

Für immer fremd

German Television Advertisements
and the “normalization of ethnicity”



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German Television Advertisements and the
“normalization of ethnicity” (Gueneli 2012: 147)

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¹ This is the title of a Spiegel article (2009) that details the lack of integration amongst ethnic Turks in Germany. It translates as: Forever foreign/alien/external/strange/different (i.e. the Other). I use the word *fremd* in this combined adjectival sense throughout my dissertation.

Abstract

This dissertation is presented within wider discourse on the integration of ethnic Turks in German society. Although much has been written on the representation and non-representation and indeed inclusion and exclusion of ethnic Turks in other media outputs, specifically German films and television series (Hake & Mennel 2012, Yeşilada 2008), this is a relatively unique project that focuses solely on the representation and non-representation and inclusion and exclusion of ethnic Turks in the advertisements of everyday major German household names.

In an increasingly technological world, the average German is subjected to an estimated 6000 advertisements per day (Goethe Institut 2008). Thus, an investigation into the representation and non-representation of ethnic Turks in German advertisements, allows postulation on the state of Turkish acceptance, integration and normalisation² in mainstream German life.

My research focuses on the twenty most recent television advertisements of each of five major German household names from differing market sectors, encompassing a cross-section of German daily life; namely, Dr. Oetker (Food Sector), Henkel (Home Care Sector), Nivea (Personal Care Sector), Sparkasse (Banking Sector) and Volkswagen (Automobile Sector). I examine the ethnicity of the advertisement participants and the manner in which they are portrayed, through the lens of both Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA). These frameworks, combined with literature from the fields of: Turkish Belonging, Diaspora and Integration in Germany; Nation and Nationality, Hybridity and German-ness; Ethnicity in Film and Television; and Ethnicity and Advertising, contribute greatly to my discussion and analysis.

² I use the English (UK) spelling of this word, “normalisation” however note that Gueneli’s quotation of my title as well as other references use the English (US) spelling, “normalization”.

My research uncovers the problematic nature of definitively identifying ethnic Turks in television advertisements. Despite this difficulty, my findings indicate that there is a marked absence of overtly ethnic Turks³ in my sampled advertisements of German household names and that any potential ethnic Turks are featured in the background. This suggests that ethnic Turks are indeed still *fremd* in German advertisements and that their presence is therefore not normalised. Using literature from my literature review, this dissertation postulates that this non-representation and otherness assigned to ethnic Turks may reflect the state of their acceptance and integration in German mainstream society.

Key Words: Advertising, Alienation, Ethnicity, German-ness, Integration, Nationality, Normalisation, the Other and Turkish Diaspora.

³ I use the term “overt representation” throughout my dissertation to refer to representations whereby it is clear that the person represented is an ethnic Turk.

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Dedication and Acknowledgements

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents for their unwavering support. To my Mother, for her constant reminders to “save the document” and to my Grandmother who provided motivation, always questioning if I “had finished that work yet?”

I would like to express my utmost gratitude to [REDACTED] for her continued patience with my queries. Your advice, feedback, support and guidance helped nudge me in the right direction during the entire research, analysis and writing process. Thank you for allowing me to tap into your knowledge on Turkish Diaspora in Germany.

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Abbreviations

BMI	Bundesministerium des Innern (German Home Office)
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
MCDA	Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis
VC	Visual Collocation
VS	Visual Saliency

Chapter 1: Introduction

My introduction is structured as follows. Firstly, I consider the Turkish diasporic situation in Germany and questions of integration regarding ethnic Turks in Germany. Secondly, I reflect on the inclusion and exclusion of ethnic Turks in German film and television. Thirdly, I examine the importance of television advertisements in the public sphere as well as media representation as a reflection of acceptance, integration and normalisation in German mainstream society, before highlighting my research methods and objectives. For clarity, I then describe how I use certain terms throughout my dissertation before outlining the dissertation structure.

Diasporic Situation in Germany

Many Turkish *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers who entered Germany to satisfy a labour shortage during the 1950s and 1960s)⁴ and their families have settled in Germany since the *Anwerbestopp* of 1973 (end of recruitment agreements between Germany and countries who provided *Gastarbeiter*). Recent figures suggest that between 2 and 3 million ethnic Turks currently live in Germany, (Berlin-Institut für Bevölkerung und Entwicklung 2009, BMI 2011, Deutsche Welle 2006, 2011, 2013d, Gerstenberger 2004, Uslu 2013, Wall Street Journal 2013) thus making this ethnic group “the single largest minority group in Germany” (Mueller 2006: 13). Their integration has been a complex intercultural issue, and anxieties regarding the supposed multi-cultural German society persist, with the ethnic Turk often still regarded as *fremd*. Indeed, a discourse of alterity seems to surround the ethnic Turks in many sectors of public life.

Inclusion and Exclusion of ethnic Turks in German film and television

Much has been written on this Turkish alterity within the context of German film and television (Hake & Mennel 2012, Yeşilada 2008). Trends are changing towards an inclusion of ethnic Turks in German film and television, however these changes have been slow to manifest themselves in the form of German and Turkish equality of representation. Although now included in German film and television to a greater extent, ethnic Turks are generally relegated to secondary roles or roles which embody the ethnic Turk as the Other (Yeşilada

⁴ Although *Gastarbeiter* from other countries entered Germany in the 1950s, Turkish *Gastarbeiter* were recruited from 1961 onwards.

Please note that glosses and translations from German into English (UK) are my own unless stated otherwise.

2008: 95). Nonetheless, this is a positive step towards the inclusion of ethnic Turks in the German public sphere and towards a normalisation of their presence. Adopting this phrase from Gueneli (2012) that “[c]ontemporary films indicate a normalization of ethnicity by reflecting the multiethnicity [*sic*] of German society in their casting” (2012: 147), my dissertation seeks to explore if this is the case in German television advertisements.

Importance of television advertisements in the public sphere

My dissertation discusses the representation and non-representation and inclusion and exclusion of ethnic Turks in German television advertisements. In today’s globalised world we are constantly exposed to advertisements and marketing campaigns, in fact the Goethe Institut (2008) states that the average German is subjected to an estimated 6000 advertisements per day.⁵ According to Machin and van Leeuwen, “[a]dvertising style [has] developed, not just to sell products and services, but also to model the identities and values of consumer society” (2007: 139). It is thus germane to explore the portrayals of the German consumer identities in the public sphere within the framework of German Turkish integration. Considering this alongside Hall’s thought; “there is practically no un-mediated or un-transformed transmission on television,” (1971: 89) it becomes salient to examine casting choices in my sample advertisements within this debate.

Peck et al. state that “[o]ften the images [...] used to [...] imagine Germans, [and] Turks influence their behaviour towards each other” (1997: 92). Thus it is necessary to consider the way in which ethnic Turks are portrayed in the media, in order to postulate on the potential repercussions of absent and negative portrayals on the ethnic Turkish population in Germany.

Research methods and objectives

My research focuses on the twenty most recent television advertisements of each of five major German household names from differing market sectors, encompassing a cross-section of German everyday life; namely, Dr. Oetker (Food Sector), Henkel (Home Care Sector), Nivea (Personal Care Sector), Sparkasse (Banking Sector) and Volkswagen (Automobile Sector).

The starting point of my investigation is to discern if ethnic Turks are *fremd* based on their portrayal in German television advertisements. Subsequently, I examine the ethnicity of the advertisement participants and the manner in which they are portrayed, through the lens of both Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA). These models, combined with literature from the fields of: Turkish Belonging, Diaspora and Integration in Germany; Nation and Nationality, Hybridity and German-ness; Ethnicity in Film

⁵ Due to the small-scale nature of my dissertation, I chose to focus on television advertisements.

and Television; and Ethnicity and Advertising, contribute greatly to my discussion and analysis.

