

8 Challenging gendered and ageing normative stereotypes on Instagram

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The ageing trend in Europe has been intensifying over the last two decades. The way people age is exceptionally heterogeneous, diverse and full of various asymmetries, as reported, for example, by Fernández-Ballesteros et al. (1999), Fonseca (2005), Mair (2013) or Amaral et al. (2021). Studies have shown that the diversity of personal experiences and socio-cultural complexity influence the ageing process (Daniel et al., 2015). Homogeneous representations of the ageing process assume that older people are identical to the age criterion, which blurs the heterogeneity that characterises the ageing process. Furthermore, this homogenisation usually happens from retirement onwards, considering several age groups in one single category (Amaral et al., 2018). These assumptions contribute to ageism that is validated and legitimised by political and media representations (Robinson et al., 2008).

The generalisation of the ageing process is a fallacy demonstrated by critical scholars (Cabral et al., 2013; Paúl, 2005), which provide evidence that social, cultural, and economic differences are set aside due to this homogenisation of various social groups at various levels. There are ethnic, age, gender and socio-economic disparities that contribute to the diversity of the ageing experience (Daniel et al., 2012). Furthermore, feminist scholarship contends that intersecting systems of oppression (Edström, 2018) are conditioning people's lives from an intersectional perspective. People should be understood according to their, among other things, gender, race and class (Crenshaw, 2017) and as individually different. The World Health Organization (WHO) (2002) forecasts multiple factors that influence the ageing process and are decisive and pervasive to people. According to the WHO (2002), the ageing process is determined by personal dynamics, behavioural aspects, gender, race and class issues, habits and culture, health systems and social services, social and political environment and economic variables. Although the ageing of the population is one of the issues of our times and one of the main challenges societies face, media and social representations tend to mirror public policies of the older population as a homogeneous group.

This chapter is grounded on a triple understanding on the ageing population, intersectionality, and the Internet's role as a mediating technology for quality of life and autonomy. We depart from an understanding of social

media representations of the self as a possible means to enhance the autonomy of older people (Sackmann & Winkler, 2013). This perspective contrasts with a growing body of literature that evaluates digital skills and practices, taking little notice of technology as a variable in studying ageing and the quality of life of ageing individuals (Caliandro et al., 2021).

Considering that digital collective narratives (as will be explained below) of posts on social media platforms (Amaral et al., 2021) enhance multiple representations of social groups, this chapter analyses how collective narratives on Instagram may convey or contest gendered ageing normative perspectives. The aim is to map and analyse how Instagram collective narratives through co-hashtag networks on active ageing depict ageing femininities and masculinities across Portuguese and Spanish language communities.

Both countries are traditional societies and very rooted in Catholic values, and these two nations have progressive legislation regarding gender equality and justice (Subtil & Silveirinha, 2017). Also, although these are languages geographically distributed all over the world, their countries of origin, Portugal and Spain, have an ageing population. Portugal, in 2019, already had 22% of the population over 65 years old, while Spain brings a rate of 19%. According to data from Eurostat (2019), the projection of older people in 2050 will be 34% for Portugal and 33% for Spain.

Instagram was launched in 2010, with the integration of geolocation and the possibility of posting photos, among other improvements that have been developed over the years, introducing vocabularies increasingly present in users' routines, such as IGTV (Instagram TV, for the feature of long videos), Stories (for disposable stories), Reels (a type of parallel feed, from photos to short videos) and popular hashtags. 61.9% of users on the platform are between 18 and 34 years old, while only 2.1% of profiles are from people over 65 years old (Statista, 2022). Considering the culture of use on Instagram is linked to the culture of younger age groups, it is interesting to understand if there are and how narratives linked to older people appear, even if from a non-neutral input as active ageing (*#envelhecimentoativo* or *#envejecimientoactivo*). Thus, the research question that guides this chapter is "How are gender and ageing depicted in collective narratives on Instagram?"

Gendered ageing: Gender and age intersecting on media and social media

Digitalisation and ageing processes coexist. In fact, the number of older adults has grown significantly in recent decades, and the older population is increasingly using technologies in their daily lives. At the same time, societies are being faced with a so-called digital divide (Garavaglia et al., 2023), which may be defined into three levels: (1) the divide between those with access to digital technologies and those without; (2) the divide between individuals with the skills to make use of technologies and those without these aptitudes (Attewell, 2001; Hargittai, 2001); and (3) finally, a third level concerns gaps

in individuals' proficiency in interpreting the uses of digital technologies in their offline daily life (Van Deursen & Helsper, 2015). The digital divide also impacts the older population (Norris, 2001) mainly because they lack knowledge (Loos & Romano Bergstrom, 2014).

