were no instances of a friendship context. A potential lacuna for the U.S. viewers of the Polish commercials might be the continual concentration on the home/family setting. In contrast, a potential lacuna for the Polish viewers may be the excessive focus on leisure.

The category of performed activity was open to include a whole range of the activities performed by the mature characters in the analyzed TV commercials. Out of 20 different activities identified in the Polish research material, 7 considered preparing a meal for the family or having a meal with other family members, which constitutes more than 30% of the cases. The activities which were identified twice were taking care of a granddaughter, doing Nordic walking and being a spokesperson for the advertised product. The remaining ones related to different aspects of life both personal and professional. Out of 19 activities performed by mature characters in the U.S. commercials, 6 of them were doubled (being a spokesperson explaining trade, standing by home, enjoying time with grandchildren, traveling, sitting on the toilet/walking and playing chess outside). Generally, all activities were so diverse that putting them into further categories was unfeasible.

As for the number of mature adults who were identified and analyzed, in the Polish commercials it was 24, and in the U.S. commercials 25. In this category, three main potential lacunas would emerge for the Polish viewer. The first being the construction of the commercial itself, as often the activity of the mature character doubled in the spot, i.e. two activities were being performed at the same

time. This would be a lacuna of advertising texts, specifically of advertising messages. The second potential lacuna for the Polish viewer would be the toilet scene. This would be a lacuna of communicative activity. It would relate to etiquette since it would seem odd and impolite to show an individual on the toilet in a commercial. Lastly, the baseball game would be identified by the Polish audience but not understood in the same way as it is in the U.S. This would also be a lacuna of communicative activity, specifically, a routine lacuna. Cultures differ in the sports activities that they participate in. Most Poles do not grow up playing baseball and they do not build the same feelings and emotions associated with baseball as Americans.

Table 2. Activities performed by the mature adults portrayed in Polish and U.S. TV commercials

Poland	Performed activity		
	N	USA	N
having a family dinner at the table	4	spokesperson explaining trade	2
cooking/preparing a meal	3	standing by home	2
taking care of a granddaughter	2	enjoying time with grandchildren	2
doing Nordic walking	2	traveling	2
being a spokesperson for the advertised product	2	sitting on the toilet/walking	2
feeding/walking the dog	1	playing chess outside	2
yoga meditating in a park	1	running a race	1
sitting on a bench in a park	1	working in a factory	1
building a flying vehicle	1	reading a book by the pool	1
doing experiments in a laboratory	1	watching a baseball game	1
drinking beer in a bar	1	being honored for military service	1
taking care of flowers	1	spying on an investment firm	1
attending a barbeque party	1	riding in a taxi	1
playing a board game with grandchildren	1	lying in bed at the hospital	1
giving a lecture at the university of the third age	1	hugging son coming home from military	1
attending a lecture at the university of third age	1	spokesperson talking about dog food w/dog	1
lying in bed trying to fall asleep	1	putting a saddle on a horse	1
giving a car to the adult son	1	gardening	1
posing for a family picture	1	painting car	1
playing with grandchildren outside	1		

In the Polish research material, female characters prevailed—almost 60%. To the contrary, in the U.S., male characters outnumbered female with the ratio 15 to 10 (Table 3).

There were no instances of other or unidentified gender types in either country. No potential lacunas would be present in relation to gender portrayal.

Table 3. Gender of the mature adults portrayed in Polish and U.S. TV commercials

	Gender		
	Male	Female	Other
PL	10 (42%)	14 (58%)	0 (0%)
USA	15 (60%)	10 (40%)	0 (0%)

In the category of health status (Table 4), in Poland, the number of the presented mature adults who were portrayed as healthy almost equaled the number of the ones whose health should be improved. In the U.S., on the other hand, all but one characters were portrayed as healthy (96%). The unsatisfactory health status was suggested exclusively in the commercials for drugs and dietary supplements. The U.S. viewer may find the focus on sick individuals to be somewhat depressing but it would not present a potential lacuna. To Polish viewers, on the other hand, the portrayal of mature adults exclusively as strong and healthy could be perceived as unnatural.

Table 4. Health status of the mature adults portrayed in Polish and U.S. TV commercials

	Health status	
	Healthy	To be improved
PL	13 (54%)	11 (46%)
USA	24 (96%)	1 (4%)

Gender representation in Poland covered solely Caucasian types (100%) (Table 5). In the U.S., however, there were 3 instances of African-American types (12%) against the vast majority of the Caucasian types (88%). The U.S. viewer would find the diversity to be lacking in both the U.S. commercials and the Polish commercials. This may present a potential lacuna for the U.S. viewer. This would be considered an inter-reflective lacuna. Polish viewers would not be surprised by the lack of ethnic diversity among characters presented in the commercials.

