

FROM MANIPULATIVE PUBLICITY TO OUR PLATES



A Swiss study about
the advertising
of animal products

GREENPEACE

PREFACE

As an environmental scientist, a campaigner for sustainable food systems and a proponent of social transformation, I'm not surprised to learn about the dirty tactics of corporations seeking to influence our consumption patterns. It's easy to understand the resistance of fossil fuel conglomerates to cease their operations that contribute to the climate crisis and ecological breakdown that scientists have been warning us about for decades.

While the fossil fuels industries' role in the climate crisis is abundantly clear, there is another major cause, yet it seems to attract less attention, especially in Switzerland – possibly because the public is being fed a diet of slickly produced marketing mistruths. The reality is that our overconsumption, especially of animal products, contributes significantly to global warming, deforestation, water pollution and air pollution.

The production of animal-based foods (and the feed for those livestock) accounts for 19% of global greenhouse gas emissions. Moreover, livestock farming accounts for nearly 60% of all greenhouse gases from food production. In other words, animal-based food production contributes as much as transport does to global warming, but it also impacts biodiversity and thus is a major cause of our current path to ecological breakdown. This is seen through over-fertilization of valuable ecosystems with ammonia and phosphates; the pollution of our drinking water with nitrates, pesticides and their metabolites; and the pollution of our soils through heavy metals such as lead and cadmium.

In Switzerland, many people seem to hold the assumption that the Swiss food system plays no role in the global destruction of unique ecosystems and the climate crisis.

According to modelling by the Research Institute of Organic Agriculture (Forschungsinstitut für biologischen Landbau, FiBL), Swiss agriculture is linked to annual climate emissions equivalent to over 8.5 million tons of carbon dioxide, including feed production abroad. Of this amount, according to FiBL's calculations, animal agriculture accounts for 4.5 million tons of CO₂ equivalents.

Agricultural land covers about 400,000 hectares in Switzerland, around 40% of the country's territory. Some 75% of this agricultural land is cultivated intensively. Pasture areas, especially in alpine regions, are usually used for feeding ruminants, mainly for cattle and dairy farming, whereas poultry and pig production are usually in mass breeding facilities that use less space. However, poultry, egg and pig farming activities rely heavily on concentrated feed (high in energy and protein), which is usually soy-based. In Switzerland, 43% of arable land is used for feed production and approximately 200,000 hectares of farmland is needed for the production of feed for the Swiss livestock industry abroad. In 2020, Switzerland imported over 460,000 tons of grain as animal feed – by comparison, only around 245,000 tons of grain were imported for human consumption. In addition to cereal products, Switzerland also imports other concentrated feed, a considerable proportion of which is soy in the form of oilcake and meal. In 2021, 16.4% of all soy meal imports came from Russia. Data from 2018 shows that more than 20% of soybean oilcakes came from Russia, about 35% from Brazil, followed by smaller amounts from Italy, the Netherlands, Germany, Austria and other sources. In Switzerland, we feed wheat, oats, soy and the like to our farm animals, which in turn are consumed, while elsewhere people are starving because they can no longer afford these cereal foods.

Furthermore, animal welfare and anti-speciesism movements have revealed that mass livestock farming does exist in Switzerland, especially pig and chicken farming, which involves high volumes of mostly imported concentrated feed. In addition to the issue of animal wellbeing, there is growing concern over the close relationship between human, animal and environmental health, as it has been scientifically proven that three-quarters of new infectious diseases result from human-animal interactions. Natural ecosystem 'services' – the benefits we obtain from nature – normally have natural regulating capacities to limit disease transfer

from animals to humans, but contemporary livelihood and market patterns tend to degrade them, such as Brazilian forests being transformed into sources of fodder for cattle.

Even though this information has been communicated across a broad range of media outlets, the industries profiting from the consumption of animal products remain intact. While some societal groups may have changed their consumption patterns, most of the public continues consuming animal products. Supermarkets have added only a small section of vegan and vegetarian alternatives, dwarfed by their long aisles of refrigerated animal products.

We have exposed the truth behind the manipulative tactics practiced in animal product advertising by retailers and taxpayer-funded marketing firms. They are creating a fictitious, stereotypical world of animal product consumption, when the facts indicate clearly that this consumption is digging our own graves and those of millions of species on this planet.

As consumers and producers of food, it's time to stand united against powerful economic interests and create a world where the environment, animal life and human life can better sustain all life on Earth.



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SUMMARY

This report presents the results of an analysis of Swiss advertisements for food products derived from animals. The analysis was made through communication, visual and psychoanalytical approaches, discursive-logical analysis of argumentation and multimodal analysis. The results feature both written and visual presentations.

Six main semiospheres emerge from this study of advertisements: purported respect for the environment, focus on ancestral practices, uniqueness of Swiss identity, stereotypes, individual values, and collective values. Each draws on multi-semiotic strategies that sometimes cross the mentioned categories. The study found the following major communication strategies are used to promote the consumption of animal products:

- **Modern cinematographic methods (2.2.1), especially the creation of commercials that form a series, thereby producing a familiar, even addictive, relationship with the viewer as consumer.**
- **Strategies to distract the viewer from key issues (2.2.3 and 2.2.5), namely the origin of animal products, their manufacturing process, and philosophical, cultural and ecological issues.**
- **Humour is used to divert viewers' attention from the serious questions raised by animal product processes and to make related environmental issues seem derisory or risible (2.2.6).**
- **By silencing argumentation, advertisers make it harder for individuals to exert critical thinking (2.2.3 – 2.2.7).**
- **Frequent references to stereotypes, identity symbols and values aims to normalize consumption of animal products as a characteristic of the socially desirable groups and communities presented in the adverts (2.2.2, 2.2.7 and 2.2.8).**
- **Relationships and characteristics between humans and animals are deliberately confused (2.2.4), deceiving viewers into believing animals are treated equally to humans, while the advertising actually reinforces a human-centred system.**
- **Overall, the various advertising campaigns build a fanciful world around the consumption and production of animal products, at times drawing from myths (origin of fire, nymphs, etc.) and anchored in distant pseudo-history that leaves the real domination of animals by humans and all its negative consequences out of sight.**

The conclusions highlight the different strategies used to persuade the viewer as consumer to buy animal products. With producers presented as traditionally altruistic toward both their fellow humans and their livestock, thanks to the unique identity of Switzerland, the advertising presents a counter-argument to the anti-speciesism (Celka, 2012) discourse by concealing death, exploitation, and disrespect of living beings and the environment.



PART 1

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

The report is organised in three parts. This first presents the researchers, the corpus and the methodology for producing the analyses of Swiss advertising of animal products.

The second part presents the main results in three steps:

1. First, the main themes emerging from the whole corpus are stressed, and commented according to the way Swiss advertising of animal products treats them in general. This part presents how advertisers have constructed an imaginary and semiotic world (referred to as semiospheres¹) to address and encourage consumption of animal products.
2. Second, the main strategies used across the various semiospheres are listed. This second outlook on the same corpus examines the argumentative and persuasive processes the various advertisers have chosen for inspiring viewers towards greater consumption of animal products.
3. Third, the main differences across specific advertising agencies, brands or retailers are stressed after comparing their productions. This part brings some nuance to the previous two parts, for instance, by showing which particular strategies are used by specific advertising actors. Such differences appeared to play a minor role, prompting us to structure the report on the common features of animal product advertising and present them in specific parts.

In the third part, we provide in-depth analyses of specific series of advertisements, on which the general synthesis of the second part is based. In order to facilitate readability, part 3 does not contain all analyses or technical details, as the overall results are summed up in Section 2.

1.1. SÆNS GROUP

SÆnS is an international and interdisciplinary scientific society, constituted as a Swiss association independent from any public institution or stakeholder. The society's main mission is encouraging academic exchanges, the organisation of events and scientific and artistic research in a multidisciplinary, transdisciplinary or interdisciplinary approach in the fields of semiology, anthropology and sensibility, especially in education, in particular through the following notions: culture, interculturality, languages, arts, images, bodies, knowledge, imagination and construction of meaning, reception, understanding, interpretation and representation.

In contrast to the construction of an orthodox doctrine, the SÆnS group aims to encourage exchanges between a diversity of theoretical approaches, currents of thought and practices, in order to multiply viewpoints and articulate perspectives on common problems or objects of study.

The scholars who conducted the analysis of the animal product advertising are four interdisciplinary researchers from SÆnS, representing a diversity of personal positions on the topic and in terms of sociological variables.

The four are: two residents in Switzerland (insiders of the national cultural context), one with previous residence in other countries and one without; and two residents of another country (outsiders of the national cultural context). Two grew up in rural areas, two in urban contexts.

¹ See Section 2 for a definition.

The group is composed of two ovo-lacto-vegetarians (vegetarians who consume animal products that do not involve slaughter, such as eggs and dairy), one with previous meat consumption experience, the other without; one flexitarian (a person who is mostly vegetarian); and one with ordinary meat consumption. None has participated in activism in favour of veganism or any forms of vegetarianism. One only has occasionally engaged in political actions in favour of biodiversity and climate protection.

The group is composed of two women and two men, with a diversity of sexual preferences (such information is not irrelevant, as advertising often uses sex appeal).

The group has interdisciplinary expertise in semiology, including plastique arts, body language, anthropology, psychology, argumentation studies, linguistics and multimodal communication.

Due to this interdisciplinary diversity, the researchers used various but complementary methodologies to draw on a systemic approach.

“It seems to me that it is much more important to think things together than to specialise in one field, because specialisation in one field is always basically a loss, we cut the threads that connect beings to each other in the world, by choosing to study only some of them.”

**Philippe Descola
(Bombo Perozzi Gameiro, Dupuis &
Forte Maiolino Molento, 2020)**

1.2. RESEARCH APPROACH

The approach of this report therefore seeks to cross-reference and combine views on advertising promoting the production and consumption of Swiss animal products. It is thus multi/trans-disciplinary, in the sense given by Mitchell (2005): «Researchers work together, each from their disciplinary base, to solve a common problem.» The first precaution is to note that the dialogue between the approaches used in this report does not aim to establish a common theory. Nevertheless the analyses formulated by the researchers from several fields are not to be juxtaposed but put in relation; it is the convergences, the interstices and the gaps that are brought to light in this report. The second precaution then is to emphasise that our objective was not to silence the obstacles, but to highlight the points of convergence of our crossed analyses. We have chosen to go beyond our «incommunicabilities» between the researchers in order to keep the convergent elements. This is why we are first proposing a general synthesis, then syntheses by each advertising series. A succinct presentation of the methods of each researcher is provided in the Annex. Finally, the third precaution concerns adopting appropriate methods of empirical investigation, which avoid the preformatting of axiological statements by the researchers.

1.3. CORPUS

The corpus studied is made up of some 600 advertising video clips recently aired in Switzerland and of advertising inserts and posters. This corpus was constituted from video clips advertising animal products available on the Swiss national platform Admeira (from 2018 to 2021), and complemented by uploads of video clips and pictures by volunteers (from November 2021 to end of January 2022) following a call to participatory research launched by Greenpeace.

Data were previously classified according to the brands, retailers or stakeholders (taxpayer-funded promotions, private retailers, independent producers and private promoters)², and according to their products (meat, cheese, milk and egg). The study used the French versions of the advertising videos, as although almost all were also broadcast in Italian and German, the differences in translation were too small to be considered significant. The group examined the various advertising series within subdivisions by product.

1.4 RESEARCH METHOD

1.4.1. Group methodology

The unit of analysis is the advertising series, for example, “The Difference is (T)here” by Proviande (see 3.1.2), or the “Grilletarians” from Migros (see 3.2.8). We have made this choice for several reasons:

- An advertising series is designed to be recognisable by using a logo, slogan, and repeated features, for the sake of a more pervasive message.
- All video clips and images in any of the particular series have a lot in common in terms of structure, scenario, staging, discourse, which would make a single analysis of each clip/image redundant.
- An advertising series has a critical mass impact on the audience, and its effects on potential customers go beyond anecdotic comments on the particularities of a single image or video clip, each clip being short in terms of TV advertising (generally 7 to 14 seconds).
- Companies most likely design their product advertising on the level of a series: for instance, images are often published that recall the content of a video clip. The constitution of a series is also a communication strategy in itself, supporting brand recognition (see 2.2.1).

For the majority of the advertising series, blind analyses were made by each of the four researchers with various theoretical perspectives of their choice, and were cross-checked and discussed before producing collaboratively each synthesis presented in the report. Detailed analyses are available to Greenpeace Switzerland and provided on demand. The aim of this procedure is to provide the report with only the most robust results, established through the lenses of several perspectives on the same object of study, namely, the advertising series.

² In this report, we have chosen to focus on the first two categories: taxpayer-funded promoters, and private retailers.

1.4.2. Individual methodologies

The perspectives adopted by each researcher are included in the report's Annex, for reasons of space. All results presented in part 3 proceed from these individual analyses being combined, which allowed us to stress what appeared repeatedly across the individual analyses, and dismiss the very occasional divergences.

The four perspectives adopted are:

1. a visual and psychoanalytical approach;
2. a discursive-logical analysis of argumentation;
3. a multimodal analysis;
4. an anthroposemiotic (human communication) approach.

Please refer to the Annex for more information and examples of individual analyses.

1.4.3. Images in the report

All images or video clip extracts presented in the report are reproduced as citations for readers. The synthesis and conclusion of the report rests on detailed analyses including entire video clips or pictures and slogans. The selection of images was made after the analysis, based on the main themes and issues stressed in the general synthesis (see the titles of part 2). For instance, a particular freeze-frame (such as the images of fire in 2.1.2) was chosen in relation to the stressed issue (here, the importance of fire), which means there are potentially many more images that could be taken as citations for this point. Moreover, the analyses always took the entire duration of the video clips into consideration. Videos can be screened with the according number on the website of Admeira.



PART 2

GENERAL SYNTHESIS

This part groups the general features emerging from animal product advertising in Switzerland, regardless of the advertisers (taxpayer-funded marketing firms or private retailers) or the types of products (meat, milk, eggs, dairy, cheese). When differences are noticed, they are mentioned directly where the comment is made, and in Section 2.3.

2.1. SEMIOSPHERES (DESCRIPTIVE)

The semiosphere represents one of the key elements of the semiotics of culture and anthroposemiotics. Lotman (1989) and later Pier (2018) both observed that in order for a scheme that brings together a sender, a receiver and a channel to become concrete and work „it must be immersed in a semiotic space. All participants in the act of communication must have some experience of it, be familiar with semiosis. Thus, paradoxically, the semiotic experience precedes the semiotic act,” (Lotman, 1989, p.4). The concept of the semiosphere, which is used to understand the anchoring of marketing discourse, makes it possible to grasp that meaning, before being in the message, is in the system in which the discourse is situated, and without which the production of meaning does not exist. The advertising message is therefore no longer a series of enunciative elements but a cultural unit, feeding and cultivating its own imagery.

2.1.1. Relation to environment

Human origins

Anthropologically, the relationship to the environment depends on the status that the culture attributes to it. Judeo-Christian culture, which is dominant in Switzerland and omnipresent in the advertising examined in this report, refers to a natural world that is to be dominated and enslaved by humans.

Thus, the god of the three monotheistic religions, at the creation of the first man and woman, says to them: „Be fruitful, multiply, fill the earth and subdue it; and have dominion over the fish of the sea, over the birds of the air, and over every animal that moves on the earth,” (Genesis 1.28).