In this context, studies on generations and technological generations (as will be explained below) are essential to the way digital intersects with the phenomenon: the intergenerational relationships it promotes (Brites et al., 2021) and the way older people use technologies (Loos, 2011). The concept of "generation" (Vincent, 2023) is promising for explaining economic, social, political and cultural changes where gender is intersectional. Based on theories of generation (Mannheim, 1997; Ryder, 1965) and adaptation of technology in everyday life, the concept of "technology generation" developed by German sociologists in the early 1990s (Sackmann et al., 1994; Weymann & Sackmann, 1993) who defined a *technology generation* as groups of birth cohorts whose experience with technology is differentiated by social change (Gilleard, 2004; Ryder, 1965; Sackmann & Winkler, 2013).

The concept of technological generations is important for this research because it considers social changes in the access and use of technological tools. In this sense, it allows the grouping of several generations and combats the stereotyping and homogenisation of age groups.

Furthermore, Mannheim (1952) argues that a generation can be defined in three levels: (i) "generational site" – which refers to "generation status" attending to socio-cultural experiences and opportunities; (ii) "generational actuality" – which considers how the experiences of a generation are linked by group interpretations; (iii) "generational units" – the idea of groups of people who are the same age and have been affected by the same issues facing their generation, such as an economic crisis for example (Amaral & Brites, 2019). Corsten (1999) recognises the idea of self-referent between people of the same generation but challenges the idea of standard generations. Instead, Corsten (1999) argues that collective memory and the idea of "we sense" can be understood intergenerationally, attending that it systematises social and historical experiences lived individually or collectively, which allows the identification of different generations (Amaral et al., 2020).

As age intersects with gender identities, a growing body of literature highlights the heterogeneity of individual ageing pathways (Cabral et al., 2013; Daniel et al., 2012; Paúl, 2005). Nevertheless, societies are still anchored to ageist and patriarchal systems, which promote power relations that enhance social hierarchies based on a normative perspective of age and gender. This means that people over 65 are labelled as old and, therefore, supposedly lacking the same skills as younger generations, thus ignoring the diversity of ageing pathways and the fact that digitalisation now permeates most generations of older adults as the digitalisation of society and work began in the 1990s.

As stated before, ageing is also represented differently if gender is considered. Men, women, and non-binary people age differently, attending to their diverse experiences and contexts (Simões et al., 2021). Therefore, patriarchal and ageist

systems can be defined as discriminatory regimes that cross with hierarchical social categories that create ideals of masculinities and femininities validated by media (Santos et al., 2020, 2021). These symbolic representations of older people as a homogeneous group anchored to the traditional roles of gender are widespread by mainstream media and echoed in social media (Amaral et al., 2021).

Collective narratives in social media derive from a symbolic universe of constructed meaning and social sharing (Amaral & Daniel, 2018). Furthermore, “social media uses, and imaginaries rely on collective narratives across hashtags streaming” (Amaral et al., 2021, p. 339). From the appropriation of the affordances of social media platforms and their intersection in a multi-platform logic (Omena & Amaral, 2019), users take part in conversations and disseminate content using hashtags that index information to streams, which can be understood as collective narratives.

Processes of production and reception construct systems of representation. In this sense, representation is never neutral (Hall, 1985) since people have ideas, values, attitudes, and beliefs (Crenshaw, 2017). The socially shared meaning takes, thus, questions of power and, above all, power relations over social meanings. Therefore, there are no true or false representations of gender but somewhat different ways of looking at the world. As far as gender and age issues are concerned, these ways are often biased (Simões et al., 2021).

Media representations co-constitute social constructions of social identities (Amaral et al., 2019; Woodward, 2000). Therefore, representations validated by media accentuate or attenuate stereotypes about people or social groups. Several studies show the power of popular and mainstream media in influencing perceptions about older people (Gerbner et al., 1980), as well as the ability to symbolically “annihilate” social groups because of their age (Gerbner, 1972; Gerbner & Gross, 1976) or gender (Tuchman, 1978). The concept of “symbolic annihilation” was postulated by Gerbner and Gross (1976) to demonstrate how media representations can conceal an underrepresentation of social groups, which contributes to social inequalities. In the same line of reasoning, Tuchman (1978) argues that “symbolic annihilation” affects women from a triple perspective by trivialising, omitting or condemning this social group. In this sense, “symbolic annihilation” conditions the participation of social groups in society and promotes stereotyping around their social relations and practices. It is precisely in this context that several studies point to the stereotyping of popular media representations of older people (Kessler et al., 2004; Loos & Ivan, 2018; Robinson et al., 2008; Vernon et al., 1991), especially considering gender (Edström, 2018; Simões et al., 2021; Thompson & Langendoerfer, 2016) and the ageing body (Clarke, 2010; Whelehan, 2013; Woodward, 2006). These media representations reinforce the man/woman binary, the man in public space and the woman in private space, that structures patterns of representation of older people in social visibility associated with dependency and interdependence, illness and loneliness (Daniel et al., 2015).