Table 5. Race of the mature adults portrayed in Polish and U.S. TV commercials

	Race		
	Caucasian	African-American	Other
PL	24 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
USA	22 (88%)	3 (12%)	0 (0%)

Regarding the image of the mature adults (Table 6), in Polish commercials, their overall image was mostly neutral (67%), whereas every third character was portrayed in a positive light (33%). In the U.S., the ratio was reverse, the positive image was identified at 60% of the characters, and neutral at 40%. In neither country negative image occurred. The U.S. viewer may be surprised to see a lack of positive representation in the Polish spots. This difference may be noticeable but would most likely not present a potential lacuna. Commercials in the U.S. have changed over the years. There are more positive portrayals of mature adults than there were in the past.

Table 6. Image of the mature adults portrayed in Polish and U.S. TV commercials

	Image		
	Positive	Neutral	Negative
PL	8 (33%)	16 (67%)	0
USA	15 (60%)	10 (40%)	0

Out of the identified 24 mature adults in Polish commercials, 50% played a major role, 38% minor and 12% background role. In the U.S. commercials, 56% of mature characters had a major role, 44% minor, and no background role was identified. In relation to role portrayal, no potential lacunas were identified.

Table 7. Role of the mature adults portrayed in Polish and U.S. TV commercials

	Role		
	Major	Minor	Background
PL	12 (50%)	9 (38%)	3 (12%)
USA	14 (56%)	11 (44%)	0 (0%)

When it comes to the range of products advertised in TV commercials featuring mature adults, it is evident that in Poland, health related products are the most frequent (overall more than 50%); drugs were advertised in every third commercial and dietary supplements in every fifth. The remaining products belonged to food industry (every third commercial) and there was one advertisement for online service. In the U.S., the range of products is much more diversified and therefore difficult to classify. Clearly, drugs are advertised in every fifth commercial and there were two ads for investments. The U.S. viewer may find the overall concentration on health to be somewhat strange but not to such an extent to regard it as a potential lacuna. It still, however, would be noticeable. The focus on hotels, social media platforms, real estate firms or investments could be identified as lacuna for the Polish viewers, who still fail to perceive members of the older generation as modern or wealthy.

Table 8. Type of the advertised product/service in Polish and U.S. TV commercials with mature adults

Poland	Type of the advertised product		
	N	USA	N
drugs	5	drugs	3
dietary supplement	3	investments	2
incontinence pants for seniors	1	real estate firm	1
poultry products	1	washing detergent	1
meat products	1	retail store	1
ketchup	1	social media platform	1
beer	1	razor	1
supermarket chain	1	incontinence pants for seniors	1
online loan	1	dog food	1
		hotel	1
		hamburger	1
		phone service	1

5. Summary and discussion

Table 9 briefly summarizes the research results.

Table 9. The summary of the results

Categories	Poland	USA
Social context	mainly family and home	leisure and home
Performed activity	cooking, eating with family	a wide range of activities
Gender	women prevail	men prevail
Health status	almost 50% to be improved	healthy
Race	Caucasian	Caucasian and a few Afro-American
Image	more neutral than positive	more positive than neutral
Role	major, minor and background	only major and minor
Type of the product/service	mainly health related and food products	drugs and a wide range of products

In the analyzed material of the total of 30 TV commercials from both countries, a very similar number of mature adults was identified—24 in Poland and 25 in the USA. Likewise, the number of performed activities was almost identical—20 to 19 respectively. This gives a good starting point for the comparison. After studying the data, it can be concluded that there are clear disparities in each of the 8 categories coded. In the Polish TV commercials, mature characters were presented mainly in the family and home contexts, whereas in the U.S. commercials, it was leisure and home. As for the performed activity, in Poland, the focus was on preparing and eating meals with other members of the family, while in the U.S. a focal point was not identified since the performed activities were very different and unrelated. In terms of gender representation, in Polish commercials, women were more prominent, whereas in the U.S. there were men. Another apparent difference is seen in the category of health status, where almost every second mature character in Polish commercials is portrayed as the one who requires health improvement, while, to the contrary, all characters are presented as healthy in the U.S. material. Analyzing Polish data, only the Caucasian race was identified, whereas in the American data, additionally, a few characters of Afro-American origin were traced. The material from neither country contained a negative image of the mature adults. In Poland, the image was mostly neutral and then positive, and in the U.S.—the opposite. In technical terms, mature adults were given all types of roles in Polish commercials, while in the U.S., they played only major and minor roles. Finally, with regard to the type of advertised product or service, the results show that in Poland, commercials with mature adults promote either food or health related products. On the other hand, the U.S. commercials advertise a wide range of products and services which are difficult to group.