In his 2017 book *Facing Gaia: Eight Lectures on the New Climatic Regime*, Bruno Latour argues that Western insensitivity to ecology has two theological foundations (chapter 6):

- Christianity and its rejection of matter, which is said to have shaped a part of modern thinking for which knowledge takes precedence over the physical world, relegating the (natural) environment to the background;
- the notion of apocalypse, which would be both a cause of the renunciation of saving the world and the essential feeling for getting out of the current insensitivity.

Taking up Descola's classifications (2005), the ontological system most likely to make us sensitive to the environment is that of animism, which lends a spiritual existence to everything that exists. At the opposite end of the spectrum from our naturalist system, which places humans above all else, animist peoples are also those who have been the most violated. Ecology is therefore impossible without an awareness based on scientific knowledge, and can only become behavioural and therefore sustainable by examining the implicit content of belief, and therefore also the function of the sacred.

2.1.2. Fire

The symbolism of fire is omnipresent in the various series of advertisements by private retailers (Coop, see 3.2.4; Bell, see 3.2.5; Migros, see 3.2.8). The story is based on the myth of fire as a major criterion of human achievement, the domestication of fire marks the origin of humanity, giving humans the possibility to cook their food and to domesticate nature. Moreover, the symbol of fire is rich in ambiguities. It has a double meaning and occupies a place of choice in the human imagination. On the one hand, fire is synonymous with warmth (heat, home, sex, food); on the other, it has a mystical side (purification, power, destruction). Moreover, the acquisition of fire is associated with superior intellectual faculties and the creation of a space and time specific to the human species. Fire is the element that transforms the situation. It is depicted in the series in multiple forms, highlighting different qualities. Indeed, all the ambiguity of this element is developed according to the situations: fire is synonymous with power, conquest, heat, comfort, sexual impulse, etc. It is a founding element of a new way of life and of a masculine society. Simultaneously a sign of destruction and creation, this symbol also emphasises scientific advances (electricity, gas, modern cooking) from humans' domestication of nature (campfire, flames). For humans, fire is the mark of their resemblance with the divine. Thus, by his mastery of fire, man (it is invariably a man in the legends and even modern marketing) can act as he wishes whatever the environment. He is represented as superior to nature and master of his destiny. He can annihilate a city or provide the joy of meals for family or friends, or feed the fires of love (see, for instance, 3.2.8). Fire is also a symbol of masculinity and virility. In the retailers' series, man has a direct relation with fire in the act of cooking. He possesses the fire and feeds the others. In the short versions of the adverts (Coop, Admeira No. 914771), we go to the essential: fire and man. These series suggest through various scenes that meat is the most desirable food, and that cooking meat over fire is a timeless human practice. The question of desire is associated with the consumption of meat. Indeed, in the series, fire is indirectly associated with the consumption of meat without it ever being stated (see Figure 1). The metaphorical semiotic combination provoked in the viewer is that the consumption of meat defines us as a species in the same way that the mastery of fire has redefined our living spaces, our relationships, our consumption patterns, and developed our intelligence to make us a superior species.



Bell, Admeira, No. 906568 (1").



Coop-Fleisch, Admeira, No. 914791 (5").



Bell, Admeira, No. 1615650 (2").



Bell, Admeira, No. 1615650 (3").



Bell, Admeira, No. 1615649 (25").



Bell, Admeira, No. 1615649 (33").



Coop, Admeira, No. 1614478 (0").



Coop, Admeira, No. 1614478 (10").



Coop, Admeira, No. 1614478 (24").



Coop, Admeira, No. 1614478 (22").



Proviande, Admeira No. 1087891 (3").



Coop, Admeira, No. 1663885 (4").



Coop, Admeira, No. 1000992 (15").



Coop, Admeira, No. 1663883 (6")

Figure 1. Advertisement stills depicting fire.

Nature is systematically defined by three colours: brown, green and blue. These colours represent the stereotypical Swiss landscape. Often, the advertisements use a red or pink tone in counterpoint, usually for the clothing of women, the raw meat or the cooking utensil. The Swiss landscape is featured in many of the commercials, as if to suggest nature is reducible to a mountainous vista of green and brown under the blue sky. Of course, it is no surprise that ads promoting Swiss products should use local landscapes and locations, yet the barbecue meat advertised by the private retailers is not necessarily from Switzerland. Moreover, a feeling of confinement emerges from a country so closed in on itself, and from not taking into account the fact that biodiversity is reduced on the Swiss slopes. It is as if the Swiss people and nation are autonomous, working in a vacuum, and consequently to the exclusion of other peoples and countries. This is not without its problems in view of scientific analyses involving ecosystems on a global scale.

2.1.3. Swiss identity

Almost all of the advertising analysed in this report associates the consumption of the advertised products with a national identity dimension, as if saying: «To consume these products is to be Swiss.» Switzerland, by virtue of its history, culture, geographical position, size and political relations with the European Union, cultivates a strong sense of national identity at the political, legal and cultural levels. By officially recognising four «linguistic communities», the country has built itself around the idea of a plural nation. To transcend linguistic, cultural and religious particularities, national cohesion depends on politics. To be Swiss is therefore first and foremost to be a Swiss citizen and to participate in political decisions through the system of direct democracy. These fundamental citizenship rights are linked to the conception of parentage in Switzerland, as Swissness depends on origin and not on place of birth. This original conception of belonging, on the basis of which political rights are attributed, partly explains why the non-native of Switzerland, the foreigner, is not part of the collective imagination. Thus, the non-native Swiss are kept in the status of foreigner by systematically reducing them to their origin, even if they were born in Switzerland and their family has been there for generations.

Mobilising “Swiss origin” in advertising means mobilising both the fear of the other and the indispensable need to belong in view of the plurality of the nation.

2.1.4. Stereotypes

In most of the video clips analysed, arguments are based on the idea that the world is stereotyped. These over-simplifying categorisations of individuals and society are found at different levels:

- presentation of man and woman;
- minorities of colour;
- physical appearances.

Concerning the way men and women are presented, it appears that a binary world is projected, where work, abilities, pleasure, consumption, and tastes are clearly dichotomised. The man is presented as stereotyped except in the series “the Grilletarians” (Migros, see 3.2.8), which shows the man with more nuances. Masculine attributes are present: cars (idem) and soccer, the premier masculine sport, in the milk series “Lovely” (Swissmilk, see 3.1.5), meat advertising (Coop, see 3.2.4), and in other series. Thus, the advertisements give pride of place to a stereotyped figure of man.

Women are depicted as vegetarians (Coop, 3.2.4) and cheese-eaters (Swissmilk, see 3.1.5, Migros, see 3.2.6), while the advertisements frequently present a male gender stereotype which associates the preparation and consumption of meat (see Figure 2) with strength, war, courage, virility and victory (Bell, 3.2.5). Moreover, even the preparation of cheese is presented as a manly responsibility, in particular for fondue (Coop, 3.2.1).



Figure 2. Only one woman per seven men in charge at the grill. Coop, Admeira No. 1092891 (summary at 24”).

The woman is even presented as an object of prey (see Figure 3 below, the opening image in a video by Proviande with a thriller film atmosphere). The first image of the advertisement shows a woman in a confined and dark space, whereas the advertisements presenting a male producer systematically start with an outside view and a majestic landscape.



Figure 3. Proviande, Admeira No. 1063500 (first shot 0'00").

There is a continuation of a patriarchal civilisation based on conquest and violence, yet the ecological issue is systemic and these commercials only reinforce the existing system, which is no longer viable in a finite world of industrialization and modernity.

The fictions implemented include mythic portrayals of women (see Figure 4): a nourishing mother (Swissmilk, "Sarina" see 3.1.5), a nymph (Swissmilk, "Sarina" see 3.1.5), a fairy (Migros, see 3.2.6), Eve (Coop, see 3.2.3) and a witch (Bell, see 3.2.5). We almost never see, except on rare occasions (Proviande, Admeira No. 938284), the characteristics of the independent and conquering woman of action.



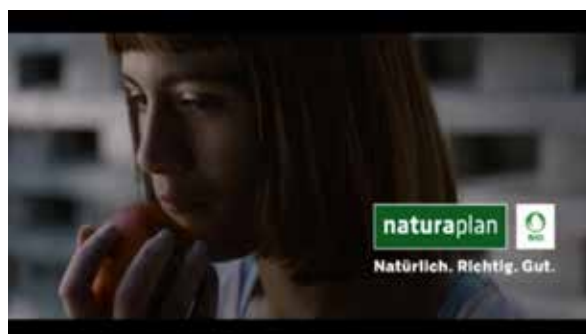
The nymph, Swissmilk, Admeira No. 1085829 (00").



The witch, Bell, Admeira No. 1615649 (23").



The witch, Bell, Admeira No. 1615649 (11").



Eve, Coop, Admeira No. 841022 (40").

Figure 4. Women portrayed as mythic figures.

Stereotypes depict not only men and women, but also minorities. If the onscreen presence of diversity may be saluted, since it represents the actual Swiss population, such rather uncommon appearances in the advertisements are unfortunately bound to prejudice. Let us take the two most promising examples: the Swiss-German comedian Charles Nguela, in the “Lovely” series (for a detailed analysis check Swissmilk, see 3.1.5) and the Swiss-German rapper Didi Karaman, in the series “Darko” (Coop, see 3.2.4). Not only is Nguela ridiculed by a cow in one scenario, he also appears in problematic scenes (see Figure 5), with an abnormally shaped carrot, or having his skin colour played with to mirror the Holstein black and white cow, or is presented as a modern “working slave” – and the only one ever shown in this role in all the video clips that were analysed.

“Darko” is to be identified as “a foreigner” or “second generation immigrant”³ by his appearance or his mother tongue, speaking a foreign language to his grandmother for a few seconds (Admeira No. 1000992). One of the advertising scenarios makes him a liar: after providing meat for barbecues of his male friends, he tells a group of women presented as friends of his flatmate that “meat is not quite my thing,” in order to fit into the group. Such a scenario reinforces existing prejudice towards so-called “foreigners”: they have no opinions of their own, they are unreliable or even liars, they would do anything to fit in and be integrated into Switzerland. Moreover, vegetarians – another minority – are caricatured in the same clip, presented entirely as thin young women, easily seduced by a man claiming to be uninterested in meat. Hence, far from an inclusive diversity, the appearance of minorities is problematic, riffing on pre-existing stereotypes and reinforcing them.



Carrot caper, Coop, Admeira No. 1114491 (15" and 17").



Vegetarians, Coop, Admeira No. 1000992 (23").



Swissmilk, Admeira No. 1171201 (16").



Swissmilk, Admeira No. 1075621 (15").

Figure 5. Problematic appearances of minorities.

³ In Switzerland, many so-called “foreigners” were actually born in Switzerland (see Section 2.1.3).

Stereotypical references also concern physical appearance, supporting the construction of a social norm: most characters appearing on screen are slim, even thin. Almost no series shows overweight people, except for some mature or potbellied men (Coop, see 3.2.1 and 3.2.4 for the butcher “Armin”). A slightly overweight man appears to be able to hold the balance between the consumption of food and the stereotypical physical appearance, thus promoting identification with the viewer. If physical stereotypes are deconstructed (for example, in the Coop series on cheese, see 3.2.1), it is almost a counter-stereotype we are left with: an overweight man is shown eating vegetables and a thin woman is eating bacon. The promotion of diversity clashes with a stereotyped discourse, paradoxically supporting the existence of stereotypes with a precise contradiction.

A recent report by the Swiss Federal Office of Statistics (OFS) found that: “In most households, the main responsibility for housework and childcare lies with women. Household tasks are mainly performed by women in almost two thirds of couple households (63%) where both partners are aged between 25 and 54,” (OFS, 2017, p.39). Similarly, “almost half (49%) of women and men with a child under 4 years old live in a full-time male, part-time female pattern,” (idem, p.94).

It therefore comes almost as no surprise that this “classic” family is frequently represented in advertisements where the members are defined according to stereotyped patterns. This is common in taxpayer-funded advertisements and those by private retailers: except in some rare video clips where same-sex couples are shown (Coop, see 3.2.4), the families are mostly heterosexual and non-mixed couples, with children and possibly animals. This is exemplified in the following screenshot from Proviande (Admeira No. 1026878): the woman holds the youngest child, while the man appears ready to go to work, and the two young boys are presented as the next generation of farmers, already looking after the farm animals. Their postures echo that of their mother and draw a parallel with her loving and caring attitude (see Figure 6).



Figure 6. Proviande, Admeira No. 1026878.

If we pay close attention to the body language, we notice the two female characters are depicted as physically fragile and dependent persons: (a) even though the baby girl looks old enough to stand on her two feet, her mother holds her in her arms; (b) contrary to her husband who stands strong and firm, the woman looks slightly unbalanced, her body leaning on her husband. True, this inter-individual distance could symbolise loving support and parenthood. Yet, without his support, the woman could almost be falling, or at least unstable.

The child is regularly shown in alternating shots with those of the animal or the product of animal origin. It is presented in order to signify the future; it is a calm, joyful and helpful child. It makes it possible to register the sold products in a genealogy and a transmission (in particular that of the value of work since in one advertisement, the children contribute to the family effort by helping, working on Sunday). Similarly, the figure of the grandfather is a guarantor of tradition and its transmission (Coop, see 3.2.1; Bell, see 3.2.5).

2.1.5. Conveyed values

The advertisements studied represent characters with undeniable qualities (freedom, honesty, serenity), who express or demonstrate positive human values (respect, empathy, cooperation, love) in their attitudes. Ethical commitments are exposed more or less frontally – from respect for animals to participation in recycling – they are made by the brands or characters. Moreover, the positive actions are all carried out in joy or serenity. Adverts focusing on sustainable programmes (Proviande, see 3.1.2; ROEL, see 3.1.4; Coop, see 3.2.2 and 3.2.3) accentuate these values towards respect for animals and the environment, while private retailers stress staff helpfulness, reliability and know-how (Coop, see 3.2.4; Migros, see 3.2.7; Aldi and Lidl). Thus, all the advertising series put forward positive human values (respect, consideration, empathy, affection). In absolute terms, these values allow us to put into practice ethical values (such as refusal of violence, justice) and contribute to the respect of biodiversity and ecology.

Moreover, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) established by the United Nations aim to respond to global challenges, such as ecological crises. These goals are interdependent, even if they each have their own targets. Some are closely related to the concerns of citizens and brands promoting the production and consumption of animal products, for instance: «SDG 13: take urgent action to combat climate change,» «SDG 5: gender equality, ending all discrimination against women and girls,» and «SDG 8: decent work and economic growth.» These goals cannot be achieved if positive human values are neglected. Thus, by highlighting positive human attitudes and feelings, these advertisements play on the values necessary for their achievement. However, this signalling of positive values does not seem to take into account the inequalities and difficulties encountered in society, such as the inequality between men and women or the arduousness of certain jobs. The positive values shown tend to legitimise an ethic and the filmic scenarios remove any element that would not participate in this virtuous attitude. It appears that it would be sufficient to express positive values for the ecological problems to be solved, leaving totally out of sight the alternative ways of living such as veganism, as well as the real issues and challenges (environmental impact in Switzerland and worldwide, animal slaughtering, health issues, water pollution, separating calves from their mothers, fattening chickens for meat production, soy imports impacting rainforests). Triggering attachment to values without proper action to realise their goals, inviting consumers to continue as ever in a status quo, may contribute to diminishing the meaning of such values, rather than moving towards the SDGs.

In a similar fashion, these advertisements feature archetypal characters that reinforce inequalities and prejudices, when they are not implicitly sexist or racist (see for instance 3.1.5, 3.1.6, 3.2.1, 3.2.4, 3.2.5, 3.2.8), while occasionally pretending to be above such stereotypes, or to display an inclusive diversity. Here, the aim is also to conserve the status quo of consuming animal products, regardless of what it would take to fit to the values conveyed in the advertising series.