Use of Terms

I am aware that certain terms I use in my dissertation are heavily loaded terms that have generated and indeed warrant much discussion and are therefore problematic to define. However, the small-scale nature of my dissertation does not allow for the discussion or deconstruction of these terms in greater detail. Thus for ease of reading, I provide below the understandings I have of these terms and the manner in which I use them throughout my dissertation.⁶

Ethnicity- I take my definition of ethnicity from that attributed to Weber: “We shall call ‘ethnic groups’ those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization or migration” (Weber cited in Swedberg 2005: 91). Thus, I use ethnicity in the sense that it is inextricably linked to heritage, cultural affiliation and blood relations. It can be based on shared ancestry, shared experiences and social or cultural belonging. The term “race” in the German context is a heavily loaded term with certain historical connotations therefore I only discuss the ethnicity of the advertisement participants rather than their race.

Identity- I acknowledge identity as a fluid phenomenon, which comprises all aspects of a person, however I use the term identity solely to refer to ethnicity.

Nationality- I use this term to describe the nationality of the person as detailed on his/her passport rather than heritage or bloodline for which I use the term ethnicity.

I find myself in a situation with this dissertation whereby I have to incorporate and assign labels to persons both included in and excluded from my sample advertisements. Labels are particularly problematic as they are often used as a form of othering, segregation or self-ascription and exclusion. In the Turkish diasporic situation in Germany, many labels are assigned or self-assigned to Turkish *Gastarbeiter*, their children and grandchildren. These labels include:

Türken	Turks
Deutsch-Türken, Deutschtürken	German-Turks and German Turks both with and without the hyphen respectively
Türkei-stammige	Those who have ancestral roots in Turkey

⁶ The definitions of the terms I use here have been developed from my previous work during the Master’s Programme.

Menschen mit Migrationshintergrund People with a migrant background

Deutsch mit Türkischer Herkunft German with Turkish heritage

Türkisch mit deutschem Pass Turkish with a German passport

The English term often used to describe Turkish *Gastarbeiter* and second and third generation Turkish migrants in Germany is “Turkish-Germans”. As you can see this English term reverses the ordering of “Deutsch-Türken”, thus implying a German-ness and German belonging perhaps not actually felt or encountered by the Turkish population in Germany. Mandel writes about the term “German-Turk”:

For it is always compounded in this order, implying that “German” is the adjectival modifier of “Turk”. The people referred to as Deutschtürken, or German Turks, are rendered a variant of Turk, not a variant of German. At the risk of over-interpretation, it could be argued that the grammatical ordering in this term still precludes full participation into German-ness, attesting to an unchangeable essence: once a Turk, always a Turk (2008: 181).

Therefore, it is possible to see that the labels we ascribe in this situation are particularly significant.

Furthermore, given the complex state of nationality and citizenship amongst Turkish migrants in Germany and with the newly introduced dual nationality, labels based on nationality only (something that you cannot know from looking at the person in question) were not appropriate in this context.

For the above reasons and the complex connotations attached to other terms, I refer to the Turkish people in question as **ethnic Turks**, in order to emphasise their heritage, ethnicity and belonging.

Outline of Dissertation Structure

Subsequent chapters are organised as follows: Chapter 2 provides a detailed review of published literature in fields relevant to this dissertation, namely; Turkish Belonging, Diaspora and Integration in Germany; Nation and Nationality, Hybridity and German-ness; Ethnicity in Film and Television; and Ethnicity and Advertising. In Chapter 3 I outline both the rationale for the selection of my research sample and for the framework adopted (from work on the deconstruction of advertisements, CDA and MCDA), for use in the primary data analysis. In Chapter 4 I firstly provide an overview of the patterns of strategies used by the household names in question, with specific regard to who is included, and in which way, in my sample advertisements. I then enter into analysis and discussion on the representation and non-representation of ethnic Turks in my sample advertisements, before synthesising my findings. In Chapter 5 I reach my conclusion on the extent of normalisation of (Turkish) ethnicity in German television advertisements.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This dissertation focuses on the relatively unexplored phenomenon of the representation and non-representation and inclusion and exclusion of ethnic Turks in the advertisements of everyday German household names. In order to do this, it is necessary to consider and combine literature from the following fields: Turkish Belonging, Diaspora and Integration in Germany; Nation and Nationality, Hybridity and German-ness; Ethnicity in Film and Television; and Ethnicity and Advertising. Certain studies detailed in my literature review, whilst not specific to the German Turkish setting, can nevertheless be applied in this setting. Thus, the combined literature of my review, alongside the findings of my investigation, allows postulation on the state of Turkish acceptance, integration and normalisation in mainstream German life.

Turkish Belonging, Integration and Diaspora in Germany

Mandel (2008) examines the anxieties present in “Multikulti” (multicultural) Germany since the start of the *Gastarbeiter* phase. She discusses the bi-directional contamination of perceptions and reality, a concept that echoes CDA and MCDA and can be used to explain how advertisements both reflect and shape reality. Mandel considers the discourse of alterity attached to ethnic Turks in Germany and argues that in Germany the ethnic Turk has become and remains the negatively viewed Other. Indeed, ““Turk” is shown to have become a signifier of instability and anxiety” (2008: 2-3). This alterity may be a contributory factor for the trend of under-representing ethnic Turks in German advertisements demonstrated by my findings.⁷

Nation and Nationality, Hybridity and German-ness

Anderson (1991) discusses the imagined nature of communities, proposing this definition, “of the nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as [...] inherently limited [...]. It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (1991: 6). In advertisements it is often images of these imagined communities that are projected. People believe they have an affinity to certain groups and often these groups are politically constructed. I question if the representation of “German-ness” in my sample contributes to a lack of normalisation of other ethnicities in these

⁷, Hake & Mennel (2012), Jordan (2006), Kaya (2007), Mueller (2006) Peck et al. (1997), Şenocak (2011), Schmitz (2009) and Yeşilada (2008), amongst others listed in my Bibliography, also discuss the alterity attached to ethnic Turks in Germany.

advertisements, thereby suggesting a fixed and limited idea of German-ness. Anderson relays that “nation-ness is assimilated to skin-colour, gender, parentage and birth-era – all those things one can not help. And in these ‘natural ties’ one senses what one might call ‘the beauty of *gemeinschaft*’ [sic].” (Anderson 1991: 143) It is this community or *Gemeinschaft* linked to heritage and shared physical characteristics that I use in my definition of ethnicity.

Bhabha (2004) discusses Hybridity and introduces the notion of the “third space of enunciation”. This theory provides a useful framework for considering ethnic and hybrid identities of ethnic Turks in Germany. Negotiation of identities in this third space feature in literature (Özdamar 1999) and film (*Almanya* 2011), however a lack of ethnic diversity in German advertisements would suggest that this space where Hybridity occurs, does not exist in the cultural construct of advertisements.

In *Cultural Geography* (1998), Crang explores the interdisciplinary nature of culture, geography, nations and belonging. He also demonstrates how culture and dialogue in the public sphere shape the everyday world. However “the ability to take part in this ‘public sphere’ is constrained by lack of access [...] and it allocated the media an important role in setting the terms of any discussion” (1998: 164). The connections made by Crang are pertinent to the linking of the complex Turkish diasporic situation in Germany with the influence of advertisements as a cultural media product. Crang provides instances where “cultures are not seen as ‘territorially exclusive’ or homogenous but include internal differentiation” (1998:161). However, as evidenced by my sample I argue that this “internal differentiation” is not projected in the public sphere of German advertisements.