Traditional media performances tend to influence collective digital narratives that convey stereotypical discourses about older people, particularly the

discourse of “empowerment” from “active ageing”. This perspective ignores the individual particularities of older people and seeks to portray them as “non-active”, promoting that they age “actively” (Amaral et al., 2019). This discourse, although well-intended, often falls into the fallacy of productivity from an economic approach. Older men are presented as politicians, people in charge of large companies and women are represented in markedly sexist experiences, such as being housewives or artisans, evidencing this pattern of representation (Amaral et al., 2019; Raycheva et al., 2018). In the neoliberal rhetoric, the idea is projected that “active ageing” (Vincent, 2023) is the solution for markedly ageing societies, considering economic sustainability. Even so, this new political discourse of ageing as productive, healthy, successful, positive, and active can metamorphose the representational field of old age by mitigating the negative charge that mainstream media traditionally attribute to it.

Social connectivity, promoted by the new tools of digitally mediated interaction, introduces new modalities of sociability non-geographical based on social media and social networking platforms structured to promote relationships around content. In this sense, the new “connectors” of networks are metadata such as hashtags. Users are now connected by social ties in large-scale networks, transforming online social interaction and group formation. Furthermore, “hashtag networks in social media (e.g., on Twitter or Instagram) describe structures that allow the analysis of conversational interactions as networks of users that produce sociability - interaction phenomena or the capacity for the foundation of groups and the construction of networks supported in social relations” (Amaral et al., 2021, p. 338).

The social media narratives identified in Instagram echo campaigns against ageism with slogans of “revolution”, “power” and “survival”, making an appropriation of activism. These narratives assume age as the element that induces the idea of diversity and integration in inclusive societies. In this chapter, we seek to analyse collective narratives in Portuguese and Spanish language from the expression “active ageing”, seeking to understand social representations from an intersectional gendered lens.

Method

To analyse how the collective appropriation of active ageing occurs on the Instagram platform, we adopted the approach of collecting posts that use the hashtag of active ageing in Portuguese (#EnvelhecimentoAtivo) and Spanish (#EnvejecimientoActivo).

The appropriation of hashtags can be considered a barely moderated online social phenomenon with different intertwined characteristics. These may be exemplified by the grammatisation of platforms and the culture of use. The grammatisation of platforms is the traceable interaction structures and collective forms of activity, for instance, likes or comments (Gerlitz & Rieder, 2018; Omena & Amaral, 2019). The culture of use is the appropriations made by users that are conditioned and rearranged by these same grammars of action in each environment (Burgess & Green, 2009; Omena et al., 2020).

To analyse collective appropriations of hashtags, a co-hashtag analysis was conducted based on a specific hashtag that provides data on how topics relate to others. Furthermore, “it is considered a co-hashtag when two hashtags appear in the same post. Therefore, in this type of network, a node is a hashtag and an edge¹ is a co-occurrence” (Amaral et al., 2021, p. 340).

Understanding how users respond to a particular theme makes this study unusual and rich regarding the circulation and appropriations related to a theme that brings awareness to older people and to their vitality. Therefore, this chapter aims to identify and examine how Instagram collective narratives through co-hashtag networks illustrate ageing and gender across Portuguese and Spanish language communities. Thus, “How are gender in an intersectional understanding and ageing depicted in collective narratives on Instagram?” is the research question that guides this chapter.

The methodological procedures² applied in this research bring together a range of techniques and tools adapted to the Instagram platform. Initially, a series of exploratory queries were conducted to understand better what appropriations are made as themes related to senior citizens on Instagram in the Portuguese and Spanish-speaking communities. After some manual exploration of Instagram, #EnvelhecimentoAtivo and #EnvejecimientoActivo (Active Ageing) were the two hashtags that aggregate images that allowed us to answer our research question in both languages better. Data extraction was performed on the same random day (9 February 2022) for both hashtags via PhantomBuster’s³ Hashtag Extractor module. This tool offers a series of data collection plans via social platforms’ API. The timeframes⁴ of the dataset were 18 June 2021 to 9 February 2022 for #EnvelhecimentoAtivo and 19 March 2020 to 9 February 2022 for #EnvejecimientoActivo. The files were imported into Google Spreadsheets⁵ for data cleaning, engagement calculation and extraction of the images from URLs. Then, hashtags were extracted from the description of the posts to (a) calculate the related frequency; and (b) extract a network of hashtags’ associations. To build the network of extracted co-tags, we used Table2net⁶ (médiab Sciences Po), an online tool that creates a network graph in a .csv file. From the file extracted in PhantomBuster, we added a column only with the hashtags published in each post. With that .csv, we defined an undirected network (one node type), the hashtags as nodes and the PostIDs as edges.