2.2. COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

This section lists the various methods used by advertisers to influence their audience, across the various semiospheres. As advertising is not a discourse aiming at informing, but rather at inciting to action (such as buying a product) or think a specific way (Charaudeau, 2009), such strategies are potentially manipulative. Charaudeau does not consider that “all discourse of influence should be considered manipulative, including the negative connotation usually attached to this term,” (Charaudeau, 2009, p.8). Hence, advertising is not necessarily manipulative, despite a contract of communication resembling “half a mug’s game in which everyone knows that the [incitation] to make believe is only a make believe that would wish to become a must believe”. For Charaudeau, communication that incites is considered manipulative, notably when it “does not reveal the project of realisation and covers it up by another project presented as favourable to the manipulated [audience]” (Charaudeau, 2009).

As seducing or persuading an audience does not necessarily include manipulation, neither does advertising. It depends ultimately on the rhetorical appeals and influence processes used. While persuading viewers about the qualities or functionalities of an advertised product is part of the communication contract in the realm of advertising, other strategies may deceive the audience, such as rhetoric crafted to mask the actual advertising (Charaudeau, 2009), either based on ethos (establishing credibility) or on pathos (touching emotions or sentiments), storytelling (see Greimas, Charaudeau, 2009) and communication processes such as implicature (Grice, 1979) and illocutionary effects of indirect acts. Charaudeau continues: “These different strategies are accompanied by formal processes of simplification and repetition: simplification through the use of pictorial formulas, slogans which have the effect of ‘essentializing’ claims, transforming them into stereotypes and becoming a support for identification or appropriation,” (Charaudeau, 2009, p.9).

Advertising can also be approached as a process of social influence, as studied by social psychologists for decades (Butera & Mugny, 2001; Mugny, Falomir & Quiamzade, 2017). Studies have shown, for instance, the struggle for influence between healthcare campaigns and advertising by the tobacco industry (Falomir & Mugny, 2004, Falomir-Pichastor, Gabarrot & Mugny, 2009). Broadly defined as an attempt to change someone’s else behaviour through communication, influence processes can be done in various ways. Public service announcements, such as messages in healthcare campaigns, generally rely on straightforward strategies based on explicit argumentation. Conversely, the corpus analysed for this report hardly ever attempted direct influence through provision of relevant and valid information on the actual products and the specific consequences of their consumption (environmental impact in Switzerland and worldwide, animal slaughtering, health issues, water pollution), except for the few adverts providing information about high-end products.

Social influence can be exerted indirectly through social representations (Mugny; Quiamzade & Tafani, 2001), that is, the common sense knowledge about a topic. Hence, this report also tackles the way common sense knowledge about animal products is shaped and influenced by advertising, since such social representations in turn influence consumers’ behaviour and beliefs. When advertising targets social representations, stereotypes or myths, it triggers social processes such as social identity, in-group or out-group bias, identity threat, recognition through sharing values, conformism and normalisation, or even the construction of new norms. Yet, broadly speaking, such indirect influence processes are known for provoking various critical issues, such as discrimination, racism, group exclusion, harassment. (Moscovici, 1984/1998). Moreover, advertising based on such indirect influence processes “does not reveal the project of realisation and covers it up by another project,” to quote Charaudeau’s definition of manipulation.

Consideration of the social influence exerted by advertising raises a question about the various strategies used by advertisers in this corpus: How is the Swiss population influenced through advertising to consume animal products? This section shows the main strategies used by animal product advertisers in the corpus.

2.2.1. Series strategy

The advertising examined here comprises two types: one based cinematographic formatting and the other on poster advertising format.

The first tangible element is the creation of serialised advertising spots, an editorial choice shared by both taxpayer-funded firms and private retailers, which has a definite advantage but also a pitfall. Since the 1940s in the United States, the television series has gradually imposed itself on Europe. In recent years, we have witnessed an increase in the number of series broadcast on TV and via the internet. The series is a widely broadcast format, with which the viewer is familiar and quickly becomes addicted. Having long been denigrated as lowbrow entertainment, television series are now gaining prestige by adding artistic quality to popular TV entertainment.

A typical TV series involves the production of episodes of an equivalent duration, which makes sense in global production. In the field of advertising, episodes do not constitute a global narrative but allow the same discourse to be repeated with variations (characters, objects). In the various advertising series promoting animal products (meat, eggs, milk, dairy), studied for this report, we witnessed a distribution of the general discourse consisting of praising the production and consumption of raw or packaged Swiss meat products.

Theoretically and formally, the series are articulated not only among themselves but also within each series, and even from one private retailer to another, which raises the possibility the firms may have agreed to some sort of similar video format, whatever the product. The theoretical discourse is unique: it aims to encourage the consumption and thus the purchase of animal products and tries to be part of an eco-responsible practice, respectful of the environment.

To this end, several formal levers are deployed. Some advertisements are based on outdated standards, others use complex cinematographic techniques. Before undertaking an analysis of each of the series, we would like to question the formal process of the series: in what way does it serve the discourse of the sponsors?

Advertising has the characteristic of being broadcast in a repetitive way in a relatively short time; it aims at inciting to purchase. The serialisation accentuates this device by gaining proximity with the viewer (Damour, 2015). In effect, the story (here, the narrative) with various threads, the setting of ordinary characters, the decor or familiar landscape, all allow the viewer to feel involved. Several genres are developed in order to reach all audiences: comedy, drama, fantasy, adventure (everyday heroes), war or combat, youth, etc. Thus, the series allows advertisers to touch each consumer, to involve them in the discourse by appealing to tradition, as well as highly humanistic and positive shared values. The proximity with the «ordinary» citizen is accentuated by episodes of series telling touching or funny stories, featuring «classic» families (heterosexual parents with several children, presence of grandparents). Nevertheless, the cinematographic quality of the spots like the one implemented in the Proviande series has the advantage of combining the individual pseudo-documentary story with a fictional formalisation that seduces the viewer.

The editing of the spots responds to a temporal advertising necessity (from 12 to 50 seconds, on average 30 seconds) which accounts for the rapid and regular image transitions.⁴ Added to this strategy, soft or understated soundtracks contribute to the making of a specific genre (fantasy, adventure, comic). Making a series also allows reusing parts of video clips, or producing spots of various lengths.

Moreover, the series, by its infinite cycle, seems to establish a climate of confidence that relies on a repetition of the same, on a perennial unchanged, on an existing and enduring way of life. However, climate change dramatically reminds us how much such intensive production and consumption of animal products is actually not enduring, be the products from Switzerland or elsewhere.

⁴ This supports specific communication strategies (see, for instance, 2.1.4, 2.2.3, 2.2.4, 2.2.7, 2.2.8).

2.2.2. Proximity strategy

A sense of proximity is used to attract consumers to the advertised products. Hence, intimacy is a major feeling that one gets from viewing the video clips. The people are often shown as physically and emotionally close to their livestock, in a relationship that is almost intimate and personal. Farmers speak fondly of their animals, calves and chickens are patted and cuddled. Often, storylines refer to a long interactional history between the viewer (consumer) and the producer. Such narratives aim to generate trust and confidence, while soft colours depict atmospheres with an intimate connotation, especially in clips shot at dawn. If not with words or colours, the feeling of intimacy is produced by the way various clips are shot: close-ups of the people or the animals, so near that the viewer almost feels like they could be touching or smelling them.

Even though this intimacy is part of the narrative, it seems important that the viewers understand they are not automatically included. The viewers are even momentarily and partially excluded either gesturally (see the gestural deictics in video clips Admeira No. 938285 and No. 1026878) or linguistically (use of pronouns). There is, however, a need to make this reality desirable and accessible. Hence the videos build up a sense of community that makes the viewer understand that they too can be part of this large and beautiful family, and all they have to do is eat meat, cheese or drink milk. The absorption of these products allows them to ingest their values, as if to say: «We are what we eat.»

2.2.3. Spatio-temporal gap strategy

There are some aspects of the production process that need not be shown. Indeed, they have to be almost made invisible to the consumer's eyes. Hence the use of at least two strategies to divert the attention of the viewers from the origins of the products. The narrative ellipse is one way of subtly going from the field to the plate.

The products touted in the spots studied are presented in their places of production (fields/animals, sausage curing chamber), the production is shown (care in the cowshed, a machine that churns the milk), in the stores (supermarket, butcher's shop) and on the plate. This corresponds to the intentions of the companies: to show the product from its place of production to the plate. But there is an important gap between the two. Time and space are atomized, in fact they do not exist between the field, the meadow and the plate. From one series to the next, there is concealment of the slaughter of the animal or the extraction of its milk. This makes it possible to keep at a distance, situations that are sometimes difficult to understand. «The conditions of industrial production of meat are such that it has been completely separated from the living body of the animal,» (Bombo Perozzi Gameiro, Dupuis & Forte Maiolino Molento, 2020), at least placing a modest veil over an issue that is a source of debate and concern for the consumer.

This elliptical strategy also appears in the way advertisers regularly refer to agricultural and meat work, which are never actually shown. This somehow gives a harmless coloration of the project, the antithesis of an undesirable representation of meat as a serious subject (about animal welfare, mistreatment and slaughter).

Likewise, most adverts do not explicitly address the product; they instead divert attention onto something else (appealing prices, partying together, a family feeling). This technique of misdirection is used by magicians and illusionists to prevent the audience from seeing how a trick is done. In the corpus, there are some exceptions to this strategy, although the adverts seem to focus more on the product if it is high-end, such as in sustainable agriculture programmes.

Considering these tactics, it was noticed the advertising often focused on something else than the actual argument in favour of buying, in particular with products of poor quality or problematic origin. At the other extreme, advertising of Naturaplan organic products, or premium small-brand meats (e.g., Ticinella) display the actual living place of the animals, or even the production process. These are also more visible for advertising top-line cheese or dairy products (Coop Naturaplan, see 3.2.3) and practically absent in the meat advertisements (with a

few exceptions, such as Proviande Admeira No. 1026875, or Ticinella and Rapelli flagship products). In sum, it seems that the more the advertising is implicit, and the more the focus is away from the product and its origin (the animal, its living condition and production), the more doubtful the product and its production process.

2.2.4. Confusion of worlds

Several series, from both taxpayer-funded firms and retailers, explicitly implement an amalgam between species (see Figure 7). Firstly, we witness an exacerbated anthropocentrism of animals, in particular the cow, which is anthropomorphized in both the discourse and the visual representations (Proviande, see 3.1.2; Swissmilk, see 3.1.5; Coop, see 3.2.3; Migros, see 3.2.6 and 3.2.8). Moreover, the series construct their advertisements by creating a visual relationship between the animal and the child, or between the woman and the animal. If in the first case the animal is presented as a member of the family (in the Proviande series in particular), it is pampered, loved and cuddled like a child; in the second case, the woman is compared to meat. Secondly, a confusion is established between the worlds: thus the vegetable world is «animalized» and the animal world is «vegetablized», as exemplified by these elements of discourse: «vegetable fillets» (“the Grilletarians,” Migros, see 3.2.8) or «meat grows in the chicken house,» (“the Staubs,” Proviande, see 3.1.2).



Coop, Admeira No. 1653799 (12”).



Proviande, Admeira No. 1076884 (15”).



Proviande, Admeira No. 1063503 (23”).

Figure 7. Symbolic hybridizations.

We are witnessing a levelling, a staging of confusions of species that encourages us to believe that everything is equal. On the one hand, the series highlights the powerful, conquering and regulating man of nature; while on the other hand, scientific studies have shown that animal and vegetable production do not imply the same consumption of resources (such as the quantity of water needed for a steak or for a vegetable). These stratagems thus tend to make us believe that the sponsors of the advertising series take special care of the «living world» without discrimination, yet they actually reinforce a human-centric position «which generally dominates our apprehension of the world» (Bombo Perozzi Gameiro, Dupuis & Forte Maiolino Molento, 2020) and emphasises the power, superiority and conquest of humans over nature.

Is the intention of this confusion to draw attention away from the fight for animal rights?

2.2.5. Focus displacement strategy

Animal product ads often focus on value and identity characteristics, with an emphasis on social diversity (particularly developed by Coop and Migros, see 3.2.1, 3.2.4, 3.2.7 and 3.2.8). This diverts attention from the products, transforming their consumption into cultural activities, ways of living, habits of specific people, values and identity. Since contradicting values is much more difficult than arguing about the qualities of a product, and opposing identity is practically impossible, such a strategy of attention diversion efficiently prevents any debate on meat or animal product consumption. It contributes to building a social representation of intensive consumption as normal and unquestionable.

Practically all adverts leave their claim implicit, on the reasons for buying meat, cheese, eggs or dairy products. A few exceptions exist, exclusively in the series supporting the sustainable programme, and providing numbers or facts (e.g. RELO, see 3.1.4, Coop, see 3.2.2 and 3.2.3). Yet, even in this case, the explicit argumentation is rather on the reason why Swiss animal products are preferable to other animal products, rather than on the reason for buying them.

Implicit claims are more difficult to oppose by the audience⁵, since it requires an in-depth analysis to reconstruct the argumentation proposed by the advertiser, before the potential customer can actually produce their own reasoning about it. Consequently, most messages are remembered by the audience without conscious analysis of the information, which leads to unconscious influence on their social representation, identity, values and needs. Moreover, video advertising allows the conveyance, through images, atmospheres and storytelling, various implicit meanings, associations of ideas, and aforementioned social representations, identity and values. A few illustrations of such communication strategies are provided here, without aiming at any completeness.

⁵ Research indicates the tendency of the unconscious mind to make associations can significantly influence decision-making processes. For more details, see Augusto (2010).

2.2.6. Humour strategy

Along with the tactic of misdirection, another clever strategy frequently used by most advertisers is a contest relying on the following repetitive format: «a statement» + «a challenge» = “a possible win,” (RELO, see 3.1.4). It brings a humorous and familiar atmosphere to make the subject lighter, even anecdotal.

Humour helps to exclude the disturbing dimensions of the production processes of milk, cheese and meat. The burlesque coloration of some advertising series works in the same way as poetry (Bergson, 1900). While analysing the mechanics of humour, the French philosopher showed how humour and poetic techniques would sometimes overlap to lull people’s attention to better prepare their imagination to submissively welcome the suggested vision.⁶ Furthermore, by using these comic devices, advertisers prompt consumers to focus on the formal aspects of the ad and divert their attention from the content of the message. The use of various humoristic methods (see Figure 8) not only diverts attention, it also facilitates suspension of disbelief. Thanks to this method, viewers are made gullible enough to grasp the fictional world that is being created around a product. By making us laugh, grotesque characters, like the scapegoat or the amusing comedian, who happens to be a person of color⁷, whose laughable and exaggerated scream and mimicry contribute to this suspension of disbelief.



Proviande, Admeira No. 900492 (6”).



Swissmilk, Admeira No. 999969 (2”).



Swissmilk, Admeira No. 1171201 (17”).

Figure 8. Comedic devices.

This burlesque procedure is all the more noticeable as it clashes with the seriousness of the actual ecological issues that end up brushed aside. Worse, it indeed contaminates the ecological and anti-speciesism critique with burlesque, making the implicit message that this critique is laughable.

As a communication strategy, humour also pretends to engage the audience in another project, that is. entertaining the viewers, rather than in the project really pursued, which is to promote Swiss animal products.

⁶ Our translation of “à recevoir docilement la vision suggérée” (Bergson, 1900, p.33).