Crang also discusses concepts of nationality by stating that “[a] nationality is not simply a politico-legal status – it is also what we believe are our social characteristics, the traits we share with fellow nationals.” (1998: 162) Therefore for Crang, nationality becomes much more than a passport, based instead on an ancestral identity inextricably linked to a territory, thus “forming a potent combination of ‘blood and soil’. [...] Such ethnic nationalism⁸ identifies culture with a space and the space with a people – forming a circular logic whereby one’s right to belong to a space is seen as dependent on possessing the culture that is also used to identify the territory” (1998: 162). Considering this alongside the German integration problematic would explain why *Aussiedler* (a phrase often associated with Russians of German heritage) were more readily accepted into German mainstream society than those Turks whose first encounter with the German ‘space’ was through being *Gastarbeiter* (Tallman 2011). “This of course had the result of sending a strong message to the Turkish community that blood and ethnicity were essential elements of German identity” (Tallman 2011: 19-20) Does this contribute to the representations of German-ness and the German

⁸ This resonates with my use of ethnicity in this dissertation.

community in advertisements? It could be argued that certain ethnicities are being denied access to the public sphere by their non-representation in television advertisements.

Mandel 2008, Şenocak 2011 and Tallman 2011 all engage with discourses surrounding the question - what is German-ness? - a debate inextricably bound to questions of Turkish integration. According to Mandel, “[t]his discourse is intimately entangled with a vision of alterity, specifically with the perception of Turkish-ness as a threat to a supposedly stable German essence” (2008: 7). Hence, this is a debate not entered into lightly in Germany, a land with historical baggage and a reluctance to engage with or relive its past. Şenocak highlights that it is simply too painful for the German population to discuss the concept of *Deutschsein* or German-ness (2011: 55). Nonetheless, “the traditional German concept of the national state with the foundation of belonging based on ethnicity is a concept that Germans have been reluctant to abandon.” (Tallman 2011: 79) Tallman (2011), exploring the link between hair colour and non-German-ness revealed in the article “Für immer fremd” (Spiegel 2009), discusses “the notion that physical appearance plays a role in how an individual will be categorized, but also gives a glimpse of how ethnicity still plays a significant role to many Germans in defining “Germanness [sic].” (2011: 40) The significance of physical appearance in determining or assigning ethnicity labels is discussed in my analysis.

Ethnicity in Film and Television

Hall has written many works on the medium of television and its cultural relevance (Hall et al. 1980, 2013, Hall & Gieben 1992, Hall 1971, 1986). Hall et al. (2013) describe the increase in the representation of varied ethnicities in British television including television series and advertisements, linking this with their inclusion in the public sphere of everyday life in Britain; “[i]n this regard it has become more accepted – normalized – that they are a constituent part of contemporary British society” (2013: 267). My dissertation displaces this to the German setting.

Much has also been written on the representation and non-representation of ethnic Turks in German films and television series (Hake & Mennel 2012, Yeşilada 2008). In Hake and Mennel (2012), Peterson (2012) discusses the television series *Türkisch für Anfänger*⁹, applauding the representation of a household comprising both ethnic Turks and ethnic Germans as it “intervenes in the discussion of what it means to be German in the twenty first century”, (2012: 97) unlike my sample advertisements which solely present mono-ethnic families. In the same edition, Gueneli (2012) concludes that recent German films, by their incorporation of multiple ethnicities, indicate “a normalization of ethnicity” (2012: 147) in

⁹ This translates as “Turkish for Beginners” and was a popular television series that has now also been made into a film. It follows the fictional lives of a family comprised of both ethnic Germans and ethnic Turks.

German society. My sampled German advertisements however, with their low level incorporation of multiple ethnicities and “internal differentiation” (Crang 1998: 161), appear to suggest the contrary; that a normalisation of ethnicity in German society has not yet occurred.

Yeşilada (2008) in her article on “Turkish-German Screen Power” examines the representation of ethnic Turks in film and television series, drawing attention to the usual custom and practice of ethnic Turkish actors playing secondary roles only. Despite moves in the industry to integrate ethnic Turks more thoroughly into German films and television series and to normalise their presence, I hypothesise that this has not yet happened in German television advertisements.

In line with Orientalist discourse, Shohat and Stam (1994) argue “[f]ilm [...] casting, as an immediate form of representation, constitutes a kind of delegation of voice with political overtones. Here too [pale-skinned white] Europeans and Euro-Americans have played the dominant role, relegating non-Europeans [or those with darker complexions] to supporting roles and the status of extras” (1994: 189). It could be argued that the under-representation of overtly ethnic Turks as protagonists in German television advertisements is a form of socio-political exclusion.

Ethnicity and Advertising

Reading Dávila (2002) led me to the idea for my dissertation. This essay provides a thought-provoking insight into cultural advertising in the United States where different marketing practices are employed for targeting ethnic Latin Americans. Dávila discusses the way in which ethnic Latin Americans are represented in advertisements and how this impacts upon how this ethnic group is perceived by the general public and by the ethnic Latin Americans themselves. I adopt this thought process, transfer it to the German setting and apply it in order to hypothesise on the implications of the representation and non-representation of ethnic Turks in German television advertising. Furthermore, a link can be established between Dávila’s work and the concept of Anderson’s imagined community. Dávila writes, “[m]ore and more, [...] commercial representations play a pivotal role in the social imagining of populations; whether as exiles, citizens, permanent residents, or immigrants” (2002: 265). The imagined community of peoples portrayed in German advertisements may indeed shape the way ethnic Germans and ethnic Turks are viewed and the extent to which they are each normalised.

Research studies have been carried out into the representation of varying ethnicities in advertisements and the subsequent affect on the viewers of these advertisements in settings other than the German Turkish setting (Coover 2001, Forehand & Desphandé 2001, Green 1999, Johnson & Grier 2012, Mastro & Stern 2003, Whittler 1991). Therefore they provide a relevant backdrop to my research that I can refer to the German Turkish setting. Forehand

and Desphandé (2001) talk of “ethnic self-awareness”, a state whereby a viewer of a minority ethnic group views an advertisement that includes someone of the same ethnicity, relates to the portrayed participant and thus feels more aware of and positive towards the information conveyed by the advertisement (2001: 336). Of course, this is dependent on how much the viewer identifies with his/her own ethnic group. Nonetheless, this would suggest that viewers, whose ethnic groups are not represented in an advertisement, are unlikely to give as much attention to that advertisement.

Developing this slightly differently, Johnson and Grier (2012) contend, “[a] stereotyped portrayal will offend stereotyped viewers, whereas the same portrayal will entertain nonstereotyped [*sic*] viewers” (Italics removed) (2012: 94). Therefore by combining this research with that of Forehand and Desphandé (2001) it could be argued that although a specific ethnicity may be portrayed in an advertisement, if it is portrayed in a negative or stereotypical way some viewers will not be as positive towards the product. It is in the company’s interest not to alienate its viewing public and perhaps this is why we do not find any stereotypical representations of ethnic Turks in my sample.

Mastro & Stern (2003) mainly focus on the “representation of race in television commercials” in the United States. They provide an analysis on the frequency of different ethnic groups in advertisements across varying sectors, including advertisements from the Personal Care Sector as well as advertisements that feature a home setting. They examine the race of the protagonists and come to the conclusion that white participants (in this case white Americans) are most prominently and commonly featured in such advertisements. This calls into question the perception of beauty and the familial home, something that I address in my analysis.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This study required the gathering of a primary data sample in the form of German television advertisements. In order to gain a comprehensive and current insight into the ethnicities represented in German television advertisements, I chose to investigate recent advertisements of five major German household names from five different market sectors.¹⁰ These will provide evidence from five aspects of German daily life. My sample includes the twenty most recent advertisements published on YouTube¹¹, as of the 5th June 2014, from the following sectors and their respective household names:

- Automobile Sector Volkswagen AG
- Banking Sector Sparkasse
- Food Sector Dr. Oetker GmbH
- Home Care Sector Henkel AG & Company, KGaA
- Personal Care Sector Nivea (Beiersdorf AG)¹²

¹⁰ For ease of expression, the term “household names” will be used to refer to the products, brands and companies promoted in the advertisements of my sample.