After exporting the resulting network graphs as a GEXF file, we visualised them in Gephi⁷ software. The network #EnvelhecimentoAtivo, in Portuguese, consists of 5366 nodes (hashtags) and 74,174 edges (posts). The hashtag #EnvelhecimentoAtivo is repeated 3024 times and in addition to 5462 co-tags published simultaneously. In Spanish, the network #EnvejecimientoActivo consists of 7053 nodes (hashtags) and 96,345 edges (posts). The hashtag EnvejecimientoActivo is repeated 2999 times and in addition to 7205 co-tags published in parallel. Aiming to better understand the relevance of the posts through the repetitions of the co-tags, the nodes that repeated less than 50 times were removed. Thus, the hashtag #EnvelhecimentoAtivo has 153 nodes and 3634 edges, and the network analysed of the hashtag #EnvejecimientoActivo now has 114 nodes with 2148 edges.

For this, each hashtag's total number of repetitions was calculated, creating communities based on modularity. These connections also showed thematic clusters focused on similar tags, as we will see in the results section.

To complement the analyses, we conducted a visual examination of the posts. By listing the URLs of the images, it was possible to extract all the photo files with the DownThemAll⁸ tool. To visualise the complete set of images obtained for both datasets, we used ImageSorter.⁹ This software plots images, thus allowing us to identify visual patterns.

The process of visual and thematic analysis of all Instagram images published related to the tags in Portuguese and Spanish was performed in two steps: (1) exploratory qualitative browsing and identification of patterns in the two sets of images – analysed separately – and (2) manual selection of posts that fit the post themes based on the theoretical framework of active ageing. It was possible to find very similar categories for both empirical corpora, be it #envelhecimentoativo or #envejecimientoactivo. The categories that most stood out visually were (a) Health, (b) Motivation, (c) Activity (Similar to #envelhecimentoativo or #EnvejecimientoActivo – Active Ageing), (d) Wellness, (e) Campaigns and (f) Instagram grammars.

Results

#EnvelhecimentoAtivo dataset has a total of 679 videos, 2190 images and 8132 carousel – a gallery of up to 10 items that can bring either only photos, videos or both combined. On the other hand, the search for #EnvejecimientoActivo obtained 2253 photos, 462 videos and 1020 carousels. The final dataset for the visual analysis resulted in 3183 photos for #EnvelhecimentoAtivo and 3273 images for #EnvejecimientoActivo.

Tables 8.1 and 8.2 show the ten most common co-hashtags and frequency for both hashtags in analysis, which are connected to the categories analysed in visual and network analysis.

Table 8.1 Top ten most used hashtags along to #EnvelhecimentoAtivo (active ageing in Portuguese)

<i>Hashtag</i>	<i>Frequency</i>
#envelhecimentosaudavel (#healthyageing)	1453
#idosos (#olderpeople)	1258
#envelhecimento (#ageing)	1236
#gerontologia (#gerontology)	1091
#geriatria (#geriatrics)	896
#longevidade (#longevity)	832
#terceiridade (#olderage)	733
#idoso (#olderadult)	568
#qualidadedevida (#qualityoflife)	545
#envelhecerbem (#ageingwell)	536

Table 8.2 Top ten most used hashtags along to #EnvejecimientoActivo (active ageing in Spanish)

Hashtag	Frequency
#envejecimientosaludable (#healthyaging)	1082
#salud (#health)	861
#adultosmayores (#olderadults)	832
#AdultoMayor (#OlderAdult)	615
#envejecimiento (#ageing)	613
#ClubCuidadorPositivo (#PositiveCaregiverClub)	475
#personasmayores (#olderpeople)	464
#fun	434
#AliadosPositivos (#PositiveAllies)	415
#bienestar (#wellbeing)	409

Besides the visual patterns (Figure 8.1), it is also interesting to understand which groupings of hashtags correspond to thematic categories to standardise the posts. For this, we calculated the total number of repetitions of each hashtag, and we selected all those which were repeated 50 times or more in the dataset. With this, it was possible to identify in both datasets six very similar categories, namely: (a) Health, (b) Motivation, (c) Activity (similar to #envelhecimentoativo or #EnvejecimientoActivo – Active Ageing), (d) Wellness, (e) Campaigns and (f) Instagram grammars. In Figure 8.1, we can see a parallel with the categories identified both visually and in hashtag clustering for the Portuguese and Spanish datasets.