⁷ The character’s skin colour would not have been an issue, had it not recalled the use of Black people as comic characters in popular culture from the late 19th century (Lemons, 1977). More could be said about this character that would confirm this analysis: he is the only one who is shown dancing, sleeping or in his underwear. He is also the only one “humorously” screaming out of fear (Huber, 1995).

2.2.7. Decoy strategy

Another implicit argument running across most of the adverts is the easiness of cooking: quick access to a nice and often substantial meal is an attractive feature motivating consumers to choose animal products in the shop, rather than some other food that may take longer to prepare. Figure 9 shows some examples. Of course, the motion in video clips conveys the easiness more efficiently than the still images, notably by suggesting a short preparation time.



GalloSuisse, Admeira No. 941653 (1").



GalloSuisse, Admeira No. 941679 (1").



Swiss Cheese marketing, Admeira No. 944670 (3").



Swissmilk products, Admeira No. 1075621 (24").



Proviande, Admeira No. 667113 (24").



Coop, Admeira No. 1614478 (0").



Migros, Admeira No. 1002949 (5").



Migros, Admeira No. 1002949 (12").

Figure 9. Stills of action suggesting quick and easy meal preparation.

In the series, context is also used for evoking the idea of easiness: eating while working, children on their own. In other images, the “tsch, tsch” slogan is used as an onomatopoeia for the quickness of frying meat on each side, or cooking is summed up as a man sprinkling herbs on a piece of meat.

This implicit claim of easiness appeals to people’s natural inclination toward laziness – every living organism has a tendency to preserve its own energy – for the sake of selling animal products, whereas cooking meat actually takes more time, effort and expertise than boiling lentils or other vegan options. Moreover, advertisers probably know it, as indicated in the Proviande strategy for a cooking app (see 3.1.1) – the only advertising series where meat is not simply grilled – or the focus of private retailers’ campaigns on fast-cooking animal products, such as meat for a barbecue, or fondue and raclette. Egg advertising also typically focuses on such easiness (see 3.1.3). It seems this is a deliberate decoy.

2.2.8. Sex appeal strategy

Many symbols of the dominant male’s sexuality are present in the advertisements (see Figure 10): phallic symbols (sausages, barbecue tongs, knives), natural elements supporting sexual arousal (fire), movements like running or precipitation in reference to an irrepressible desire for meat, and sounds of pleasure or satisfaction (Bell, see 3.2.5).



Migros, Admeira No. 916698 (23”).



Coop, Admeira No. 1114491 (17”).



Coop, Admeira No. 1090466 (30”).

Figure 10. Elements evoking sexual arousal or satisfaction.

The woman is revealed as sexual object, reduced to consumable flesh, in particular with montages that establish parallel shots between the woman, respectively even a child, and the meat (Proviande, see 3.1.2; Bell, see 3.2.5; Migros, see 3.2.8). Figure 11 presents three pairs of such associations, suggested with cinematographic shots succeeding each other in the same clip.



Bell, Admeira No. 1615649 (27" and 28").



Migros, Admeira No. 916698 (15").



The colour pink is associated meat and women, Proviande, Admeira No. 1063500.

Figure 11. Orchestrated association between women and meat.

2.3. COMPARISON AMONG ADVERTISING GROUPS

2.3.1. Common features of all types of advertising of animal products

Some of the advertisements make implicit references to the concerns of ecological or animal rights activists, such as intensive breeding, meat consumption and polluting activities. The purpose of these implicit references is to turn such concerns upside down, counter them, or even turn them to the advantage of the advertiser (thus, to consume Swiss milk or meat is to respect nature).

The advertising strategy is based on the enthymeme, a form of reasoning in which the syllogism is reduced to two terms, the antecedent and the consequent. Indeed, we witness the ellipsis of the disturbing moments. The aim seems to be to direct the gaze towards something other than the problem posed by the intermediate phase (that of milk production, slaughtering, the arduousness of work).

Moreover a strategy of seduction is deployed according to various stratagems, either by ridiculing the subject (see for instance the SRPA/RELO series), or by magnifying it (heroizing the farmer), or by simplifying it (by connecting joy to an ecological action).

2.3.2. Specificities per product type: meat, milk and dairy, cheese and eggs

One difference that emerges in all of the advertising is the following: When advertising meat, animals are rarely present on camera; or if shown, they are rarely the topic of conversation (e.g. Proviande, see 3.1.2). They are addressed as “a product”, even when still alive (“pork raised on the straw” instead of pigs living in a building). The production processes of meat are also practically never shown (with a few exceptions showing butchery in Proviande Admeira No. 1026875, or Ticinella and Rapelli flagship products). Conversely, advertising of milk and dairy products, such as cheese and butter, often shows the animals as clean and healthy, living in an idealised countryside of abundant space and beautiful nature.

GalloSuisse’s advertising of Swiss eggs (see 3.1.3) is quite different from all others, also rarely showing the animal (apart from a chicken depicted as an athletic star), focusing on the food itself, its versatility and quick availability, and on a great diversity of people consuming eggs in many different ways. The relation to Swiss culture is particularly developed in this series, through the staging of the various characters, their activities and the dishes.

2.3.3. Common features of private retailers’ advertising

The advertising of meat by private retailers focuses heavily on barbecue grilling, a practice presented as a timeless method of human feeding (primitive fire, outdoors) and as a time for festivity and gatherings (garden parties, holidays). Together with a focus on fondue and raclette, this choice stresses the easiness and quickness of the meal preparation to attract consumers, in resonance with Aldi’s slogan of “Simple like Aldi.” Other series (Coop and Migros’s “Grilletariens”, see 3.2.4 and 3.2.8) suggest an exclusive daily diet of barbecued meat. Other types of meat and cheese are hardly ever mentioned, except in discount offers or advertising focusing solely on low prices.

While some advertising series (Bell⁸ or Migros) focus only on various types of meat, a new style of advertising has emerged (Coop, Naturaplan) in which meat is mixed with vegetables, either as an accompaniment or as an explicit alternative for non-meat eaters (Admeira No. 1000992 “Darko”). Yet, even in these innovative video clips, meat is mostly presented as the main piece of a meal, and more importantly as the normal and most popular food (Admeira No. 1001741 “Schmöcker” is particularly eloquent about this aspect). While these novel video clips tend to

⁸ Owned by Coop Group.

set the stage to ordinary people, the stereotypes are nevertheless very present, and most blatant in the one clip that attempts to leave a space for non-meat eaters (Admeira No. 1000992 “Darko”): the vegetarian group is composed entirely of women. Meat is presented as an easily prepared meal, tasty, constitutive of the rewarding time after work (evening meals, partying and holidays).

2.3.4. Specificities per private retailers’ brands

While some brands (Premium lines of Coop, Rapelli and Ticinella) featuring high-end products show certain images of the production process, including the animal in its indoor living environment, this is rather exceptional. The vast majority of advertising focuses on price and discounts, and makes no explicit claim about the products, never mentioning the origin, the animals or the production processes.

Coop and Migros have quite similar advertising styles in some of their video series, as if jumping on the bandwagon of a new trend. Stressing everyday situations, family and fun moments, they visibly take up the challenge of representing the diversity of the actual Swiss population, rather than an elite, yet without escaping the pitfall of reproducing strong stereotypes (see 2.1.4) about gender, Swiss values and traditions. This advertising style diverts attention from the product to focus on humans (consumers), their habits, lifestyles, likes and dislikes.

Aldi and Lidl almost only advertise animal products with price discounts (over 90% of video clips), or with their own slogan linking the brand with low prices (Aldi’s “Best offers” or Lidl’s “The ideal, is Lidl”, ideal meaning the ideal price after so many associations with low price advertising). In this manner, meat is most often advertised alongside other products, in ready-to-buy sets (“sausages and Lager Blonde beer” Admeira No. 809689, or “peppered pork steaks”, “Tempranillo wine” and “charcoal” No. 809690). Even in Lidl’s series “small yet remarkable” (e.g. Admeira No. 931659), featuring quality and small-scale products, the display of the price takes a substantial part of the video clip (up to half the time), suggesting the idea of an affordable quality. In terms of strategies, in its most elaborate series Aldi counts on humour, joking about the mythical male hunter (Admeira No. 1033794), or occasionally its own slogan (e.g. “In Aldi, you’ll find all you need for a successful barbecue – except nice weather!” Admeira No. 1616789). Animals, their origin and the environment are never shown by these brands, while the provenance of the meat is mentioned only when it is Swiss.

2.3.5. Cross-influence among retailers and tax money paid marketing firms

Overall, the relatively common themes in advertising among retailers, suggests that retailers are influenced in a way that leads them to adopt at least partly common styles or semi-otic schemes. Coop and Migros, which have the main market share in Switzerland, seem to exert a strong influence on the other retailers and on each other. For example, their focus on proximity to consumers, social diversity, and Swiss products and barbecues, has spread to Aldi and Lidl. For example, Lidl promotes a sticker-collection programme for discounts (Admeira No. 1088413), as used by Coop and Migros for several decades now (Migros started with the “Cumulus” points over 20 years ago and was soon followed by Coop).

The influence of taxpayer-funded advertising by groups such as Proviande, Swissmilk, GalloSuisse and Switzerland Cheese Marketing seem even greater. Their video clips look among the most developed in terms of strategy (iconography, values) and may be imitated by retailers with smaller advertising budgets. For example, the series from Lidl “small yet remarkable” (Admeira No. 990028, No. 990030, No. 1022177, No. 1075920) looks like a cheap imitation of Proviande’s series “The Difference is (T)here”, interviewing various local producers in their respective work environments. This series features quality products – yet linked by a reasonable price – from local and small-scale producers, staging the local and artisanal character by presenting the worker in the production place, offering or showing their product. However, in Lidl’s series, animals and their living conditions are never shown.



PART 3

RESULTS OF THE COMBINED ANALYSIS

3.1. TAXPAYER-FUNDED ADVERTISING

3.1.1. Synthesis for Proviande's "Meat Academy" series

This series uses a visual technique known by the French term *mise en abîme*, which involves placing an image within itself to suggest a recurring sequence. In Proviande's marketing, this technique is used to address multiple characters: a cook, a meat-eater, a traditionalist, a user of digital devices. This method, reinforced by the multiple screens (one through which the images are observed and the tablet and phone used in the video), also allows the meat to be put at a distance, as much as to be highlighted in a frame.

From the audience's viewpoint, the meat is first anchored in a virile and masculine universe (a muscular arm, flexing from a macho shirt, sharpens a carving knife), whose function is that of a professional in meat preparation. This plays on the myth of man as the hunter. Then, throughout the advert, a female cooks the meat by following online recipes and proudly films her culinary creation. All of the macho virility is gone. This plays on the myth of a woman as the cook.

The meat products are presented without any origin; they are available and acquired. Meat is a cultural product, as are its material accoutrements (the oven and dishes). It is a culture that is as contemporary as possible since meat is linked to online digital activities. The preparation and consumption of meat are disconnected from the animal and therefore from the living being that was killed to obtain it. The animal is deemed unworthy of mention since it represents a material possession, like the other kitchen tools. The focus is on the hedonistic dimension: preparing the meat and eating it. Everything is done gently: no violence, no slaughtering of animals; on the contrary, it is a matter of pouring the cooking juices, stirring them and basting the meat.

The multiple contexts in which meat is presented shift the focus of the message. It is no longer a question of talking about meat, but about the qualities required to cook and eat it, qualities that are accessible since they are acquired through an intuitive and generalised technology.

The presentation of the meat is elaborate and varied. Particular care is taken with the complementary colours and the light playing on shadows to produce aesthetic images worthy of great gastronomic tables. The message is that meat is a gastronomic dish reserved for people who know how to appreciate its true value. The quality of meat is shown here as being linked to the quality of its preparation and cooking, whereas it depends above all on its production, cost and brand. Thus, meat, even if of poor quality, but well prepared, becomes a luxury product, whereas it is known that meat consumption is more important for the least privileged social groups, where cooking is a daily necessity – as dining out is not an option. The media shows here a world that does not exist: a working class that dines gastronomically daily. The consumption and preparation of meat thus appear as a luxury, making the product a means of social ascension.

The general argument and advertising strategy can be summarised as follows:

- **Buy meat, as you take what is yours.**
- **Download the free application and be modern.**
- **Become an expert as fulfilment of your potential.**
- **Belong to an elite and raise your social status.**

3.1.2. Synthesis for Proviande's "The Difference is (T)here" series

The Proviande advertising series "The Difference is (T)here" (Admeira Nos. 938284, 938285, 1026874) focuses on interviews with various meat producers from Switzerland. It weaves intertextual links with the Regular Outdoor Exercise for Livestock policy, thereby arguing that Swiss livestock breeding is the best, regardless of any labels (such as organic).

Paradoxically, this advertising does not focus on meat. For instance, the juxtaposition of a scene of wild nature and the word "meat" (Admeira No. 1026877, "14) has a double effect: to eliminate the idea that pigs are destined to be slaughtered and to make the only mention of the term "meat", which is almost taboo, disappear, despite the fact it is all about meat for human consumption. It is called "the product" when needed; the animal has no existence per se, it is neither a living being nor is its meat the flesh of a killed animal. It is merely "a product". The discourses of local producers vary greatly, but a variety of examples stress this point: one of the farmers speaks of "nice pork raised on the straw", a statement that frames the animal as a product from the beginning to the end, casting aside all thoughts of the dirt and issues related to livestock breeding, animal mistreatment, and final slaughtering. The only producer mentioning slaughter is immediately cut off after the word is said.

Meat is evoked either through the activity of butchery, in which case there is no reference to the animal, or through the activity of breeding, in which case there is no reference to butchery. Anthropologically, this concealment of death refers to the taboo that has surrounded it in the West since the 20th century. In a society that refuses to grow old and is fastidious about hygiene, death has no place. However, as can be seen in other advertising campaigns, the consumption of a living being is synonymous with the acquisition of its strength. This is in the phrase "a gift for a gift" mentioned by one of the local breeders. The breeder makes the animal strong, which in turn makes the consumer strong when eating it. A second form of "a gift for a gift" is implied in a commercial that shows concern for the respect and wellbeing of animals. A form of social contract based on reciprocity is claimed, in which farmers give of themselves for the animal's care and in return, they benefit upon terminating the animal's life. This contract also becomes an economic one. The displayed altruism is self-interested: it seeks recognition for its performance, belonging to society, and legitimises the counter-gift – the animal's life itself – as "the fruit of the labour".

The images are carefully crafted to present an aesthetic dimension that will evoke the emotions of the viewer, who is placed as a follower and witness to the breeder's activity. The editing of the light and colours, the slow motion, the soothing and even esoteric music, all seek to positively move the viewer. All the adverts depict a soft and warm universe, where everything is trust and respect for nature. There is proximity between the consumer and the local producer, reinforced by the intimate portraits of the actors of the livestock world: the shots are close, their names are indicated, the tone is one of confidence, and the places or times of the

day are well chosen to confirm the intimacy of the moment. These people are presented as loving, respectful of the values of family, friendship and sharing. They give generously in time and effort, which is another form of “a gift for a gift”, whose principle is deviated to validate a productive and ultimately commercial relationship. If nature is presented as a priority in values (it dictates its own rhythm), the question of the gift introduces an asymmetry by establishing a hierarchy between humans and animals from the fact humans are presented as taking care of the animals’ lives first. They initiate the “gift for a gift”. Hence, the notion of concern for the wellbeing of animals and nature is put forward in order to better value the human: someone who respects animals and nature can only be respectable, especially if they have an emotional relationship with their animals, of whom they are protective. Such individuals can therefore be trusted to produce meat for the viewer.