¹¹ I acknowledge that there are limitations of using YouTube in that it does not specify if these advertisements were actually broadcast on German television. However, as the majority of my sample advertisements originate from the German YouTube channel of the household name in question, it is reasonable to presume that they are valid sources.

¹² Henceforth, I will refer to the shortened version of these household names: Volkswagen, Sparkasse, Dr. Oetker, Henkel and Nivea. Volkswagen advertisements that did not feature people were excluded from the sample. The advertisements selected from Dr. Oetker were specific to food products only. The advertisements selected from Nivea were specific to skin care only. These choices were made to allow for in depth comparative analysis. As there was a limited frequency of published advertisements for one specific Henkel Home Care brand, it was necessary to include advertisements from various Henkel Home Care brands, namely from: Biff, Bref, Der General, Persil, Perwoll, Pril, Sidolin, Somat, Spee, Vernel, WC Frisch and Weisser Riese.

In the analysis of these advertisements I draw on works that deal with the concepts of CDA (Fairclough 2010a) and MCDA (Machin & Mayr 2012) as well as on general literature regarding the deconstruction of advertisements (Baldry & Thibault 2010).

Literature pertaining to the analysis of advertisements generally demonstrates how to deconstruct advertisements into smaller parts (O'Halloran 2004, Baldry & Thibault 2010). Baldry and Thibault (2010) outline the concepts of Visual Collocation (VC) and Visual Salience (VS) as forms of advertisement deconstruction. VC implies that certain signifiers and secondary components of advertisements can help "to index the social role, class and gender [religion, ethnicity and nationality] of the participant" (2010: 198). VS allows for the "prominence" (Ibid. : 199) of certain components to be analysed. Thus, both of these concepts are pertinent to my analysis of who is portrayed in the advertisements and in what manner.

However, this work on the deconstruction of advertisements does not provide a direct link between the representation of certain ethnic groups and their acceptance, integration and normalisation in mainstream German life. Hence, it was necessary to draw on the work of Fairclough (2010a) on CDA, who states that:

A primary focus of CDA is on the effect of power relations and inequalities in producing social wrongs, [...] on dialectical relations between discourse and power, and their effects on other relations within the social process and their elements. (2010a: 8)

Thus, in this dissertation, CDA provides a necessary framework for a connection between representation and inequalities. CDA comprises analysis of foregrounded and backgrounded information (Fairclough 2010a: 94, 2010b: 106) and "analysis of representation [...] of what is 'there' in the text [and] absences from the text, [...] things which might have been 'there' but aren't" (Ibid. : 106). However, in CDA this is solely in terms of textual Given, New and absent information. Nonetheless, the analysis of foregrounded, backgrounded and absent information can be transposed to television advertisements, allowing links to be made between the representation of certain ethnic groups and their normalisation in mainstream German life. For the focus on the represented image to be given prominence, it is therefore necessary to go beyond Fairclough's CDA to consider MCDA as explored by Kress (2010), Kress & van Leeuwen (1996, 2001) O'Halloran (2004), O'Halloran & Smith (2011) and Machin & Mayr (2012). According to MCDA, "images can be used to say things that we cannot say in language" (Machin & Mayr 2012: 9). As such, it seeks to explore and analyse the mutual imbrication of power distribution and the multimodal social product - in this case advertisements. Indeed, "MCDA views other modes of communication as a means of social construction. Visual communication, as well as language, both *shapes* and *is shaped by* society" (Ibid. : 10).

My framework for analysis comprises tools from literature on the deconstruction of advertisements, CDA and MCDA. I use VC to establish the ethnicity of the advertisement participants. I use VS alongside the precept of foregrounded and backgrounded information associated with CDA to establish the prominence granted to certain ethnicities in my sample advertisements. Finally, I use MCDA to focus on the images of ethnicities present in the advertisements and combine this with CDA as a tool to link both the included and excluded ethnicities to possible social comments on the normalisation of ethnicity in German advertisements. In the next chapter, my findings are described, considered and analysed through the lens of this framework and against the backdrop of the issues discussed in my literature review.

Chapter 4: Findings: Description, Critical Analysis and Synthesis

In this chapter I examine the ethnicity of the advertisement participants and the manner in which they are portrayed, based on the framework provided in my methodology. I firstly provide an overview of the patterns of strategies used by each of the household names, before highlighting the problematic nature of the identification of ethnic Turks in advertisements. Subsequently, in my analysis I explore and discuss the recurrent features revealed by my overview, before reaching my synthesis.¹³

Description

Dr. Oetker – Food Sector

The Dr. Oetker advertisements of my sample generally follow similar paradigms for each product type. Advertisements for its *Bistro* product range mostly feature stereotypical French characters, including the moustachioed *patron* and a man holding a baguette. (2013a, 2013b, 2013c) In some *Bistro* advertisements there is a correlation between the bistro setting and the home or family setting, effectively conveying the motto of this product line, “Zuhause Französisch genießen” (Enjoy French food at home) (2013a, 2013c). Similarly, the advertisement for Dr. Oetker’s *Traditionale* product features stereotypical Italian male family members, complete with dramatic hand gestures.

Brand and product colour play an important role in Dr. Oetker’s advertisements, with care being taken to match hair and skin colouring to the product and settings of the advertisement. This is particularly noticeable in 2013e, 2013o and 2013q, advertisements where the colouring of the protagonist blends seamlessly with the product. The lighting incorporated in 2013e and 2013o allows for blending of the protagonist’s skin with the sumptuous chocolate cake of the advertisements. There is nothing to indicate that this is intended to demonstrate that the person is an ethnic Turk. Similarly, in 2013q, the blonde hair and pale skin of the protagonist blends with the cornfield she looks out onto; the healthy ingredient of the muesli she eats to start her day, before embarking on a pleasant cycle ride with her equally blonde-haired pale-skinned daughter. Here, the advertiser prioritises aesthetic appeal.

¹³ Please note that since embarking on this dissertation and selecting my sample some advertisements have been removed from YouTube (as signalled in the bibliography). Thus, these advertisements will not feature in the critical analysis section of this chapter.

Baking products are often advertised in a German family setting, with grandparents or parents baking with their grandchildren or children (2013d, 2013i, 2014b). The home plays host (or part host) to the majority of Dr. Oetker's advertisements in my sample, where the participants enjoy the products in the company of family or friends (2013a, 2013c, 2013d, 2013f, 2013j, 2013q, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c). There is a trend of depicting pale skin colours in these advertisements; none of the people featured in the advertisements are overtly ethnic Turks. An interesting advertisement is the Image Trailer (2013g), which details the history of the firm since 1891. Many different people are depicted in this advertisement however, as many are backgrounded it is difficult to distinguish their ethnicity. Nonetheless, no overtly ethnic Turks are featured or assigned VC or prominence as main protagonists in this advertisement or in any others from my Dr. Oetker sample. This absence is conspicuous and surprising, given that at least two generations of ethnic Turks in Germany will have had access to these products throughout their lives.