6. Conclusions

Concluding, altogether the data show that, as was expected, all the set criteria reveal differences in the portrayal of mature adults in TV commercials in Poland and the USA. The research results confirmed that family is a top value for Poles and health issues are almost equally important, which strengthens the stereotyped image of the mature adults presented not only in advertising but also in other media products. This trend is not visible in the commercials from the USA, where leisure time was accented. In terms of cultural diversity of a given country, on the one hand, the results reflected a homogenous character of Poland, but on the other hand, they failed to present an exceptionally heterogenous nature of the U.S. society.

The potential lacunas which were present and identified concerned:

- (1) family and health (for the U.S. viewers) vs. leisure orientation (for the Poles),
- (2) the number of activities performed by mature adults in one spot (for the Poles),
- (3) the presence of the toilette scene in a TV commercial (for the Poles),
- (4) approach to baseball (for the Poles),
- (5) lack of ethnic diversity (for the U.S. viewers),
- (6) the portrayal of mature adults as healthy, modern and wealthy (for the Poles).

Generally, the findings support the assumption that the content of commercials reflects the cultural values, which is a core premise of cross-cultural advertising.

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Appendix

A list of the examined TV commercials broadcast in Poland:

1. *Opokan* (anti-inflammatory painkiller/drug),
available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RS1g8nFALLQ>
2. *Indykpol* (poultry products)
available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rq-AZLwiuKE>
3. *Ginkofar Extra* (drug)
available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZqwuQVZ7woY>
4. *Tesco* (supermarket chain)
available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XxtPQnd0Z4U>
5. *Książęce* (beer)
available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MVwpjqfABmk>
6. *Polopiryyna Complex* (drug)
available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pd28Kzhr5hM>
7. *Neospasmina* (drug)
available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6AbVuPc9mv0>
8. *D-Vitum Forte Osteo* (dietary supplement)
available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OC_A9MrOT6k
9. *Kreon Travix* (drug)
available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W4l8pM-7Nl4>
10. *Kotlin* (ketchup)
available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0GUc79QA8Q>
11. *Sokolów* (meat products)
available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2h09EoMmtjU>
12. *Tena* (incontinence pants for seniors)
available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BMB4LqjPJxo>
13. *NeoMag Cardio* (dietary supplement)
available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ev3gTdjW_O4
14. *Zdrowosen* (dietary supplement)
available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TMfcmqwhZNk>
15. *wonga.com* (online loan)
available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Tld1d2egxFs>

A list of the examined TV commercials broadcast in the U.S.:

1. *Gillette* (razor)
available at: <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=IW9ut3mq2mU>
2. *Depend* (incontinence pants)
available at: https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=6ULIwtPk3M4&index=2&list=PLzToNnJxPWA_FvXLQU8PbfVxPjVkiFFUY&t=0s
3. *Target* (retail store)
available at: https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=_xzILayg6bk
4. *T-Mobile* (telecommunication)
available at: <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=ew12TeTR4OQ>
5. *Blue Buffalo* (dog food)
available at: <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=D4CFJE8yxGo>
6. *RE/MAX* (real estate)
available at: <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=bX4Plf6NOXA>
7. *Hilton Hotels* (vacation)
available at: <https://www.ispot.tv/ad/w4ia/hilton-hotels-worldwide-summer-getaway>
8. *Cosentyx* (drug)
available at: <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=mdNH7dfqwQo>
9. *Linzess* (drug)
available at: <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=TTIgwWzhk0U>
10. *Fidelity Investments* (retirement investing)
available at: https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=EnwF3a8Q8_U&index=7&t=0s&list=PLGKKmEmJDSiKkuZDWC2edti4d_4fDrAH3
11. *Facebook* (social media platform)
available at: <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=dKTjy-0RxNg>
12. *McDonalds* (hamburger)
available at: <https://www.ispot.tv/ad/dVu9/mcdonalds-quarter-pounder-spechless-nathan-feat-john-goodman>
13. *Charles Swab* (investments)
available at: <https://www.ispot.tv/ad/dkDB/charles-schwab-binoculars>
14. *Humira* (drug)
available at: <https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=Gg9Y6cu54ew>
15. *Tide* (detergent)
available at: <https://www.ispot.tv/ad/wFjc/tide-reengineering-tide-to-increase-cleaning-power>