From a discursive point of view, the enunciation resumes individualisation with the “I” or “My difference” series of adverts (Admeira Nos. 938284, 938285, 1026874): the viewer is positioned as interlocutor. The actor (butcher or breeder) speaks to the viewer, even though the latter cannot reply. Held captive by this stratagem, the audience is led to accept the conclusion at the end of the spot, which takes the form of a brand identity named “the difference” and its logo. Here also, is the main claim of the advertising being put as a brand name, it cannot be argued or contradicted. This turns the whole argumentation to rest on the trustworthy local producer: since Swiss meat is bred by local producers who are good people, it makes “the difference” compared to meat from other origins. The breeder’s profession is shown as being rooted in a family base and even displays gender egalitarianism. In other words, the viewer understands that to become part of this large and beautiful community, all they have to do is buy and eat Swiss meat. The absorption of these products allows them to ingest their values: “We are what we eat.”

The general argumentative structure, once explicit, is particularly vague. Of course, knowing someone, or just seeing their face on a video, does not mean they are caring towards animals. Moreover, local production does not necessarily mean Swiss meat is better, nor does eating meat make one belong to the Swiss community. The claim is also particularly vague on what “the difference” is about. It could be the difference it makes on the welfare of animals if consumers buy Swiss meat rather than foreign meat. Or it could be the difference in the quality of meat, its flavour, or even the planet’s preservation. Since the argumentation remains largely implicit, the brand slogan “the difference” could evoke any difference fantasised by the viewer: an efficient and manipulative way of adapting to any desires from consumers, and to avoid any commitment on the products or production process.

In the same line, these differences are individualised and personified by presenting individuals who systematically embody certain values (represented as “Swiss values” in the socio-cultural depictions), such as hard work on a local scale, respect for animals and nature, and giving (altruism, effort) in order to receive. Here too, the diversity of values is staged to fit any type of consumers, despite an obvious lack of coherence. Indeed, how can one be altruistic and kill? How can work and effort to imprison and dominate animals be considered taking care of their lives? Consequently, the message conveys the schizophrenia of those involved in animal husbandry, who are presented as wanting the wellbeing of a living being that they subordinate to their own needs and eventually kill.

The general argument and advertising strategy can be summarised as follows:

- By depicting the positive values and qualities of animal breeders, the issues of subordinating and killing animals are moved out of focus (meat is just “a product”).**
- By calling a brand “the difference”, the advertising does not explain this difference or commit to anything about the production or product quality.**
- The principle of “a gift for a gift” legitimises killing animals and eating their meat.**

The consumer is enticed to buy Swiss meat, for belonging and sharing the values of “trustworthy” local producers.

3.1.3. Synthesis for GalloSuisse’s “#SwissEggs” series

The “#swiss eggs” series of adverts by egg producers’ association GalloSuisse displays a range of situations in which diverse characters (mostly from popular classes) can easily enjoy simple dishes made of eggs, such as hardboiled eggs in a salad or a fried egg. The series emphasises the quickness of preparation for eggs to be eaten on the spot, at work or play, and for preparing typical Swiss food (rösti, raclette), home-made pasta, braided bread and biscuits. Interestingly, no verbal tagline or written slogan is used, apart from the series identifier “#swiss eggs”. The campaign is silent, the egg is self-explanatory. The hashtag symbol gives it a modern dimension.

The focus is on eating, yet one clip sets the scene for buying eggs from a retailer, and another shows a man taking eggs from his own refrigerator. The consumption of eggs is systematically associated with pleasure: the worker’s break, the children’s picnic, the party with friends, creativity in presentation, or the sharing of traditions (fondue, raclette), the night-time pleasure. An implicit argumentation emerges: if the egg is only eaten in moments of pleasure, it constitutes a reward that is deserved. The relation to Swiss culture is particularly developed in this series, through the staging of the various typical characters, activities and dishes. Also the main line of thought is anchored in a Swiss tradition: not so long ago, every pub or restaurant had boiled eggs on the tables, ready to be picked up by customers to satiate their hunger when gathering for convivial drinking, rather than for a formal meal.

Since a verbal discourse is absent, the argumentation is entirely implicit. Considering the great diversity in the scenes, characters, dishes or situations presented in the videos, the overall argumentation emerges from the impression left to the audience. The general argumentation of this series could be summed up as: “Eat Swiss eggs in a great variety of ways to immediately satisfy your hunger wherever you are!” Eggs are presented as a self-made food, quick and easy to prepare, providing the necessary protein with salad or hashbrowns, to eat at work or on the spot when there’s no time for a formal meal.

Despite GalloSuisse’s unique advertising of Swiss eggs, it rarely shows the producing animal (apart from once, where a hen is presented as a sports star), focusing on the food itself, its diversity and availability, and on the great diversity of people consuming eggs in different ways. Some video clips follow a different line, taking it even further from its actual origin (the hen’s excretory vent): it makes the egg an artistic object (Admeira No. 941696) or the token of a funny situation

(Admeira Nos. 941658, 941660). Symbolically, the campaign presents the egg as so timeless that it speaks for itself. As a universal symbol, its consumption can only be linked to pleasure since it allows one to feel and be alive. An archetypal symbol par excellence, the egg is the link between life and death. It is a mystery because of its closed shape, a perfect shape, containing a liquid element, a moving element, that brings new life. It is the cosmogonic symbol explaining the origin of life on Earth for many civilizations. One of the spots (Admeira No. 941658, 941660) even suggests the chicken came after the egg, thus taking up the proverbial expression of, "Which came first, the chicken or the egg?" The anthropological origin of egg consumption lies in foraging, that is, the opportunistic and therefore non-utilitarian harvesting of natural resources. Yet, nowadays, egg production, which is constantly increasing, is conventionally carried out in three ways: about half with hens kept in cages, nearly half with hens kept in floored enclosures, and a tiny minority with hens kept in the open air.

The general argument and advertising strategy can be summarised as follows:

- **The focus is on eating eggs in a diversity of dishes.**
- **The quick preparation and consumption are made attractive throughout various pleasure-related situations (lunch breaks, outings, family time, sport).**
- **By using silent advertising (no slogan or statement), the campaign avoids any commitment on the critical issues with eggs (hen health and welfare, quality of feeding products, cholesterol risk).**
- **Eggs are presented as self-explanatory, sometimes even as a mythical and artistic object, never related to the hen, resulting in concealment of the animal (except for one clip where the hen comes after the egg).**

3.1.4. Synthesis for ROEL series

The advertising project for the Swiss government-funded Regular Outdoor Exercise for Livestock programme ROEL known locally by the acronym in French SRPA for *sortie régulière en plein air*, in Italian URA for *l'uscita regolare all'aperto* or in German RAUS for *regelmässiger Auslauf ins Freie*) plays on various semiotic and discursive strategies to make reality better or more enjoyable (e.g. Admeira Nos. 900489, 900490, 900492).

From a discursive point of view, the adverts challenge the mainstream arguments that livestock production confines animals, overuses fresh water resources and imports feed for the animals. This precisely addresses the established arguments of animal rights defenders and climate protection activists: high resource use for meat production, importation from far away countries (e.g. Brazil), and documented cases of animal abuse. Symbolically, this same idea is represented in an ad showing an enormous suspended bubble producing only a tiny drop when burst. The entire advertising campaign resembles a magician's ploy of misdirection, as the advertisers divert the spectator's attention from reality. There are regular references to agriculture and meat production, yet they are never shown. This parallels the festive and harmless coloration of the project, to the opposite of an undesirable representation of meat as a serious subject (about animal welfare or mistreatment, life and death). Along with the magic of misdirection, a playful modality exists in

the various strategies of the ROEL series. A proposed contest relies on the following repetitive format: a statement + a challenge = a possible win. Interestingly, this discourse draws on cultural pre-constructs, such as the phrase “did you know that?” familiar in Switzerland from some popular magazines (e.g., Bon à Savoir). It uses some humorous settings, familiar to make the subject light and even anecdotal. Part of this anecdotal dimension stems from the potent strategy of making an implicit argument based on a single fallacious premise, presented as self-evident.

It is necessary to mention the male character featured in these ads. Portrayed in a buffoonish manner, he plays an important role in making this advertising project light and fallacious. On the one hand, the message transmitted here is one about the inconsistency of the objects featured, since they have no consequence on our environment. On the other hand, the character is presented almost as a dung beetle rolling its dung (in the scene with the unrolling of a round hay bale). And we know dung beetles play a special role in agriculture, accelerating the production of natural fertiliser and enriching the soil with organic matter. They also protect ruminants from possible infections caused by dung. Having the character act like a dung beetle ends up presenting him positively, as it shows man cares for nature.

The general argument and advertising strategy can be summarised as follows:

- **The narrative is that ROEL is first and foremost concerned with nature.**
- **The strategy to convince viewers rests on implicit contradiction and mockery of the arguments made by environmental defenders (excessive water use, animals confined indoors, import of fodder feed).**
- **Strong affirmations contribute to a positive depiction of Swiss products and a national feeling of unquestionable superiority. Such claims are presented as self-evident (enthymemes).**

3.1.5. Synthesis for Swissmilk’s “Lovely” series

The cow is a symbol of Switzerland, particularly linked to the economic prosperity of the nation and its inhabitants. Abroad as well as within its borders, the Swiss cow is at the origin of flagship products synonymous with Switzerland: milk, cheese and chocolate. This animal, which is part of the Swiss imagination, is the heroine of the Swissmilk advertising campaign, which promotes the sustainability of Swiss products (Admeira No. 938507).

The 2021 “Lovely” series is the heir to a long tradition of advertising featuring an anthropomorphized cow. For at least 30 years, a cow named Lovely has been used in commercials to promote Swissmilk. In the 1990s, commercials showed a cow in humorous situations with humans. In a studio, against a white background, the now famous Prim’Holstein breed, the most productive dairy cow, would confront a stereotypical human (a soccer player, a dancer, etc.) and always comes out on top. In the early 2000s, the iconic cow leaves the studio to perform extreme sports (skiing, mountain biking, etc.) in mountainous Swiss landscapes. It moved from an entirely white decor to a more colourful but still cold atmosphere (white, blue, green). If the passage to films whose action takes place outside was possible thanks to technological advances, today the commercials return to the traditional view of a green field in the foreground, fir trees and mountains in the background, crowned with a sky, always blue, while red is often present in logos and clothing.

If some milk products are sometimes visible (fondue in particular), milk is always absent, despite being the main commercial object.

The recent spots are in line with continuity and tradition, since the viewers in 2022 already have the bovine character of Lovely inscribed in their collective memory. All families could “adopt” this cow and associate it with milk. Swissmilk is therefore building on an already high level of empathy when designing its new commercials. How does it adapt its discourse today, its position with regard to today’s society and concerns over livestock breeding, animal welfare, ecology (soil quality, air pollution)? How do the commercials convey their message of “the sustainability of Swiss products”?

The Lovely series acts on the level of tradition, which could be linked to the question of “sustainability”, both in the discourse produced and in the fact that certain things persist through time. In addition, the characteristic Swiss landscape and its distinctive green and blue colours in the spots evoke a certain national pride or patriotism “at home (grass is so abundant)” (Admeira No. 892573).

Lovely’s advertising series works on three levels to make milk and dairy products common and acceptable. First, the ads continue to use humour as a way to avoid the disturbing dimensions of dairy production. The naive and exaggerated staging to present the cow named “Lovely”, as well as the name itself, bring a burlesque coloration to this advertising series. This employment of humour is common in advertising and could constitute an ironic communication. Thus, the quasi-stereotypical springs of humour are mobilised to divert attention, notably the people chosen to play laughable roles on the screen are scapegoats, overweight, or a Swiss-German black comedian, who is the only one dancing, and the only clip where there is music. The brand doesn’t bother trying to hide the cheap special effects that contribute to the scapegoat persona and the comedic effects of the ads. The characters evoke compassion or mockery. When no character is portrayed in a grotesque way, it is national pride that is emphasised by playing on the imaginary link between Switzerland and a country of nature to praise the abundance it enjoys.

However, this burlesque coloration interacts with the content of the argument, which is actually very serious, and addresses specific arguments from ecological and anti-speciesist criticism of the consumption of meat and animal products. Taken together, the burlesque schematization and the serious and detailed argumentative structure contaminate the ecological and anti-speciesist critique with parody, making the implicit message that such critique itself is burlesque.

Thus, the various video clips in this series address the following three familiar points of ecological and anti-speciesist criticism of animal breeding and exploitation.

The cow is anthropomorphized, endowed with a character and a personality and individualised by a first name. The animal becomes a star, it promotes a product, the milk, which is mentioned only at the end of the spots.

The advertisements put the farmers at the service of the animals, the animal is cherished by man. The slogan “Too strong, everything we do for our cows,” (Admeira No. 892578) confirms this. This peasant tradition of naming cows adds credence to the argument that the cow is “loved” by its owners. This shifts the balance of power from the farmer, who treats his animals as property (under Swiss law, animals are only property) to a royal (or queenly) cow, putting the farmers at her service (even to the point of spending time repelling flies from the cow). The viewer is placed on the scale of the insect, included in the biological diversity, but placed as if in a posture showing reverence rather than domination (Admeira No. 1663539).

The cow is featured against an iconic wide shot of grass and mountains. The cinematographic play on depth is limited and the viewer is placed in the position of interlocutor with the cow. On the discursive level, the spectator is placed in interaction with the cow and in a position of dialogue with her. The human who aspires to communicate with the cow is ridiculed in two ways: cows do not speak and the anthropomorphized cow in the advertisement has better things to do than listen to the viewer: eating, for example. The comparison between people and the cow is presented to show the disadvantage of the human, stating that humans have less freedom than cows, are less privileged than cows: “Going outdoors so much, is a dream for many of us,” (Admeira No. 1171201). The scenes in which the commer-

cials take place have replaced the white setting, the snow, the milk; the burlesque based on the animal's impossible sporting prowess has been replaced by moralising scenes, where the cow towers over the humans and reprimands them, or even subjugates them to its service (the farmers shooing away flies) and combines assertive discourse on the ecological benefits concomitant to the Swiss cow and landscape with humour.

Furthermore, Swissmilk presents several groups as opposites: for example, city dwellers and country people, Swiss cows and other cows. This makes it possible to construct a narrative that presents Swissmilk production as respectful of animals and nature in general, whose fate takes precedence over that of humans, especially ignorant city dwellers. It is the cow (that is, nature) that calls for order, dictates its law and its rhythm. On this point, the advertisement uses the same argument as those used in Proviande advertisements: "With an 'animal', you can't go fast," (Admeira No. 1026878).

Swissmilk's "Lovely" advertisements also attempt to appeal to ecology. Semantically, the message of sustainability and the sub-messages are in all points the arguments made by opponents of the dairy industry: exploitation of the living, animals put at the service of humans, importation of the food responsible for deforestation, production of CO₂ and impoverishment of the soil. The voiceovers give the viewer sentences without any argumentation; they are simple assertions. The contribution of livestock to global warming (such as methane emissions) is addressed with, "Cows increase the capacity of Swiss grasslands to capture CO₂." The spots praise the fight against pollution, of which only the human is guilty, the domestic production guaranteeing less pollution and the quality of the milk product, "Too strong, no long journey, our products are always fresh," (Admeira No. 1075621).