Henkel - Home Care Sector

All of the Henkel advertisements in my sample focus on the product itself and the ensuing results. Henkel favours the patterns of using perfect home settings featuring families or couples (2012a, 2012b, 2013c, 2014e, 2014f, 2014h, 2014i, 2014k) and of featuring a single woman who uses one of their home care products in the advertisements (2012c, 2013d, 2013e, 2014g, 2014j).

The advertisements for Persil, perhaps Henkel's most well known brand, generally follow two very straightforward patterns. Firstly, a child or adult dirties their clothing and after washing with Persil at home, their clothing appears from the washing machine "strahlend sauber" (sparklingly clean) (2014c, 2014d). The second pattern also takes place in the home (or garden) with the protagonist admiring the "Reinheit" (pure cleanliness) of her freshly laundered clothes (2013c, 2013d).

Bref product advertisements (2013a, 2014b) are characterised by the sterile, white laboratory environment, where a pale skinned white-haired official (perhaps selected to tone with his environment), explains the technicalities of the product and demonstrates its effectiveness, emphasizing this paradigm of a "trust in technology and science" (de Mooij 1998: 274).

"Purity and cleanliness are important appeals" (de Mooij 1998: 274) in these advertisements with the words "Weiß"(White), "Sauber" (Clean), "Sauberkeit" (Cleanliness) and "Reinheit" (Purity/pure cleanliness) featuring heavily (2012c, 2013c, 2013f, 2014b, 2014c, 2014d, 2014g, 2014j). Significantly perhaps, the advertising slogan for Persil is, "*Da weiß man, was man hat*". This translates as, "One knows what one has", with the pun on the word "weiß" with its dual meaning of "know" and "white" being cleverly interjected. Is this why the advertisements only feature white, "pure", clean people with pale skin to correlate with the

“whiteness” and “purity” that the product promises? In this respect, the Biff advertisement (2014a) to which I return later, is particularly interesting as it features a varied cast of participants with differing physical appearances, in direct contrast to the trend of the other Henkel advertisements.

Nivea - Personal Care Sector

Two paradigms are in operation within the Nivea advertisements of my sample. The majority of Nivea’s advertisements are set in light, bright, clean spaces, whether indoor bathrooms or outdoor beauty spots such as beaches (2013a, 2013b, 2013f, 2013g, 2013h, 2014a, 2014c, 2014d, 2014e, 2014f, 2014h, 2014i, 2014j). The focus of these advertisements is personal care, namely anti-ageing skin care, sensitive skin care, soft skin care and protective skin care. Their appeal lies both in the product’s technology and the people featured, who are often, “impossibly beautiful and glamorous supermodels rather than real people” (Machin and van Leeuwen 2007: 113). All of the people in these advertisements are white, with the majority of female protagonists being physically fit, youthful looking and ‘beautiful’, with their pale, “schöne Haut” (beautiful skin), blue eyes and blonde hair – a traditionally German or Northern European or Western look. Some participants have brown hair but there is nothing else that distinguishes them as overtly ethnic Turks. I draw on some of these Nivea advertisements that include numerous participants in my analysis.

The other set of advertisements take a different form, not actually advertising a particular product but the Nivea brand as a whole. These take place in the ‘German’ or ‘Christian European’ family setting (2013a, 2013i, 2014b), where Nivea, through the mouthpiece of a blonde-haired blue-eyed German toddler, thanks both Mothers and Fathers and celebrates the Christmas period with the slogan: “Das schönste Geschenk ist Familie” (The loveliest gift is family). All family members in these advertisements appear to be ethnic Germans, with no diversity of ethnicity featured, a recurrent theme across the advertisements from all five sectors to which I return in my analysis.

Sparkasse – Banking Sector

The Sparkasse advertisements in my sample fall into three different campaigns. The first campaign features Martina Hill, a famous German comedienne and actress as the main protagonist. She is assigned VS with her pale white skin and blonde hair in the humorously memorable advertisements under the title, “Je einfacher das Geld, desto einfacher die Welt” (The easier the money, the easier the world) (2013c, 2014e, 2014i, 2014j, 2014l, 2014m, 2014n). In these advertisements there is an absence of representation of overtly ethnic Turks. Instead, her ‘German’ family is comprised of blue-eyed, blonde and light-brown-haired sons and a dark-haired, pale-skinned husband. There are however, stereotypical representations featured in these advertisements, 2014l features a group of dark-haired Italians including a

moustachioed Italian male, a stereotypical representation of another ethnic group who were also *Gastarbeiter* in Germany.

The satirical second Sparkasse advertising campaign that falls under the heading, “12 Sterne Beratung Finanz-Horoskop – 08/15 Bank” (12 star financial advice horoscope from the run-of-the-mill Bank) features individuals from the same group of participants in each of their advertisements. The participants are all balding or greying, white and pale-skinned, depicted as ‘banking’ types, who have no distinguishing features recognisable as those of the overtly ethnic Turk (2014f, 2014g, 2014h, 2014o, 2014p, 2014q, 2014r, 2014s).

The documentary style advertisements of the third campaign (2014a, 2014b, 2014d, 2014k, 2014r) appear to include real persons in real-life settings rather than the ‘imagined’ family or bank scenarios of the other campaigns. The protagonists of these advertisements are all white with pale-skin, although people of more varied appearances do feature as backgrounded figures. However, the VC of the wearing of the headscarf by certain female figures in 2014b implies that these participants are Muslims and potentially ethnic Turks. For this reason, I return to this advertisement in my analysis.

Volkswagen - Automobile Sector

Baldry characterises automobile advertisements as follows: “The car is seen moving in a glorified way that attempts to go beyond the daily grind of the ordinary world. The car is in an ideal world” (2004: 100). This quotation epitomises the paradigm for Volkswagen’s advertisements, where the cars featured appear in beautiful settings or in settings that enhance everyday life.

Individuals, couples and families feature in the advertisements but all participants have pale white skin, with no obvious traits of an ethnic Turk.

In other advertisements some people with darker complexions and hair colour are backgrounded, making it difficult to identify their ethnicity, an issue that I explore later (Volkswagen 2011c, 2011d, 2014b, 2014f). Numerous people are featured in 2012 and people of different ethnicities are featured in 2014f, so these advertisements will form part of my analysis.

Problematic nature of the identification of ethnic Turks

It is a relatively straightforward process to recognise a representation of an ethnicity in German film and television. Here, ethnic Turks (in both major and secondary roles) can be recognised by many features, including language, accent, hairstyle, clothing and customs (Machin & Mayr 2012: 101). These are usually combined with a reference to the character’s identity, ethnicity or heritage within the plot, making the ethnicity of the character instantly

recognisable to the viewer. However, in advertisements there is often no speech, clothing is worn to highlight or emphasize the product or brand colour and cultural customs are not considered relevant to the message of the advertisement. Furthermore, we often do not have access to the backstory of the character or to additional information regarding their ethnicity. Instead we can only rely on the information provided by the advertisement, which is predominantly the participant's physical appearance. Nonetheless physical appearance, in terms of hair colour and complexion, does play a significant role in both determining someone's ethnicity and in assigning them an ethnicity label (Tallman 2011).

In general, advertisement participants perform a different function to film and television characters. They are featured in order to highlight the product and in some instances to encourage the audience to identify with the participant and to enter a state of "ethnic self-awareness", making them more receptive to purchasing the product (Forehand & Desphandé 2001). "Advertising messages are generally short and if audiences do not immediately recognize what the message is about, it is lost" (de Mooij 1998: 49). The brevity of an advertisement does not allow time to demonstrate the complexities of a character in the same manner as film and television. Thus, the ethnic Turk in advertisements is not always immediately recognisable unless he/she features in an advertisement containing a stereotypical representation (Volkswagen 2008) or the Turkish language (Deutsche Bank 2010). These identity markers clarify that the participant of these advertisements is an overt representation of an ethnic Turk.