In the (a) Health category, we selected posts and tags related to disease prevention, medical information, physical exercises or health professionals. In (b) Motivation, we identified posts that prioritise self-help content, psychological advice, encouragement and a sense of community. Category



Figure 8.1 Visual references for each category for both public datasets.

(c) Activity gathers similar versions of the hashtags that originated the search. In (d) Wellness, we selected posts and tags that focus on mental health, alternative therapies and exercises to help have a better quality of life. Finally, in (e) Campaigns, various campaigns were identified with themes such as legal guidelines, educational content and reinforcing the power of senior citizens. Furthermore, some hashtags are used parallel to some (f) Instagram grammar, such as post description, location, services and actions such as repost or follow, instagood tags and special holidays.

Regarding the graphic contents, we observed that most of the posts contain lettering with basic information about the topic being discussed in that specific post. The images that stand out in quantity are often pictures of older citizens from stock photos (image databases), creating a reasonably homogeneous pattern with people with white hair, open smile and lighter skin colour, reinforcing an idea of what it looks like and what it means to be active at this age. We should mention concern about the greater use of images, photography or illustration with white women or heteronormative couples and Caucasian men alone. In some instances, the collective representation of both hashtags, regardless of language or geographical region, seems to reproduce the gender role of women as caregivers or as responsible in a family environment in being willing to take care of themselves and others while at the same time being within age-specific standards of beauty. Therefore, considering the gender perspective, there is a binary logic with a higher prevalence of women who are portrayed in traditional gender roles as caregivers or associated with beauty issues. Sexual identities are also often denied to older people. Queer or non-heteronormative identities are associated with younger people, turning older generations into “asexuals”. Nevertheless, empirical evidence has shown the opposite (Rosati et al., 2021). Regarding topics such as sexuality or sexual orientation diversity, we did not identify any posts in any of the datasets which contribute to a silent erasure of sexual life in older people or the existence of LGBTQIA+ groups over 60 years old.

The normalisation of a single type of “old age” goes against the heterogeneity, diversity and various asymmetries with which older people present themselves (Amaral et al., 2021; Fonseca, 2005; Fernández-Ballesteros et al., 1999; Mair, 2013). Nevertheless, on the other hand, there are some interesting movements of representativeness and political actions in these collective narratives. Examples are didactic posts about prejudice against older people (ageism), posts against the infantilisation of older people and the celebration of when the WHO gave up classifying old age as a disease in the new ICD 11 version (International Classification of Diseases), which started in January 2022.

Indeed, both hashtags were not the same. It was possible to observe some differences between the Portuguese and Spanish language posts, starting with the number of posts extracted and the period they covered. Considering that several locations speak these languages, a great diversity of countries was observed, with prominence for Brazil and Portugal in #EnvelhecimentoAtivo and Spain, Colombia and Chile for #EnvejecimientoActivo. However, it is

important to note that not all posts provide the location, 36.9% in Portuguese and 24.1% in Spanish.

Furthermore, we observed that content in Portuguese is mostly appropriated by health professionals, clinics and service providers in this niche to promote themselves commercially. On the other hand, although it also makes some commercial use of the platform, the content in Spanish aims to create new uses with the content it publishes, such as introducing memory and logic games in the post itself as a measure to encourage memory exercise for older people. It was also observed that part of the posts is focused on senior entrepreneurship or even senior empowerment as an alternative to supplement insufficient pensions while motivating older people to feel “useful”.

Considering co-relation networks between the hashtags (Figures 8.2a,b), it is possible to identify specific thematic clusters. The diameter of the #EnvelhecimentoAtivo network is 2, which means that the size of the social system is not significant and that it takes two paths to connect the two most distant nodes. The average path length in this co-hashtag network is 1691. The modularity¹⁰ of a network measures the strength of a community, considering the degree of distribution. This agglomerative method detects communities, defined as groups of nodes that are internally more densely connected than the rest of the network. The modularity of the network is 0.215 and presents five communities.

Although six qualitative categories were identified for the co-tags, the analysis of the co-tag network allows us to observe that these categories merged into five large semantic communities (clusters) when considering their modularity properties. In #EnvelhecimentoAtivo (Table 8.3), community 1 is well-centred on understanding being active while doing regular physical activity and exercise under professional guidance. Community 5, as we can also see on the Spanish-language network (Table 8.4), brings proximity of gender and motivation to the theme of ageing.

Conclusion

This chapter analysed how collective narratives on Instagram, through specific hashtags, represented “active ageing” from a gendered perspective. Therefore, we examined whether communication networks between Portuguese and Spanish-speaking communities perpetuate or challenge normative perspectives of gender and ageing. From a triple understanding of ageing, gender roles, and the internet as a mediating and facilitating technology for quality of life, the chapter sought to answer the research question, “How are gender and ageing depicted in collective narratives on Instagram?”