Criticism of imported fodder is addressed by, "At home, grass is so abundant that our cows can be picky," (Admeira No. 892573). Moreover, we notice that in 30 years, the scenery of the spots has changed: green grass has replaced the dominant white background or snow. Dairy production is presented as using widely available, abundant and even eternal resources. On a symbolic level, the other animals (a butterfly and a bee) or the natural products present on the meal trays at the end of the spots (grapes, hazelnuts and daisies) are all linked to this same theme of longevity, abundance and resurrection of the biological cycle (Admeira No. 1663539). Similarly, dairy production is presented as not impacting climate change, notably in self-argumentative statements such as, "The sustainability of Swiss products," which is meaningless, as it offers no logic to prove its veracity.

Finally, the mistreatment of animals in Switzerland, regularly reported in the media, is addressed with, "Our cows have the right to be cows," (Admeira No. 892580), even more meaningless and distanced from any commitment, and which implies that people are aware of the diversity of living beings and respect them. The spots present dairy farming as a synonym for freedom for the animals, one cow for miles of fields, happy and loved animals, in a naive and friendly campaign. Lovely is exhorted to "do what you want" (Admeira No. 892580). Thus, under the guise of harmless burlesque human roles in relation to the cow, the detailed and precise arguments of the critique of the (over)consumption of animal products are seriously addressed in the dense and short discourse at the end of the video clips, either directly contradicting the critique ("grass is plentiful") or vaguely committing to the values of the critique ("we all care about sustainability").

The slogan "too strong" is attributed to the animal, and therefore to the milk, and by extension to the person who drinks it: milk is presented as a product that makes one "too strong" biologically, morally and socially. It makes one as "adorable" as "Lovely" is... lovely.

The choice of a black and white cow also makes it possible to summon the symbolism of white, the colour of milk and purity, and therefore of nature. To go towards white is to be sustainable. Black acts as a contrast to reinforce the white. It is even used in one ad (Admeira No. 1075621) with the black comedian contrasted in front of his white refrigerator, in a way that mirrors the black and white colour of the cow facing him. Using the actor's skin colour in such a play with imagery verges on racism.

Semiotically, the product “milk” is presented with the index “cow” to highlight the living being and its link with nature. The product is presented as the result of a sustainable approach, which makes its consumption a responsible behaviour. There is an anthropological relationship between nature and milk. Milk is often synonymous with purity, signifying the healthy side of nature. It is also presented as a “natural” whole food, in this case, indicating the sustainability of the process. The videos present an image of purity conveyed by the use of soft pinks or natural colours (white, green, brown) or of certain flowers such as daisies. The discourse here is feminised and totally demasculinized: nature, food, the cow.

Interestingly, in all the advertisements, a major ellipsis removes the process that separates grazing time from the milk produced. The equation thus establishes a direct link between grass and milk, with the cow as the only intermediary. Milk is dissociated from the dairy products resulting from animal exploitation and considered anthropologically as a “standing” resource intended to control the seasonality of resources. All known human groups that consume dairy products also exploit animals for their meat. Symbolically, milk is often presented as incompatible with meat through stereotypical oppositions: woman/man, living/dead, pure/defiled. Yet, the animal remains enslaved and exploited as an indirect resource (milk) for as long as possible and also as a direct resource (meat). Indeed, in order for a cow to produce milk, she must produce a calf, which must be removed from her for the milk to be consumed by humans. The vealer calf that has consumed only milk has a higher monetary value than general beef in the meat market. The calf taken from its mother is either artificially fed to become a dairy cow if it is a female or castrated to become a steer if it is a male, or killed for its meat. The production of milk is therefore inseparable from the death of the animal and the production of meat.

The general argument and advertising strategy can be summarised as follows:

- Consumers are part of the “Lovely” advertising tradition.**
- Swissmilk respects the animal’s wellbeing, placing it above humans, in order to counter the arguments of the anti-speciesists.**
- Using humour allows Swissmilk to make claims about the ecological benefits of dairy production without commitment, and to counter the arguments of environmentalists.**
- Milk, a pure element, is presented as coming from a production that respects nature.**

3.1.6. Synthesis for Swiss Cheese Marketing's "Our Swiss Cheese" series

This advertising campaign is entirely based on the axiology of cheese consumption, which is synonymous with the most universal sociological and moral values: trust, diversity, honour, taste, passion, quality and living together. The appeal to such fundamental values, as identified by Schwartz (2006), places the consumption of cheese as a means for the individual to achieve ideal fulfilment.

Although cheese is the actual subject of the conversation, the main object of the schematization, the clever superimposition of images and words, suggests something else: when "trust" is stated, the audience sees the manufacturer, for example with the voiceover stating, "Cheese is good because you can trust us," (Admeira No. 1085993). All the statements assert truths, even if some of them are meaningless – to say the least – or pose more than dubious causality. Thus, the schematization, under the guise of representing "Swiss cheese", represents a community of passionate, loyal and trustworthy people, respecting traditions, sharing many values (fun, friendship and belonging, diversity, trust, flavour, craftsmanship, tradition, passion) and loving nature – in a word, the Swiss people, or at least their self-image.

The manipulation of the message is above all, symbolic, because an entire imaginary world accompanies cheese: an identity, a bearer of human values, a natural and traditional resource, depicted through iconography of the 1970s. With a strong anchoring in continuity (solid value, confidence, craftsmanship), the consumption of cheese allows the affirmation of oneself (taste, honour, passion) and the surpassing of oneself (conviviality, diversity). Only change does not appear in the campaign because the individual fades before the collective community. The campaign focuses on the notion of sharing, putting the interests of the community before those of the individual.

The wording used in this series describes family and community values: trust, honour, diversity, conviviality, tradition, passion. To this is added the measure of limitation. Nothing is done in excess: even in gatherings, the number of guests is limited, the food is not overabundant, and there is no alcohol at the table. Only laughter is generous (scrunched up eyes, wide open mouth, visible teeth). In fact, this establishes cheese as a healthy food, with no adverse health effects. It is a source of life.

By focusing on the community, the campaign gives the product a dimension of identification: "If you are Swiss, you eat cheese." Conversely, if you don't eat cheese, you become a foreigner. The assertion that "Swiss Cheese tastes good because it contains everything we love," (Admeira No. 1517193) reflects a certain patriotism.

In Switzerland, the conceptualization of foreigners is strongly linked to the cohesion of the community, as a social comparison of the out-group helps to define the in-group's values and identity. Fragile because of its officially plural conception, the imaginary Swiss national is based on the association of four "linguistic communities" to which different cultures and origins are often attributed. To be able to live together, this linguistic and cultural plurality finds its cohesion in its membership built around its political conception: one must therefore be Swiss. The identity dimension of cheesemaking and consumption plays on the patriotic feeling, which is very strong in the European context that isolates it.

Shot in close-ups set against natural scenes (flowers, rivers, fog-covered mountains) and on the making or tasting of cheese, the series creates an intimacy throughout the videos. On the iconic level, many shots are taken with the camera on the shoulder (implying a "moving" shot), as if it were an amateur video, bringing the viewer, as the consumer, close to the producer. Moreover, the campaign plays with visual scale. The spots are composed of numerous images, which play on different scales of viewing, placing the spectator in the intimacy of the making and consumption of cheese. It is the viewer's point of view that is offered, placing them as a discrete or even hidden witness. Moreover, the filmic shots seem to reflect

a mystery, a hidden knowledge, even a voyeurism (a shot between shelves). The viewer is thus part of the community presented and the micro-scale (through the close-ups) gives a large place to the off-screen and thus to the imaginary. The latter must therefore rely on the icono-textual semiotic combination. As the discourse provides information different from that transmitted by the images (a disjunctive text/image relationship), the process of construction of meaning is metaphorical. Thus, the discourse “because Swiss cheese is passion” (Admeira No. 1085992) makes cheesemaking a symbolic activity, identical to that of parenthood and filial kinship (Admeira No. 1612300), a relationship in which love is unconditional.

Anthropologically, cheesemaking is primarily a means of preserving milk, a fragile food, in a subsistence economy where milk is naturally not permanently available and depends on the gestation of cows. The seasonality of the animal's natural reproductive cycle was probably already lost in the Middle Ages through human intervention. In more recent times, the need to extract milk every day to keep the cow producing milk has made it necessary to process it because its shelf life is extremely short. Cheese is therefore inseparable from the continuous exploitation of animals and the manipulation of nature. It cannot be a natural food, let alone a “gift” from nature.

References to the raw material milk are replaced by references to nature: waterfalls, water, mountains. The reference to the natural world makes the product a gift from nature and obscures its animal source and the intensive production of milk necessary to make the cheese: “Swiss Cheese is a sure thing because everything it contains comes from nature,” (Admeira No. 983099).

Moreover, nature is presented as disturbing or even hostile (dramatised by the editing, the colours, the harshness of the elements, lightning) in opposition to a nature domesticated by humans and favourable to their wellbeing, which is reflected in the “warmth” of the cheese (warm colours and round, supple shapes). The Swiss dairy product soothes you, while nature is hostile, even if the green meadows of the Swiss landscape are under the sun.

The Swiss Cheese marketing series presents cheesemaking as a manly, hard-working, proud and trustworthy profession. In contrast, women are absent from the production process depicted in most of the videos (breaking the milk, moulding, maturing). They are confined to the role of nurturing and protective mothers (listening), or to that of young women or children enjoying the pleasures of life. Moreover, there is a soft “fluid” and even feminine atmosphere, due to the “light” sounds, the images, the bursts of laughter, even from those we do not see, the sounds of water, the flow of images that follow one another rapidly. This reassuring softness, reinforced by the sensitive dimension of nature and the senses solicited during the work (sensuality of touch, sight, smell as close as possible to the “skin” of the cheese), masks the origin of the cheese. Milking is only shown in one clip, against the light, which does not allow us to distinguish the origin of the milk since the udders are not visible. The presentation is more on the long, careful work done by humans.

The general argument and advertising strategy can be summarised as follows:

- The values associated with Swiss Cheese are all positive.**
- The spots contribute to community bonding and identify the Swiss identity.**
- The series creates an intimacy and invites the viewer to share a Swiss secret.**
- Wild, even hostile, nature is contrasted to a nature tamed by humans.**
- Stereotypes linked to virility and femininity are renewed.**
- The focus is on values, rather than the animal, production process or product.**
- The implicit link between values and the imaginary “Swiss identity”.**
- The assumption that milk production has always been the same, despite industrialization.**

3.2. PRIVATE RETAILERS

3.2.1. Synthesis for Coop’s cheese series on raclette & fondue

The Coop cheese advertising campaign’s main message is diversity: the idea that we can live with different tastes and personalities. Whatever the enmities, the culinary dish raclette or fondue builds bridges between people; it implies success and includes everyone, regardless of prejudices.

Therefore, all of the ads aim to create a sense of belonging to the Swiss and cheese-eating communities, whose members are shown as typical people, relatable to viewers. In some clips, the characters address the viewer, who is invited to complete the different ways of consuming the products, and a loop effect is created since the first speaker is also the last. The desired effect is that of a round-table discussion – reinforced by the orientation of the characters’ gazes in some clips – showing a clear desire to integrate the viewer into the discourse and images. Whether they like it or not, the audience can feel concerned and integrated: they are part of the clan and share its tastes for these dishes, which are posited as defining the Swiss culinary tradition.

Another aspect is left unchallenged, namely the link between smelling bad and tasting good. The slogan, “the more it smells, the better,” (e.g. Admeira No. 939029) plays with the undesirable representation of cheese as malodorous, in an explicit way – transforming it into a slogan – that attempts to turn it into a desirable idea. Moreover, the smell becomes the gustatory criterion of the product. Interestingly, the viewer or consumer’s opinion and freedom are concealed. Besides, what matters has nothing to do with rationality but with smell and taste. This prompts consumers to leave aside any reflection that may be associated with cheese (animal suffering, production process) and instead focus on the sheer pleasure of eating cheese. The product is highly available, with no origin in terms of raw materials or manufacturing processes. It follows the same rhetorical strategy as the ROEL programme, basing itself on self-evident affirmations that need no further explanation. The consumer is expected to take for granted what is said. This idea of trust is supported by the notion of closeness with the viewer: we are as simple as

you are. The use of the informal term for “you” (tutoiement) enhances the feeling of intimacy. Closeness and simplicity are explicitly connotated through the range of raclette cheese that will suit every personality.

Yet upon closer analysis, while we are faced with a seemingly open diversity of tastes and characters, presented as a community, they happen to be all alone: although addressing someone, there is no “real” communication except to express disagreement or conflict.

The consumption of products is differentiated with prototypical characters in terms of age, gender and types of consumers. We also find different types of food: vegetarian, meat, junk food and restaurant fare. Meat remains associated with the male gender and the absence of meat with the female gender. If a man mentions vegetables, it is ironically associated with being overweight. This man, the pillar of the family, begins and closes the dialogue. While a diversity of tastes is represented, it seems advisable to return to the source, to the essential, to the tradition, symbolised by the fireplace, the chequered shirts of the old men, the cosy atmospheres echoing that of chalets. Hence, the myth of the hunt, on which virility depends, emerges from the storytelling. Following other forms of stereotypes, the conservative-looking older woman is shocked by what she considers as the inappropriateness of the “mmh” sound of satisfaction made by one of the male characters, a sound which may relate to that of sexual pleasure. Incidentally, this same sound is emitted just after the enunciation of the name of the brand. When there is no sound produced, it is the face which expresses the same idea of utter satisfaction (see figure 12 below). Consequently, liking cheese is equivalent to liking Coop, and vice-versa.



Figure 12: Consumer's expression of satisfaction.

Altogether, this series pretends to deconstruct stereotypes for inclusion of various types of diversities, yet it is either proposing counter-stereotypes (overweight white man eats vegetables, thin black woman eats bacon) or reinforcing them (young teenager eats sausages, affluent woman is presented with refined food). Ultimately, this purported promotion of diversity clashes with stereotyped discourse and images.

The general argument and advertising strategy can be summarised as follows:

- **Being part of the community of cheese-eaters creates a feeling of belonging.**
- **Eating cheese is synonymous with Swiss identity and tradition.**
- **The advertising supposedly promotes diversity but ends up maintaining or reinforcing stereotypes.**

3.2.2. Synthesis for Coop's "From Words to Action" series

This series "From Words to Action" highlights the ecological, social and sporting commitments of the Coop company. While many dairy product commercials are set in natural environs, this series abandons the mountain pastures and rural settings in order to open on different areas of activity, far from the production of food and close to the spaces of consumption in an urban landscape, such as a house, an outdoor supermarket, a park and a street.

The company's corporate social responsibility is depicted through its various public, sporting and ecological activities, while lively music and fast editing suggest these actions are rhythmic, cheerful and numerous. In addition, shots suggesting amateurism (a hand-held camera, visible film edges, underexposed areas, added photos) alternate with more professional images. This creates the idea of bringing people together, of being close to the subject and the consumer, thus reinforcing Coop's main slogan, "for you, for me," (Admeira No. 841022).

Agricultural work is presented as a simple accompaniment of "what nature knows how to do," (Admeira No. 1653799) in order to legitimise its existence. However, the real agricultural work involves industrial exploitation, as humans have for so long artificially selected and altered the genomes of plants and animals that they no longer exist in their natural state.

The advertising's discourse underlines the company's commitment to recycling: "To act is to participate in the collective effort, and to think about the next step, even if the path may seem long," (Admeira No. 1653790). The discursive mechanism is always the same: the narrative is systematically based on a form of argument of authority (e.g. Admeira No. 1653795) – such as natural practice, altruism or a majority – which acts in a hyperbolic way to leave no room for questioning and discourage any criticism (Bourdieu, 2001). These arguments become arguments of respect and therefore arguments of power. Thus, the brand imposes its discourse as a truth.