Although I have examined the ethnicity of the main protagonists and secondary characters in the advertisements, it is difficult to ascertain for certain the ethnicity of some characters or indeed the ethnicity that they are supposed to represent. This is particularly the case with those participants who are featured as background figures with dark hair. Hence, it is problematic to arrive at a definitive conclusion regarding the quantity of ethnic and non-ethnic Germans in my sample of advertisements. This problematic nature of identifying ethnic Turks is interesting to consider within discourses of advertisement choices, as the deliberate backgrounding of potential ethnic Turks may be a way of suggesting inclusion whilst simultaneously strategically avoiding the issue of Turkish integration in Germany.

Critical Analysis

My sample advertisements reveal a marked absence of both stereotypical and overt representations of ethnic Turks. Analysis of this absence is addressed under the following subheadings: Overt ethnicities; Foregrounding and Backgrounding; Religious References; Stereotypes; Ethno-marketing; Beauty; and The 'imagined' Home and Family; before a synthesis is reached.

Overt Ethnicities

Henkel 2014a (as opposed to all other Henkel sample advertisements, which focus on “Weißheit” (whiteness) both in terms of product and advertisement participant), includes people of all ages and physical appearances in a humorous bathroom or cleaning setting, implying that whatever colour, shape, size or age you are, you still need to clean and that Biff is the product you should use. To quote Hall et al., one could ask: “Do these images *appropriate* ‘difference’ into a spectacle in order to sell a product? Or are they genuinely a political statement about the necessity for everyone to accept and ‘live with’ difference, in an increasingly diverse, culturally pluralist world” (2013: 263). Volkswagen 2014f also includes a range of people with different skin tones and ethnicities. Both then seem to normalise the fact that numerous ethnicities and “internal differentiation” (Crang 1998: 161) exist within the geographical boundaries of Germany. The lack of overt Turkish representation means that the normalisation of ethnic Turks is not achieved. In this respect, Henkel and Volkswagen are seen to be inclusive towards other ethnicities but by not overtly representing ethnic Turks they are not making any political comment on Turkish integration in Germany.

Foregrounding and Backgrounding

The general trend revealed by my sample advertisements is that pale white ‘Germans’ are foregrounded and given prominence as protagonists.¹⁴ Thus their ethnicity is assigned VS. The Nivea sun cream advertisements (2013a, 2014h) are particularly noteworthy examples to demonstrate the way focus, participant placement and distance can serve to assign prominence to the pale white ‘beautiful’ protagonist. Indeed “foregrounding creates importance. Elements that are further back may become subordinate” (Machin & Mayr 2012: 56). Although in these Nivea advertisements all backgrounded participants have pale white skin, this is not the case in other advertisements in my sample. For example, Volkswagen 2012 features people with darker skin tones and other ethnicities, yet the pale white protagonist is still foregrounded. Therefore, considering Machin and Mayr’s precept that background elements may become subordinate, it is possible to observe the foregrounding of the white ‘German’ and the backgrounding of other ethnicities as a reflection of the degree of ethnic acceptance in German mainstream life; an argument that resonates with the work of Shohat and Stam (1994), which designates the backgrounding of other ethnicities in film as a choice loaded with “political overtones” (1994: 189). Nonetheless, the inclusion of varying physical appearances (hair colours and skin tones) backgrounded or otherwise does imply a suggestion of inclusion on the part of the advertiser.

¹⁴ A similar conclusion reached to the research carried out by Mastro and Stern (2003), detailed in my literature review.

Religious References

It is particularly interesting to note that the only sample advertisement that includes clear VC in relation to religion is that of Sparkasse 2014b. Here we find women wearing headscarves featured in the background of the market scene of the advertisement. Their headscarves overtly index them as Muslim women. Around 4 million Muslims live in Germany, making up approximately 5% of the population (BMI no date) and often Islam is equated with Turkishness in Germany.¹⁵ It is therefore possible that these women are ethnic Turks, but with no other information presented on these background participants, it is impossible to be certain. At first glance it would seem that this advertisement is implying a normalisation of Muslims (or ethnic Turks) in Germany, contrary to the imagined communities illustrated in the other advertisements of my sample, and at the very least it is acknowledging their existence. However, given the absence of headscarves or any other overt VC relating to religion in my other sample advertisements, it is logical to suggest that this is not a comment on religious inclusion or the anxieties surrounding it, but merely an inadvertent incorporation of these women during filming.

Stereotypes

“Advertising depends on the use of effective stereotypes because it must attract attention and create instant recognition. Advertising simplifies reality and thus has to use stereotypes,” (de Mooij 1998: 49). Stereotyping is employed by Dr. Oetker to increase sales; the French *Bistro* and Italian *Traditionale* products are portrayed as authentically French and Italian foods, thus increasing their appeal and imbuing desirability for the product on the part of the audience (2013a, 2013b, 2013c, 2013p and 2014a). The audience automatically recognises the ethnicity of each stereotypical representation through VC. Were these advertisements to be shown in France or Italy, the audience could view them as offensive and belittling. This oversimplification of portrayal, in the words of Chimamanda Adichie, perpetuates a single story of “stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete” (TED 2009). Dr. Oetker, whether consciously or not, employs a form of reification

¹⁵ Littler (2009) investigates the potential causes of anxiety and alterity attached to ethnic Turks, exploring how they may be feared by ethnic Germans due to associations with Islam and *Parallelgesellschaften* (parallel societies) in Germany. Since 9/11, “religion has become central to discussions about identity, difference, and belonging” for the ethnic Turk (Tibi 2008 cited in Berghahn 2012: 26). Indeed, “[m]edia and politics have continually depicted Turkish immigrants as part of the Islamic menace to western society” (Butterwegge 2007 cited in Yeşilada 2008: 78-79). These sources perhaps explain why companies are opting to exclude religious references from their advertisements.

which inevitably has consequences. By “treating something as though it is real to the extent that it becomes believed to be real,” (Holliday 2011: 199) this incomplete version of the French/Italian national is perpetuated. Significantly, there are no such stereotypical representations of ethnic Turks in my sample advertisements, begging the question why it is that geographical neighbours are stereotyped but not ethnic groups within Germany. In an already complex political situation, it could be argued that there is a deliberate exclusion of such representations of ethnic Turks for fear of presenting an over-simplified “single story” (TED 2009), which may not only cause offence but may have a detrimental effect on sales.¹⁶

Italians held the same immigrant status as ethnic Turks in Germany during their time as *Gastarbeiter*. Again it is interesting to note that the advertisements in my sample contain Italian stereotypes but not ethnic Turkish stereotypes. This could also be seen to reflect a difference in the levels of integration of the two different ethnicities of *Gastarbeiter* in Germany.

Die Italiener gelten in Deutschland als unproblematisch. Sie sind EU-Bürger, Christen – welche Schwierigkeiten sollte es geben? (Romeo cited in Tallman 2011: 63)

The Italians are not considered problematic. They are EU- citizens and Christian- what difficulties would there actually be?

This view is in contrast with general feelings about the ethnic Turk, whose association with Islam made integration more difficult (Peck et al. 1997: 100). Peck et al. explain that “[t]he Turks have become the generic dark foreign [O]ther and the media has played on the fear of large numbers of foreigners invading Germany by emphasizing mass movements of foreigners overrunning the borders of Germany” (Ibid.).¹⁷ It could be argued that the inclusion of stereotyped Italians in these advertisements is simply an indication that certain ethnicities are considered more normalised, integrated and accepted than others in mainstream German life. Alternatively, it could be argued that the non-representation of stereotypical Turks is a deliberate exclusion based on a reluctance to perpetuate an orientalist and negative discourse surrounding the ‘dark’ Turkish Other. This alterity may well alienate a large proportion of potential audiences.