By relating both analyses conducted in this chapter – the visual analysis of the posts and the related tags network analysis – we observe thematic categories that overlap and complement the perception of the context of gender and ageing in Portuguese and Spanish-speaking communities through Instagram. We observe that categories such as those of community 5 of

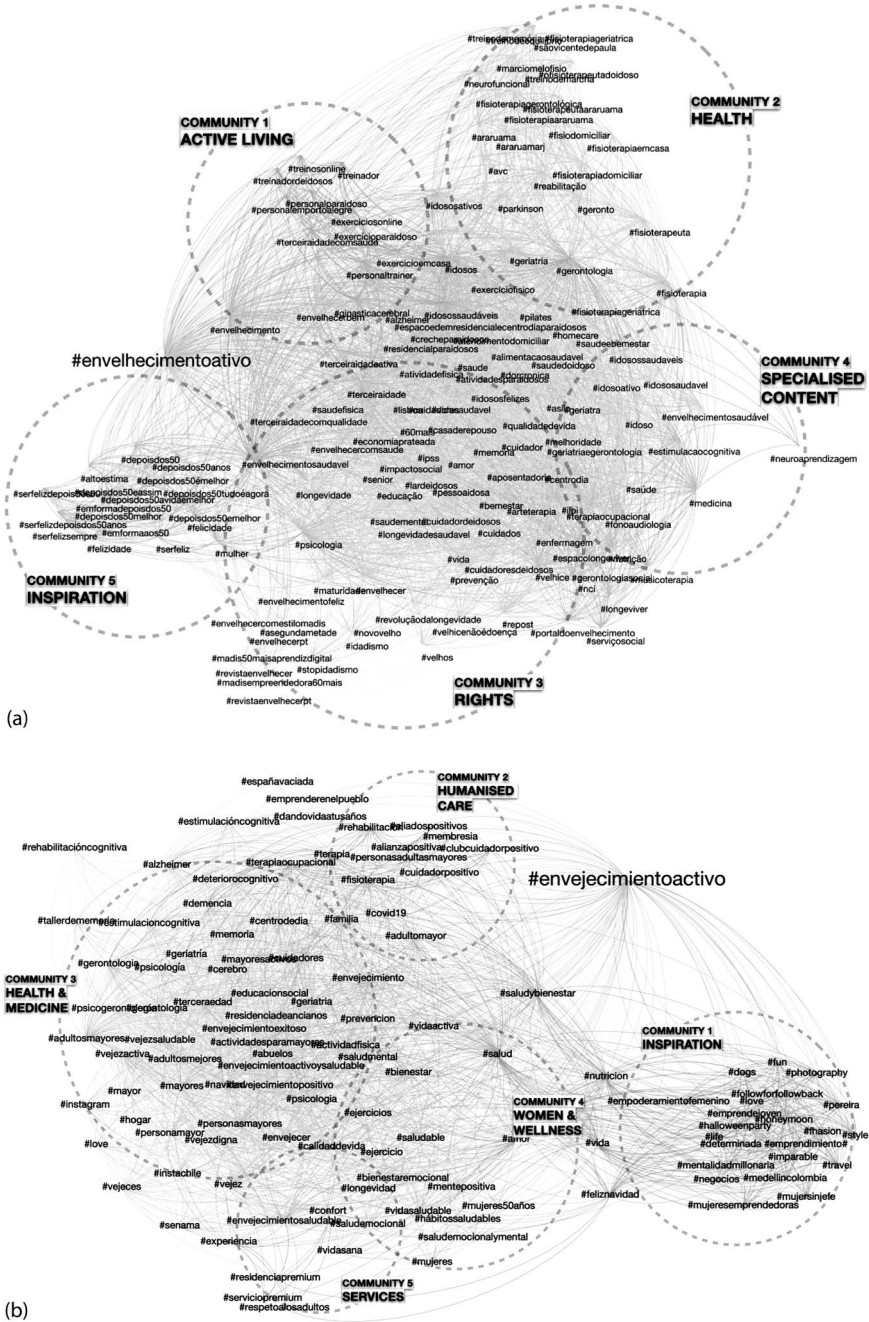


Figure 8.2 (a) Thematic clusters in #EnvelhecimentoAtivo co-hashtag network.
 (b) Thematic clusters in #EnvejecimientoActivo co-hashtag network.