The brand's approach is presented as synonymous with freedom and surpassing oneself, and suggests that one's actions in favour of the environment can only be carried out with joy. The effect is reinforced by rhythmic music and densely sequential images. The alternation with shots of children, representing the assumption of responsibility for the future (as in other series) is recurrent. Indeed, rhythm and joy are experienced by the characters, including a clip focusing on recycling, showing people happily bringing empty plastic bottles and other waste to Coop collection points (Admeira No. 1653790). In addition, the message is conveyed through visual situations and pictorial environments that seem easy and appealing: people carrying waste in their Coop shopping trolleys on a nice summer day, having plenty of time to do so, living within walking or cycling distance. The voiceover is affirmative and sententious, it sermonises or even makes the viewer feel guilty: "Everything begins with an inner voice, the will to act, to act is ... to be free as a bird, to save local cheese[making], to surpass oneself, to be sexy, to drive connected, it is to do what must be done, to set an example, to accept the bad smells, to act is our engine," (Admeira No. 1114491).

The performative nature of the discourse gives the sense that the action to which Coop is committed is carried out on the spot (Admeira No. 1120908). By removing the constative, that is, the brand's mission, no room is left for distance or reflection.

Coop's advertising employs simple information communication through direct presentation of data and explicit arguments, such as: "Coop acts in favour of recycling, and ensures that 81% of waste from supermarkets is recycled," and "An action in which everyone can participate: from words to actions," (Admeira No. 1653790). The 81% figure, which is well thought out, suggests that the brand is going further than 80%, that it is therefore doing better than others and can surpass itself, even if 80% is already an important ratio. Considered more generally in the context of preserving the environment and reducing the impact of human activity on the planet, the series could contribute to schematizing the false impression that recycling 80% of waste is sufficient, and that all is fine in the world. Moreover, this hyperbolic figure completely hides the notion of packaging and its problems.

The brand presents itself as altruistic, courageous and committed. These human values are “greenwashing” because they are contrary to the brand’s mission: to make a profit. The mercantile purpose is above all a commitment to oneself.

The general argument and advertising strategy can be summarised as follows:

- These ads show the brand’s actions in favour of society and the planet with a declarative, affirmative and authoritative discourse.**
- They bring into play media strategies that convey ambiguities. While valuing the individual actions of citizens, the brand signifies to the spectator that they can and must joyfully contribute to the collective effort, while suggesting the brand has done its part; the responsibility to act is transferred to the spectator.**

3.2.3. Synthesis for Coop’s Naturaplan series

The “Naturaplan” advertising series was made for the 25th anniversary of the Coop label and its sustainable food production programme, Naturaplan (see Admeira No. 1651577). This series focuses on the food chain as a natural cycle involving elements such as water and soil, insects and biodiversity to farm animals and, at the end, humans active in the fields. We are witnessing the same strategy of the ads in the “From Words to Action” series. Nature and the untamed invade and adapt to human production. The atmosphere is made up of elements highlighted in other series (filtering dawn light, warm-coloured tones) that create a climate familiar to the Swiss consumer. Likewise, the men work hard and are courageous. Admitting it is anchored in time, the company claims to be acting in accordance with nature: “Why do we do what we do for 25 years? Because it is natural,” (Admeira, No. 841022). The implication is that the company has an exclusivity on “natural” – whereas 25 years is an extremely short time in the scale of nature.

While developing an explicit and elaborated argumentation in most clips, this series ultimately rests on the trust that customers place in Naturaplan’s management and associated farmers, and is only based on an argument of authority. It also suggests, based on the experience and duration of the Naturaplan programme, that everything works well and is sustainable, that the programme was good from the outset and has not changed over the years.

The wellbeing of humans, animals and nature is put on the same scale, but the enumeration is reasoned so the discourse begins with humans and ends with nature. The animals are left in the background because the consumption of meat remains symbolically difficult to combine with organic food, whose etymology and symbolism indicate respect for the living. Organic farming practices are presented as natural and therefore just. There is a natural justification that serves as an argument of authority to legitimise agricultural activity.

It is suggested that humans are at the top of the chain and that man is the great manager of the balance of the cycle of nature. However, the true natural consumption of resources would be to gather only what is necessary to ensure the integrity of the whole, the environment of which we are part. Today’s agriculture is not about gathering what we need to survive, it is manipulating nature, forcing it to produce more and more. Natural consumption would be a matter of coexistence between humans and nature, but it is now a relationship of the owner and the owned. Agricultural practice is not natural because it exploits nature and considers it as its own possession. There is a reversal of roles: it is not the humans who are adapting to the world but nature that is compatible with the productive work of humans. In particular, the wild animal, represented by a wild boar piglet, finds

its place in the production system (buildings, fields) implemented by humans. It leaves the forest at the clip's beginning, to find itself with a status equivalent to that of the domestic dog at the end of the video clip. This is perhaps a direct reference to the farmer's insurance policy for the protection of animals and biodiversity that reimburses damage caused by adult wild boars to crops, only if they are protected by a symbolic fence. This schematization is obviously picturing an idealised harmony between organic farming and wildlife, operating on the age of the wild boar (the boar piglet looks harmless), and the use of wood boxes instead of plastic for packaging and preserving food (many birds are intoxicated by the plastic used in fields in organic farming).

The general argument and advertising strategy can be summarised as follows:

- A natural justification serves as an authoritative argument to legitimise agricultural activity.**
- There is an attempt to put the wellbeing of humans, animals and nature on the same scale, while implicitly the series always places humans at the top of the chain and presents them as the great manager of the balance of nature's cycle. It is not the humans who adapt to the world, but nature that is shaped to be compatible with humans' productive work.**

3.2.4. Synthesis for Coop's grill series

Coop's advertisements focused specifically on meat use several series, based either on the presence of famous footballers or grilling, or both. All the spots show friendship, warmth, joy and colourful images, visibly happy faces and festive family communities. More than contributing to it, the food creates this atmosphere. Particular emphasis is placed on grilling, associating it with leisure and socialising. The sports metaphor, however, indicates that successful grilling requires performing like a competitor. It is therefore synonymous with success, which is confirmed by the discourse, and refers to the society conceived on the model of infinite growth that brings profits. Profit is also synonymous with pleasure here by linking ownership to positive emotions. In terms of social constructs and individual patterns, individuals are guaranteed happiness and wellbeing if they buy and consume meat.

Grill-time is associated with party-time notably through a recurrent melody or song, that all people are singing in a clip in which they converge upon a barbecue (Admeira No. 910901). In another clip (Admeira No. 1092891), the advert announces the "season of grilling", staging ordinary people on their balcony, garden or terrace with a diversity of meat and favourite dishes. In other clips (Admeira No. 914771), the lively, loud soundtrack, which is sufficiently recurrent to replace the slogan, is reminiscent of action films in which the hero is preparing to fight a battle on which his life depends. The grills are staged as the result of a sporting performance that has to be prepared through training, carried out with courage and determination before celebrating the victory. In the grill series, the onomatopoeia of sizzling meat ("tsch, tsch") systematically closes the spot and is associated with the brand's slogan.

The key suggestion here is that it is normal to eat meat: everyone does. Yet, one child eats a grilled corn cob and the voiceover states: “Jennifer, who suddenly starts to like vegetables,” (Admeira No. 1092891). In several video clips, the advertising starts with the cutting of vegetables. At one point, a steak turns into a courgette when flipped over the fire. The final results of cooking display various types of meat, but also vegetable skewers. The shortest version of the clip has much fewer vegetables, keeping the meat as the main component of a meal, which is notably suggested in several clips by the way the meat drops heavily on the barbecue, its size and mass evoking the filling and nourishing worth of meat. More surprisingly, in one clip (Admeira No. 1000992), footballer Darko is presented as everyone’s friend, bringing meat to their barbecues, until he finds himself in a group of women eating no meat. But this is no obstacle to his inclusion or powers of seduction, provided that he lies by pretending to be vegetarian. The narrator, a Coop shop assistant, explains that Coop also sells vegetarian options. Darko exits the shop with an aubergine, a strange choice, since Coop sells vegan sausages and other meat substitutes. It looks like the intention is to hide such alternatives. Moreover, the vegetables and other alternatives are carefully presented as complementary – Darko adapting to other people instead of making a choice of his own – and as a way to fit into various normalities, rather than an issue of ecological engagement or health concern. If this clip is innovative in many ways, and exceptional in the sense that it presents non-meat alternatives while advertising meat products, it nevertheless supports particularly strong stereotypes: meat is for men, and only women are vegetarian.

The stereotype associating meat with males, and more particularly with high physical performance, is reinforced from the choice of two famous sportsmen as the main actors in another series of advertisements. Yet, the whole series conveys gender stereotypes of different types, associating the preparation, cooking and consumption of meat with men, whereas setting the table and making salad is a woman’s job. The myth of the male hunter who imbues the strength of the animal he kills is evident. Stereotypes are addressed in different ways across the clips. The short series “Tsch-Tsch” (see Admeira No. 1615087) evokes the myth of early hunters. An advert with the soccer player Yann Sommer (Admeira No. 1618431) in his distinctive yellow goalkeeper’s outfit, crossing the supermarket like a sports field, complete with a soccer match commentary, feeds the stereotype of masculinity in a different way (see also Admeira Nos. 914791 and 1000992).

Dominant male stereotypes are also featured with the presence of fire, suggesting it is man who possesses the fire, who feeds the others, and cooks because he has mastered fire. In the other series, the man is not in the kitchen unless he is a chef. Women do not go near the fire (except Jessica, Admeira No. 1092891). The fire emerges as a symbol of virility, “it sexualizes the male” (Encyclopaedia Universalis), evokes warlike symbolism and heroism. In the short version of one clip (Admeira No. 914771, 15s), we see the essentials: fire and man. In another clip (Admeira No. 914791), we are in the presence of the dominant male: the woman serves him, he is sporty, muscular, competitive, skilled in soccer, and attentive to the child – in short, a potential father. The woman is presented as a sexual object, for instance with an imposing red chest (Admeira No. 1090466), introduced explicitly as a new conquest of the neighbour. All families are traditional, except maybe for the two women on a balcony (Admeira No. 1615087, ”14), one serving the other. Interestingly, in this case there is no visible shot of fire, and we have to imagine she grilled the food.

The slogan “to your BBQ, tsch, tsch,” used in many clips and printed on products, suggests that cooking meat is easy and fast: each “tsch” corresponds visually to the grilling of the meat on one side. Two sides, two “tsch”, and the meal is ready! This message contradicts the feeling of hard work that can emerge from the challenge of cooking, all the more given the increased status of the male taking responsibility for grilling the meat. Another undesirable reaction is cast away by a simple strategy: most of the clips stage a proximity with ordinary people, for instance the Coop shop assistant following closely the taste and needs of customers, and people are called by their first name.

Two ads present characters with an immigrant background: Amin and Darko. They are presented as people who are attentive to others (neighbour, grandmother), who know about good things. There is even a character – the grandmother – speaking a foreign language presented with subtitles. In one clip (Admeira No. 1001741), Armin provides precisely the meat “Pierre” has burned during his romantic barbecue with “Valérie”. The coloration given to these clips staging ordinary people on ordinary occasions brings some realism to the schematization: instead of “selling the dream” of an idealised nature, or mythic evocation (as in “Arena” from Bell, Admeira No. 906566), what is advertised is actually what people get with buying the meat. A sense of honesty emerges from this rapprochement; yet, it only supports more efficiently the pervasive idea that eating meat is normal, what everyone does. Meat here is meant to accompany the highlights of an ordinary life. The films are constructed by alternating a shot with a human and another with food. Indifferently, the food, whether meat or vegetable, is grilled, creating an equivalence (see Admeira No. 1615087, in which the steak is suddenly replaced by a courgette in a camera reversal). The vegetarian grills are still grills, suggesting that people’s differences are only apparent. This means of coalescing all characters as grill-fans tends to conceal the caricatural stereotypes that are presented, notably the men eating meat while only women are vegetarian. Ease of cooking cancels the effort for achievement, and proximity with ordinary characters cancels the rebuttal of the stereotypes conveyed to present eating meat as a social norm.

The precise argumentative structure is specific to each clip. Yet, a general claim emerges, that associates grilling meat with a mythic human origin (male and fire), partying or going on outings and holidays, sharing tender moments and to each person’s favourite taste (everyone can be satisfied). In sum, something like, “everyone finds their happiness in a grill party.” Yet, despite this apparent welcoming of all diversity, the advertising clip nevertheless conveys expected stereotypes about gender, traditional family, cultural ways of having pleasure in partying (around a grill). The Coop shop assistants are introduced as a warrant of this happiness, through their knowledge and care of customers’ personal taste, dedication and passion for their job.

In one clip, an additional concomitant advertisement is made for Coca Cola (Admeira No. 914791), with the popular beverage promoted as an essential component of a happy barbecue gathering.

The general argument and advertising strategy can be summarised as follows:

- Grilling is for everyone (even vegetarians) despite their personal differences.**
- Sharing a grill party makes you find your (stereotyped) place in society or community: man mastering fire or sporting prowess, woman as desirable “meat” alongside with an appetising barbecue.**
- Grilling meat makes a quick and easy meal, and allows you to express your (stereotypical) identity.**
- Showing ordinary people with a diversity of preferences, through abundant use of stereotypes, and calling them by their first names, makes the audience identify with their character traits; so eating meat is normal – even for vegetarians – and indispensable for a festive atmosphere and social gathering.**

3.2.5. Synthesis for Bell's BBQ, Samuel & Arena meat series

The Bell meat advertisement series emphasises the brand's connection to the past and traditions, stating: "Bell. It's good. Since 1869." This is augmented by the slogan: "The taste of the past in the pleasure of today. From the Bell brand," (Admeira No. 1019603). The commercials feature cinematographic scenes that are sometimes set in the distant past, such as a 19th century city or a Roman arena. Hence, the tradition of the consumption of meat is put forth. Moreover, this consumption is associated with the pleasure it provides at an age when we do not think (staging children as main characters, such as in Admeira No. 982539) and therefore when natural needs govern consumption. It is also linked to the success of a challenge where physical effort and skill are at stake in a tense situation (Admeira No. 906567). The protagonists, the same yesterday as today, are ready to do anything to consume it, even up to competing with a dog for grabbing a piece of meat, or engaging in a race. The desire for meat thus appears to be instinctive and its consumption is a reward synonymous with pleasure, as a natural need that is satisfied. The message is that this practice is inseparable from humans as nature intended.

By presenting the discourse as a truth because of its antiquity, the message leaves no room for distancing, which is reinforced by the rhythm of the images and the actions of the characters, and legitimises the current practice. The absence of consideration of the difference in contexts (eating cold cuts one or more centuries ago and in the 21st century amid the ecological crisis, for example) makes the practice acquired and therefore unquestionable. In these series, the company does not play on public arguments against meat consumption (the living conditions and slaughter of animals) or on the link to respect for nature.

First, the story is based on the notion of fire as a major criterion of human achievement, giving humans the ability to cook food and to domesticate nature: light at night, heat in the cold, working with natural materials (Admeira No. 1615650). The acquisition of fire is associated with superior intellectual faculties and the creation of a space and time specific to the human species. The symbol is therefore constitutive of a myth of origin. Here, it is indirectly associated with the consumption of meat without this ever being stated. The viewer is persuaded that the consumption of meat defines us as a species in the same way that the mastery of fire has redefined our living spaces, our relationships, our modes of consumption, and developed our intelligence to make us a superior species.