¹⁶ This can be linked to the research carried out by Forehand and Desphandé (2001) and Johnson and Grier (2012) detailed in my literature review to suggest that advertisers may deliberately exclude Turkish stereotypes from their advertisements.

¹⁷ The alterity attached to ethnic Turks is also discussed in Mandel (2008).

Ethno-marketing

Whilst researching the advertisements for my sample, I discovered a Volkswagen advertisement that *did* incorporate a form of stereotypical Turkish representation. Volkswagen 2008 humorously incorporates stereotypical representations of the over-protective Turkish father who greets the various German 'Typen' (guys/types) who wish to date his daughter. The father eventually entrusts his daughter to the man who drives a Volkswagen. Volkswagen thus becomes a trustworthy German brand for all, including ethnic Turks; an endorsement echoed by the title of the advertisement and its translation into Turkish, "Volkswagen spricht Türkisch" (Volkswagen speaks Turkish). This title clearly indicates that this is an ethno-marketing advertisement shown to highlight the Turkish-speaking advice service that Volkswagen offer. Volkswagen spokesman Fred Bärboch, provided the following rationale for this campaign in an article from Deutsche Welle (2011): "Almost 3 million people living in Germany have Turkish roots [...] we want to do a better job of addressing them". This would suggest that this strategy was adopted due to a desire to make ethnic Turks feel accepted and included.

According to Matthias Kulinna, who works as a consultant in ethnic marketing, ethnic Turks in Germany tend to feel unwanted. "Ethnic marketing makes up for this lack of acceptance. [...] An ad targeted specifically at them tells them, "You're welcome here." To convey this feeling, he added, it was enough to use their native language. (Ibid.)

However, targeting ethnic Turks separately from the rest of the German population only highlights and perpetuates their lack of acceptance, integration and inclusion. Instead, incorporating ethnic Turks as equals in mainstream German advertisements would demonstrate more effectively that they are welcome in Germany. This would allow the state of "ethnic self-awareness" (Forehand & Desphandé 2001) to occur, potentially increasing sales. Although this Volkswagen advertisement contains the subliminal message "you are like us", the sheer fact that this message needed to be delivered at all, and that it was delivered in this segregated manner, implies the opposite. Ethno-marketing therefore denies Bhabha's third space of enunciation a place in the German television advertising industry. Furthermore, the segregated manner of ethno-marketing is not conducive to the normalisation of ethnic Turks in German advertisements. Instead, ethnic Turks are seen as the "nation within the nation: that is never really part of the "Nation"" (Dávila 2002: 277).

Beauty

Dávila astutely remarks that, "[m]edia discourses are never produced in a vacuum; they are part and parcel of greater discourses of identity and identification." (2002: 277) If we consider this in the context of choices of ethnicity in the Nivea advertisements, it reveals some interesting comments on what and who is considered 'beautiful', both in the media and in real life. De Mooij explains that certain brands are successful and remain relevant across all

nations because they do not emphasise their nationality; “old, established brands such as Nivea, [...] have never traded on a national origin,” (1998: 32) Perhaps this is why Nivea only portray typical pale-skinned western ‘beautiful’ protagonists in each of their advertisements as a tool to keep the advertisements internationally transferable to all Western countries and to remain universally successful. By not highlighting their ‘German’ origins, they do not make any specific comment on ‘German-ness’, but rather on beauty. This in itself is interesting as this imagined picture of ‘beauty’ excludes many ethnicities, not least the large ethnic Turkish population in Germany. Dove advertisements are much more diverse, featuring participants of varying sizes and ethnicities; a striking contrast to the focus by Nivea on the slender, white, fair-haired beauty. Dove, by its unique advertisement campaign encourages all people to embrace their beauty and diversity and ultimately to purchase Dove’s products (Dove 2014). But this campaign does much more than that; it very effectively normalises all ethnicities, presenting an image that is true to real life. Nivea’s advertisements from my sample, do not portray participants that are representative of the whole German population and so do not normalise Turkish ethnicity. Nivea appears to equate the generic Western look of white skin and fair hair with beauty, a look that can probably never be achieved by the ethnic Turk, no matter how many Nivea products they purchase. Accordingly, returning to my earlier reference to Dávila (2002), perhaps Nivea are merely ascribing to discourses of beauty and identification that are already present in mainstream German society.

The ‘imagined’ Home and Family

The families portrayed in the advertisements of my sample are imagined. What is noticeable is that whilst overtly ethnic Turkish families feature in both German film and television, no overtly ethnic Turks appear to be featured as part of the families of my sample. This is all the more surprising given that ethnic Turks are one of the minority groups in Germany with the greatest number of children (Berlin-Institut für Bevölkerung und Entwicklung 2009). Neither ethnic Turkish families nor ethnically mixed families are depicted in my sample; therefore Hybridity (Bhabha 2004) is not featured. Thus, with reference to the family, what “is not shown [in these advertisements] is ideologically significant” (Machin & Mayr 2012: 102). In these advertisement families, to quote Kaya, “[t]here is no place for syncreticism or *bricolage*, in which elements from different cultural traditions, sources, and discourses are constantly intermingled with and juxtaposed to each other” (2007: 484-485). Similarly, within the framework of German film, Yeşilada states, “[d]epicting Turks and German not strictly apart from one another, but in intermeshed relationships, [...] lessens the burden of ‘purity’ that seemed to dominate” (2008: 74). As this is not the case in my sample, this would seem to suggest that the only normalisation of ethnicities present is that of the ‘white German’. No “internal differentiation” (Crang 1998: 161) is projected. However, the aim of the films and television series that *do* present “intermeshed relationships” (Yeşilada 2008: 74) and families, such as *Türkisch für Anfänger*, is political and inclusive, seeking to change people’s perceptions towards both ethnic Turks and ethnic Germans by deflating stereotypes.

Including an ethnically mixed family would not detract from the safe, comfortable and positive family and home setting they are trying to portray in advertisements. It could be deduced that the advertisers are deliberately shying away from making political statements or social comments on integration. They could be excluding mixed families as a way of avoiding the issue yet in the process ethnicity is not normalised. Şenocak remarks:

Wenn heute Begriffe wie Migration oder Integration fallen, denkt niemand mehr an eine Mittelklassefamilie mit zwei Kindern. Allmächtig sind die Bilder von verwahrlosten Stadtteilen, gewalttätigen Jugendlichen ohne Arbeit, zwangsverheirateten, eingesperrten Frauen. Und tatsächlich gibt es dies ja alles auch. Es ist aber nur ein Teil des Bildes, der den Rest längst aus dem Rahmen gedrängt hat. (2011: 65-66)

When the terms migration or integration are used today, a picture of a middle class family with two children no longer immediately springs to mind. Instead, the associations are of a picture of run down city districts, unemployed violent youths and women forced into marriage and then incarcerated. And actually all of this does exist as well. But it is only one part of the picture that for a long time has pushed the other parts out of the frame.

Perhaps the German population and the German media have become so inculcated with the negative images of ethnic Turks in crime-ridden parallel societies that the inclusion of any ethnic Turks in the 'normal' and positive setting of the home cannot possibly be imagined.