Table 8.3 Communities in #EnvelhecimentoAtivo hashtag

Community	Modularity	Theme	Examples
1	0.215	<i>Active living</i> Understanding being active while doing regular physical activity and exercise under professional guidance.	#personalparaidoso (“personal” as in personal trainer for older people) #treinadordeidosos (#olderpeopletrainer) #ginasticacerebral (#braingymnastics) #terceiraidadecomsaude (#healthythirdage) #exercicioemcasa (#exerciseathome) #trainingonline #exerciciosonline (#onlineexercises)
2		<i>Health</i> Focused on the scope of physiotherapy, especially as a measure of rehabilitation and dementia.	#fisioterapiageriatrica (#geriatricphysiotherapy) #neurofuncional (#neurofunctional) #fisioterapiaemcasa #fisiotarapiadomiciliar (physiotherapy at home) #fisioterapeuta (#physiotherapist) #fisioterapiagerontológica (#physiotherapygerontological) #avc (CVA, cerebrovascular accident) #parkinson #treinodeequilibrio (#balancetraining) #reabilitação (#rehabilitation) #treinodememória (#memorytraining)

(Continued)

Table 8.3 (Continued)

<i>Community</i>	<i>Modularity</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Examples</i>
3		<i>Rights</i> Politicised pattern or linked to the rights of the older people and on active ageing.	#velhicensãodoença (#oldageisnotadisease) #aposentadoria (#retirement) #impactosocial (#socialimpact) #ipss (Private Social Solidarity Institutions, in Portugal) #envelhecimentosaudável (#healthyageing) #idososfelizes (#happyoldpeople) #longevidadesaudável (#healthylongevity) #revolucaodalongevidade (#longevityrevolution) #idosoativo (#activeoldperson)
4		<i>Specialised content</i> Promotional use of a post specialised in content for the older people, which promotes campaigns related to senior entrepreneurship.	#revistaenvelhecer (#ageingmagazine) #madis50maisaprendizdigital (#madis50plusdigitalleader) #envelhecerrpt (#ageingpt, PT as in Portugal) #envelhecercomestilomadis (#ageingwithstylemadis)
5		<i>Inspiration</i> Brings proximity of gender and motivation to the theme of ageing, especially on women empowerment.	#mulher (#woman) #emformaaos50 (#fitat50) #depoisdos50tudoéagora (#after50everythingisnow) “#felicidade” (#happyage as a reference to similar word “felicidade”, which means happiness in Portuguese) “#altoestima” (a possible typo with self-esteem or a pun on high self-esteem)

Table 8.4 Communities in #EnvejecimientoActivo hashtag

Community	Modularity	Theme	Examples
1	0.256	<i>Inspiration</i> Major focus on motivation and inspiration, interestingly focused on women, along with Instagram engagement hashtags in English.	#empoderamentofemenino (#femaleempowerment) #mujeresinjefe (#womeninchief) #mujeresempreendedoras (#entrepreneurwomen) #determinada (female word for #determined) #imparable (#unstoppable) #fun #style #dogs #travel
2		<i>Humanised care</i> Homogeneous cluster focused on a positive and constructive view of the older people caregiver with an approach was related to humanised care.	#alianzapositiva (#positivealliance) #cuidadorpositivo (#positivecaregiver) #aliadospositivos (#positiveallies) #clubcuidadorpositivo (#positivecaregiverclub)
3		<i>Health and medicine</i> Focus on the health and care side from a more medical perspective. It also gathers tags similar to network input.	#gerontologia (#gerontology) #geriatría #geriatría (#geriatrics) #psicologia (#psychology) #alzheimer #deteriorocognitivo (#cognitiveimpairment) #estimulacióncognitiva (#cognitivestimulation) #cerebro (#brain) #memoria (#memory) #vejezsaludable (#healthyoldage) #envejecimientoactivoysaludable (#activeandhealthyoldage) #envejecimientoexitoso (#successfulageing) #vejezdigna (#dignifiedoldage)

(Continued)

Table 8.4 (Continued)

<i>Community</i>	<i>Modularity</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Examples</i>
4		<p><i>Women and wellness</i></p> <p>As community 1, the cluster 4 also highlights tags related to women. It also shows a thematic focus on mental health.</p>	<p>#mujeres (#women)</p> <p>#mujeres50años (#women50years)</p> <p>#saludemocional (#emotionalhealth)</p> <p>#saludemocionalmental (#emotionalandmentalhealth)</p> <p>#mentepositiva (#positivemind)</p> <p>#bienestaremocional (#emotionalwellbeing)</p> <p>#vidasana (#healthylife)</p>
5		<p><i>Services</i></p> <p>Presents a very commercial logic with support service and care for older people with a premium perspective.</p>	<p>#servicepremium (#premiumservice)</p> <p>#residenciapremium (#premiumresidence)</p> <p>#confort (#comfort)</p> <p>#experiencia (#experience)</p>

#EnvelhecimentoAtivo and community 1 of #EnvejecimientoActivo focus on the empowerment of older people, as well as visually emerging in category (b) Motivation of the thematic analysis. The same happens with the themes of well-being, health, medical care and humanised health services. As for gender, the Spanish community presents greater female representation with the community of co-tags related to well-being and the positioning of the older woman as active and responsible for her life in different aspects, whether economic, health or independence.