Synthesis

Advertisements, "may take place in the realm of fantasy but nevertheless they carry very real messages about evaluations of identities, ideas, values and actions with possible social consequences" (Machin & Mayr 2012:102). Combining this with CDA/MCDA and with works from my literature review, I can conclude that the marked absence of ethnic Turks in the advertisements of German household names may reflect larger power discourses surrounding the acceptance, integration and normalisation of the ethnic Turk in German mainstream society. Şenocak writes:

Große Teile der deutschen Bevölkerung taten so, als gäbe es die Migranten nicht. Sie wurden nicht einmal zum Bestandteil der Fiktion (2011: 131-132).

Large parts of the German population act as if the migrants do not exist. They are not even considered as a part of fiction.

Unsurprisingly then, ethnic Turks are absent from the ultimate imagined communities portrayed by these fictional advertisements. Vasta develops Machin and Mayr's above precept, arguing that exclusion from mainstream society "contribute(s) to the negation of a shared sense of belonging for some ethnic minority groups" (Vasta 2013: 211) - a very real potential social consequence of their exclusion from mainstream societal constructs.

Although certain advertisements (Henkel 2014a, Volkswagen 2014f) hint at “internal differentiation” (Crang 1998: 161) or ethnic diversity in Germany, the featuring of other ethnicities is not of sufficient frequency to constitute a widespread normalisation of ethnicity. Deutsche Welle (2014) cites Claudia Diehl, an expert in the field of German integration at the University of Constance, revealing that,

Dieser Gedanke, dass Deutschland ein diverses Land ist, ethnisch heterogen und wo die unterschiedlichen Gruppen zusammen leben, das ist ein Gedanke, der vielen Deutschen noch fremd ist.

This thought, that Germany is a diverse ethnically heterogeneous country, where different groups live together, is a thought that is still alien to many Germans.

My findings echo this thought and illustrate that an inequality of ethnic representation exists in the advertisements of German household names, with a trend towards the favouring of the pale white ‘German/European’ look. “In recent years, cultural-studies scholars such as Richard Dyer and Stuart Hall have argued that ‘whiteness’ [in this case ‘German white-ness’], rather than being itself marked as a specific form of ‘race’ or ethnicity, functions as the (invisible) ‘norm’ against which all others are marked” (Morley 2007: 183). In these advertisements, the normalisation of pale-skinned white ‘Germans’ only indicates that within the public sphere, “normal is a synonym for German” (Peterson 2012: 104).

Chapter 5: Conclusion

My conclusion reiterates my research objectives before presenting a summary of my findings and conclusions. I then provide recommendations for future avenues of research.

Research Objectives

My research objectives in this dissertation were to:

Identify the ethnicity of advertisement participants and the manner in which they are portrayed in the 100 advertisements of my sample.

Explore the representation and non-representation of ethnic Turks as revealed by my sample, through the lens of CDA and MCDA.

Analyse my findings alongside the works explored in my literature review.

Postulate on the state of Turkish acceptance, integration and normalisation in the public sphere of mainstream German life through a combination of literature, empirical research and critical analysis.

Findings and Conclusions

The problematic nature of identifying ethnic Turks in advertisements (when these representations are not overtly supported by additional information such as the backstory we are privy to in film and television) was uncovered during my research. This issue brings to the fore the inextricable link between physical appearance (ethnicity) and social inclusion or exclusion. In conjunction with Crang's work (1998), Şenocak's observation that:

Zwischen Heimat, Abstammung und kultureller Zugehörigkeit wird in Deutschland oft eine unzertrennliche Verbindung hergestellt, (Şenocak 2011: 67)

In Germany an inseparable binding between home nation, heritage and cultural affiliation is [still] produced,

provides a thought-provoking insight into the equating of geographical nation with physical appearance, ethnicity, nationality, heritage and belonging.

My findings indicate that overt representations of some ethnicities are featured in the advertisements in my sample, however none of these representations are of ethnic Turks, suggesting an exclusion of ethnic Turks in German television advertisements.

The only ethnicity foregrounded and thus assigned VS is the pale white 'German', with participants with darker complexions and hair colour assuming less salient background roles. Thus prominence in advertisements is not equally distributed amongst ethnicities.

Only one overt religious reference appears in my sample through the VC of the headscarf but given the absence of any other religious representations it is logical to presume that this was not intentional but merely coincidental. This would suggest a reluctance to include religious references in German advertisements.

The presence of the stereotyped Italian in direct contrast to the absence of the stereotyped ethnic Turk allowed for comment on the varying degrees of acceptance and integration between *Gastarbeiter* ethnicities in Germany.

Ethno-marketing advertisements (sourced outside of my sample) target the ethnic Turk as a separate audience and so suggest an exclusion from mainstream German society.

Nivea advertisements that feature slim, young, pale white, blue-eyed blonde-haired protagonists seem to perpetuate the pre-existing notion that this is the picture of beauty (specifically German beauty) which by definition denies darker haired and darker skinned ethnic Turks access to this beauty.

Advertisements including the imagined German family in the home also exclude representations of ethnic Turks; an absence that may be explained by the reluctance to transfer the oft associated image of the ethnic Turk as the negative, dark Other, into the positive setting of the German home.

It is clear to see from the above findings that in my sample of German advertisements an inequality of ethnic representation exists. Given the anxiety surrounding Turkish integration in Germany, it could be argued that the exclusion of overt representations of ethnic Turks from the advertisements in my sample is a conscious decision and a strategy of avoidance employed by the advertisers. The backgrounding of the potential ethnic Turk may not necessarily be a deliberate subordination but simply a way for the advertisers to suggest inclusion whilst avoiding social comment.

Adopting an analysis framework comprising some aspects of CDA allowed me to explore the phenomenon of ethnic inclusion and exclusion in German advertisements; a phenomenon that may both shape and be shaped by society (Machin & Mayr 2012: 9). It could be argued

then, that the widespread exclusion and lack of normalisation of overt representations of ethnic Turks demonstrated by my German advertisements, not only reflects their exclusion from the public sphere but may also contribute to them remaining *fremd*. Fairclough (2010a) elucidates:

Critical analysis aims to produce interpretations and explanations of areas of social life which both identify the causes of social wrongs and produce knowledge which could (in the right conditions) contribute to righting or mitigating them (2010a: 8).

In conjunction with CDA, my research has uncovered a social absence and has produced foundational knowledge that could contribute to righting or mitigating the trend towards the exclusion of overt representations of ethnic Turks in German television advertisements.

Recommendations for future research

Using this dissertation as a starting point, there are other related avenues for research that could contribute to the field of ethnic Turkish inclusion in German media. It could prove advantageous to investigate the timings, frequency, channel choice and regional broadcastings of my sample advertisements. This could be employed to investigate any potential variances of acceptance and integration of ethnic Turks in different German regions and subsequently provide evidence of where and when 'mixed' advertisements featuring both ethnic Turks and ethnic Germans could be broadcast as a means of normalising ethnic diversity.

Shohat and Stam (1994) state, "[a] full understanding of media representation [...] requires a comprehensive analysis of the institutions that generate and distribute mass-mediated texts as well as of the audience that receives them" (1994: 184). Thus an investigation into the marketing rationale employed by these advertisers, regarding the inclusion and exclusion of certain ethnicities could prove beneficial. Furthermore, linking this to the work of Forehand and Desphandé (2001) on "ethnic self-awareness", a study of the reactions of people of different ethnicities to the advertisements of this sample could reveal additional information on the feeling of belonging and identification experienced by the audience. Such a study may influence decisions of representation made by German advertisers, for, what is not seen, cannot change anything.¹⁸

¹⁸ I adapt this from Jordan's (2009) emphatic remark with regard to the potential power of diasporic literature to change attitudes towards ethnic Turks: "Und: Was nicht gelesen wird, kann auch nichts verändern" (2009: 167) (And: what is not read cannot change anything).

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