The results of the two datasets and networks of co-tags analysed are similar and reveal the perpetuation of hegemonic femininities and masculinities anchored to traditional gender roles and a heteronormative logic. In contemporary logic, “active ageing” is presented as healthy and standardised, perpetuating social inequalities. Age is intertwined with gender, race and class issues. From a normative perspective, the people presented are white, middle or upper class and represent traditional gender roles. The posts analysed reveals a dual perspective: on the one hand, they address care-takers and, in this case, present proposals focused on ageing as dependent on services; on the other hand, they also address the old adults themselves by proposing memory games, teaching exercises to do at home, valuing achievements related to the rights of older people, promoting campaigns against ageist stereotyping.

Furthermore, we observed that the categories of Wellness and Motivation have a narrative directed to the older people themselves, with particular attention to mental health, physical balance, and the signs of an active and aware person capable of taking care of herself/himself. In the Health category, we found a normativity of the older person as someone who needs to be cared for, especially in Portuguese-speaking communities. In contrast, this category focuses more on diseases and health professionals specialising in geriatrics in Spanish communities. In the context of the Campaigns category, we verified that there is a triple focus: (1) caregivers; (2) in the empowerment rhetoric very anchored to the post-feminism and economist post-modernity paradigm with expressions such as “women empowerment”; and (3) campaigns that deconstruct the ageist prejudice.

Another interesting aspect to observe is how other Instagram grammars (location, image description, choice of expressions to generate greater engagement) are also appropriated in hashtags. In the Spanish scenario, we identified a more robust use of posts and a variety of co-tags related to this category. However, it creates a narrative more focused on services and sales in the Portuguese community.

Finally, it is not surprising that dozens of other tags are similar to #EnvelhecimentoAtivo ($n = 27$) and #EnvejecimientoActivo ($n = 16$) since in the culture of using the platform, it is common to use variations of the same theme.

In general, along with the narratives represented through images and words, it is noted as an opening to the perception that older people can and should be in charge of their care and that they can find in technology – in this case, represented by the use of the Instagram platform itself, as an ally in combating social exclusion and prejudice against the older people.

The binary logic in the Portuguese and Spanish languages is evident, and it is still a prevalent practice to use the terms in masculine gender to address all genders. In this sense, the collective uses in the hashtags of both datasets reflect the descriptive terms that are mostly masculine, for instance, “#idoso” (#olderperson), “#saúdedoidoso” (#healthofolderperson), “#idososaudável” (#healthyolderperson), “cuidador” (#caregiver), “novovelho” (#newold) or in Spanish, “#adultomayor” (#olderperson) or “CuidadorPositivo” (#PositiveCaregiver). On the other hand, as already mentioned, there are some hashtags used only and specifically for women, such as the cases of “#mulher” in Portuguese (#woman), “#mujeres” (#women) and “#mujeresinjefe” (#womeninchief) in Spanish, among others.

Considering that the construction of thousands of posts indexed by hashtags on Instagram ($n = 7626$) is minimally supervised or filtered, it makes it even more interesting to understand, organically, the story being told when one observes the phenomenon closely. An explicit narrative is communicated, and another one is invisible. Even when considering the platform’s limitation in providing more posts and the specific period that the datasets comprise (2020–2022), it is still possible to have a grounded and meaningful perception of how the representation of ageing femininities and

masculinities across Portuguese and Spanish-speaking communities develops. Few movements challenge Eurocentric, traditional or normative standards. In the analysis set, it is possible to see that the story of ethnic, gender and socio-economic diversity is not being told.

Notes

- 1 Edge is the connection between nodes in a network.
- 2 All the posts analysed were collected from open and public accounts on Instagram.
- 3 <https://phantombuster.com>
- 4 Instagram's API (application programming interface) allows a limited number of hashtag extractions per occasion. The difference in dates between hashtags is because their usage differs in frequency.
- 5 <https://www.google.com/sheets/about>
- 6 <https://medialab.github.io/table2net>
- 7 <https://gephi.org>
- 8 <https://www.downthemall.net>
- 9 <https://imagesorter.software.informer.com>
- 10 A network's modularity measures a community's strength by taking into account degree distribution. This agglomerative method detects communities by extracting specific characteristics. Communities are defined as groups of nodes that are internally densely more connected than the rest of the network. Each node is included in only one community.

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