Fire is represented in multiple forms highlighting its qualities: it is either dangerous or provides salvation. It is the element that transforms the situation. In particular, it allows us to come out of the shadows: we start in a dull and slightly sinister place, with menacing faces contrasting with that of a seductive and mysterious woman, and suddenly a match lights fires for... a barbecue (Admeira No. 1615649). Fearsome, dismal or distressing environments are used as background to suggest that when man masters fire, he can act as he pleases: annihilate a city or bring the joy of meals to family or friends, and even feed the flames of love (the clip displays an embracing couple). Moreover, the fire responds and goes from a natural place to a piece of meat, it is suggested that cooking meat on fire is a timeless practice of humanity, going so far as to say that the barbecue is the reason "why fire was invented".

The staging of instinctive behaviours such as screaming, stealing and fighting – suggested or shown in the video clips – evokes the irrepressible natural instinct that drives humans to meat. The preparation of meat is staged as a battle that must be won. Using the metaphor of a gladiator, the male stereotype associates the preparation and consumption of meat with strength, war, courage, virility and victory. The music reinforces this effect of victory. If eating meat makes man as strong as a warrior, he is ready to perform and compete in a world where only the best belong. Thus, the story mobilises the metaphor of social elevation. This play on clichés associating meat consumption with virility allows for the categorization of individuals in society and contributes to cultivating inequalities.

Sexuality is put at the service of meat consumption: several images of implied sexuality are present to different degrees (see Figure 13). We go from desire (often associated with fire) with people embracing each other, flames coming out of a barbecue and growing, a sausage in front of a man's pelvis, to the "pleasure" of a child swallowing a slice of ham.



Figure 13. Illustrations of desire and implied sexuality (Admeira No. 1615649, 27-28')

The soundtrack increases the enjoyment implicitly (fast rhythm or lyrical flight) and explicitly (the song declares, "don't you think I'm satisfied?" Admeira No. 1019603, 38"). Female characters are part of a precise typology and follow one another in the spots, arousing mystery, power and envy, like the witch or the fairy. Finally, as we see in other series, a parallel is established between woman and meat by the juxtaposition of shots. These elements reinforce the place of male domination and the need for conquest to assert one's status.

The omnipresence of stereotypes in advertising reinforces them and makes it difficult to question them. The primary function of the stereotype is to make our complex environment more understandable. It is difficult to deconstruct, notably because its representation is simple and ultimately widely shared. The purpose of the stereotypes is prejudice: quick shallow judgement leading to a decision. In these advertisements, we have messages that constitute a "ready-to-think" mindset put at the service of economic profit: meat makes us strong, virile, inscribes us in history, makes us a superior species. The use of cliché reinforces the stereotypes. The circulation of clichés ends up reaching the collective imagination, which is normally based on social representations through shared knowledge. Thus, stereotypes take the place of knowledge and/or are associated with knowledge, saturating the collective imagination: "Meat makes you strong like a fighter and allows you to triumph over death," is put on the same level as scientific knowledge.

The general argument and advertising strategy can be summarised as follows:

- **The Bell ads appeal to tradition and history by depicting places from the past or fanciful locations.**
- **The fictions pushed are based on myth and stereotypes:**
 - **the symbolism of fire,**
 - **the strong and virile man,**
 - **the woman as a sexual object,**
 - **war, fighting or battles.**
- **These ads rely on primitive, archaic and stereotypical instincts of the dominant male to promote the consumption of meat. They take us back to a patriarchal civilization based on conquest and violence.**

3.2.6. Synthesis for Migros's Joker series on butter, cheese, meat

The narrative structure of this series is based on the notion of good fortune symbolized by the joker of playing cards. Migros aims to make viewers feel they could be the winner, the lucky one, the chosen one, even before they have gone shopping (Admeira No. 850740). These promotions also offer consumers the opportunity to “save money” during the festive season, which has an impact on family budgets. Nevertheless, it can be assumed these promotional offers extend over long periods as they are “a reason to party every day,” (Admeira No. 947806).

The rhetoric implies the viewer who takes advantage of these joker promotions is gaining access to an unexpected success (as in a card game). Systematically contextualised in traditional holidays with a strong Catholic and Christian anchoring, the brand associates the purchase of its products with the success of these family celebrations.

The advertisements are all produced in the same way: fixed shot, slight zoom, voiceover announcement, insertion of prices and promotion. The food products (butter, milk, cheese, various meats) or tableware (crocery, cutlery) are elegantly presented, the graphic charter varying according to the targeted holiday: Christmas or Easter. The first emphasises the colours linked to the festival (gold, warm browns, red), glitter and lights to create a traditional Swiss Christmas atmosphere. While the second includes animated or toy rabbits, the tone remains festive but funny and the lines are clean, fresh and spring colours dominate, such as green.

Symbolically, the purchase is reduced to something insignificant given the size of the discount (80%) and above all in view of the gain it allows: making the party an unprecedented success. There is a clear desire here to find a different discourse and a unique gain since these are everyday consumer products. By associating them with the notion of the joker, the brand increases its value and puts the responsibility for this value in the hands of the consumer.

The general argument and advertising strategy can be summarised as follows:

- Migros takes care of its customers. By offering financial benefits, it creates a climate of trust and proximity.**
- Migros caters to a lower to middle-class population that constantly needs discounts to eat well every day.**
- Buying Migros products means being able to celebrate traditional holidays in a dignified way through universal values of sharing, family, generosity and love.**
- Not buying Migros products is to renounce these values and to exclude oneself from the community.**

3.2.7. Synthesis for Migros's Cooperative and Restaurant series

Operating on the cooperative principle, employees and customers alike are presented as the owners of the store and belonging to an "M generation". Migros presents itself as a democratic brand. Thus, the quality of its products comes from the fact that they are sold to the stakeholders, as the slogan puts it: "Migros belongs to everybody" (Admeira No. 999782).

This concept is also found in the video clips promoting the Migros restaurant, as it relies on an identity-based approach to traditional Swiss dishes. Buying the brand's products is synonymous with patriotism. Should this not meet consumers' satisfaction, they are attracted by the chance to win a prize or by collecting stamps that can be redeemed for a reward.

In addition to the sense of belonging, a sense of pride is put forward, either explicitly by the woman looking at the butcher working, or by the young lady eager to help a customer. The members of the "M generation" community share common humanistic values that promote assistance, gratefulness and acknowledging dedication to work.

Ironically, while we get the idea that Migros is a middle-class retailer, it still promotes a neo-liberal approach to interpersonal relations. Being an "owner" allows one to control and comment upon others' work or to interfere in their choice without asking permission. Spontaneous and free affection (that of a mother, as suggested by one customer) is replaced by evaluation of one's work and appreciation based on the quality of the work done, which, in turn, pleases consumers and triggers increased consumption.

The general argument and advertising strategy can be summarised as follows:

- The ads create a sense of belonging to Migros and to Switzerland.**
- Positive values are promoted to make people desirous of joining this community.**
- A neo-liberal reading is still possible, as the ads promote control, assessment and consumption.**

3.2.8. Synthesis for Migros's "All for the #grilletarians" series

As summer begins, men in neighbouring families are engaged in rivalry in their back gardens, competing to see who can perform the best and most creative barbecue grill cooking (Admeira No. 1095174). The ads in this series by Migros end with the neologism "grilletarians" – a portmanteau of grill and vegetarian. Presented as ordinary people, the grilletarians all share the same method of cooking, whether preparing meat, fish or vegetables. The brand ignores or even counters the vegetarian philosophical approach by putting all diets on the same symbolic level of the barbecue grill. Vegetarianism, which has become equated to grilling, corresponds to the consumption of meat: a straightforward contradiction of vegetarian values. A father cooks for his daughter but his sensitivity to the vegetarian approach is zero, as he can no longer distinguish between meat-based and vegetarian goulash (Admeira No. 1174426). The primary meaning could be that the method of preparation and the products are of such quality that ultimately one cannot distinguish the two dishes. Yet, the illocutionary effect is that the vegetarian diet is obviously ridiculed as being interchangeable with a meat diet, as if it were a passing fancy of a teenager for whom eating meat by mistake is not a problem. Other video clips (Admeira No. 1090017) feature vegetables, with or without sauces, as part of the classical meat grill, emphasising diversity. Hence, it appears

that “grilletarian” is a cunning way to confuse the distinction between meat eaters and vegetarians, stating explicitly they all find happiness in Migros despite their differences. From this diversity, emerges the idea that everyone is having a barbecue in summer, setting up grilling as normality.

The meat advertising by Migros almost exclusively focuses on grilling meat, just like other brands. A special attention to sauces – and combined advertising with ketchup – constitutes nevertheless a particularity, in complete ignorance of the “unhealthy” appearance of a grilled steak swimming in a plate full of ketchup. Some clips (Admeira No.1002954, No. 1002973) explicitly counters the stereotype of the man controlling the grilling, starting with a man and the comment “one grill, one chef” at which point his female partner takes over the turning of the meat, followed by the comment, “Barbecuing is teamwork.” Yet, the clip concludes, “In matters of grilling, each has their own recipe.” The conclusion is not a revolution, merely the explicit affirmation of a relativism, and the female option (“teamwork”) does not equate to the male option (“one chef”), supporting an asymmetry despite the effort to step away from the stereotype.

A narrative of multiple threads is established in the series, giving it the advantage of not requiring an end and instead being able to adapt according to the various outcomes. The story is based on the gender stereotype of the female vegetarian and male carnivore. At first glance, the gender stereotypes seem to be shaken up, but the commercials are rather ambiguous: the clichés are renewed while denounced (vegetables called “boring”), or prolonged (natural meat and pleasure), dodged (the older woman beguiled by the younger butcher), or even put aside (a woman cooks on a campfire). As if the boundaries are shifting but the counterpoint remains at hand if needed. Stereotypes accentuating manhood are visible in the following ways:

- A man drives a flashy car (Admeira No. 909581).
- Most often, men are the masters of grilling; only one video (Admeira No. 1002947) shows a woman tending the fire and meat.
- A voiceover states, “Grillers never spare any effort,” as two men continue to barbecue amid a powerful wind storm, which has sent the women rushing for shelter (Admeira No. 916698, 19”).
- Another clip states, “Grilletarians are impressive, they alone hold the true flame,” while a young man drives a vintage car with flame decals, observed by an old man standing in front of his barbecue, which suddenly emits real flames at his pelvis level (Admeira No. 909581).
- Affinity between men is put forth, in spite of their differences, implying all masculinities are taken into account; yet, it only shows the variations of the male at the barbecue.
- Men divided by fences or hedges observe one other as they engage in competitive grilling (Admeira Nos. 1002949, 1002972). This last example goes in the direction of diversification of the masculine codes: a man grilling meat looks with scorn at a man carrying salad bowls, implying that only meat passes through the fire.

Women are associated with, or even compared to meat. One ad shows a man sensuously massaging seasoning into two pieces of meat with his thumbs, as the voiceover says, “They are full of tenderness,” while a reclining woman in a bikini looks on, waiting for her meal or a massage (Admeira No. 916698, 15”).

The rhetoric relies on various discursive strategies to make everyone want to be part of this community. Diversity of characters and festivity are guaranteed by the overall atmosphere, which is light, cool and funny. The grilletarians are lively people. Migros promotes sustainability, regional products and Swiss folklore. Yet, there are also some underlying negative aspects and contradictory messages. First, Migros is marketed as being for middle to lower class people, who

need daily discounts to eat properly. Second, it shows people living in a binary (if not entirely macho) world, where men eat meat and women eat vegetables. Third, while it officially promotes sustainability, it defends the notion that fish and meat must be eaten daily, and that doing so is affordable and cool. Migros does not push you to consume, but welcomes your desires, as seen when a consumer asks for a bigger piece of meat (Admeira No. 1002946). In other words, although it shows itself as democratic, the series has a sense of being demeaning in terms of both finance and behaviour.

Arguments and counter-arguments are staged in the video clips (Admeira Nos. 002939, 1002947, 1002951), placed in the dialogue of characters. The message is that everyone can have their own way at a barbecue (“for grilling, each has their own rule”). Instead of communicating an argument in favour of buying at Migros, it washes out all rationality as if each individual has their own right. This is a powerful way of convincing customers: You are right about your barbecue style, no matter what. The final comment, “One [rule] is unanimous: in Migros, the grilletarians are delighted,” suggests domestic bliss is to be found in shopping in Migros. This is nothing less than the neo-liberal replacement of the epistemic value (the reason and reasoning inherited from the Renaissance) for the unique value of the market: shopping replaces debating and discussing in families and couples. Personality and opinions disappear, absorbed in the mere shopping experience. Shopping is consequently the only and last expression of the self. Only, this argumentation develops progressively across many video clips, which only better fools the customers, practically forced to accept the claim after such a tactical advance. The series eventually leads to a confusion between species, from presenting the “grilletarians” as a new species (Admeira No. 909581), while the difference between vegetable and animal fades away in the swapping of meat-based goulash with a vegetarian one, presenting barbecues with both vegetables and meat, or considering meat as a “product of nature” (idem).

The general argument and advertising strategy can be summarised as follows:

- Everyone can be happy by shopping at Migros, regardless of differences in personal taste, and having a barbecue is not only normal practice but also an expression of one’s personal self.**
- Despite challenging stereotypes, the “Grilletarians” series nevertheless perpetuates them through caricatured characters and roles, depicting different roles between men and women, and prejudice raised in debates.**
- The focus on the democratic nature of Migros, which presents a diversity of characters and opinions, is used to subdue all differences in the practice of grilling, thereby obscuring the difference between animal products and vegetables, between meat eaters and vegetarians.**



PART 4 ANNEX

4.1 INDIVIDUAL METHODOLOGIES

In this section, each researcher presents the methodological approach used for individual analyses, which were combined to produce the results presented in Section 3. Some individually produced analyses are attached to this Annex, as examples only. The complete collection is too long to include in this report.

4.1.1. Visual and psychoanalytical approach

A visual and psychoanalytical approach of the studied advertisements is based on three successive approaches: sensitive, plastic (focusing on the visual composition and characteristics of the expression of a work) and contextual. The sensitive analysis is founded in reason. It involves making an exploratory and meaningful quest without confining the perception to a pre-constructed analysis. The first impression of an advertisement allows us to take into account the initial sensations and impressions experienced. The experience (Binswanger, 2016) of this first impression is then put in synergy with a plastic approach. This type of approach allows the analyst to see how 'plastic' elements (forms, colours, textures, compositions, sound, editing) (Groupe μ) are arranged to create meaning. Finally, the contextual approach allows us to articulate the aim of the sponsors of the advertisement with the various contexts of realisation, diffusion and reception, such as the socio-political-cultural context of the target.

The analysis of advertisements is rooted in visual studies (Alloa, 2011, 2015, 2017) and extends beyond traditional semiology (Saussure, 1978; Barthes, 1980; Eco, 1992) and iconology (Panovsky, 2014) without denying them. It is a question of freeing oneself with a conceptual autonomy and taking place in a "de-disciplinarity" (Mitchell W.J.T, 2009). The analysis of the image, extended to the filmic analysis, tends to embrace an ontology of the image, as well as a semiology, and to take into account an anthropology of the image (Belting, 2004). The attention is focused on a practice of images understood as a device of power. This type of approach could be accused of relativism, nevertheless it avoids the pitfall of authoritarian positivism. Moreover, this method does not ignore the established theoretical frameworks; it puts them in synergy and tries to take into account both the horizon of expectation as defined by Jauss (2010), and the rhetoric of images as theorised by Barthes (1964). The search for significant symptoms is constant. Thus our analyses are supported by a constant displacement (Joly, 2009) of signifieds of first level to connotations of the second level, by an attention to the presence or the absence of the elements (Didi-Huberman, 1990); to be made they are nourished by a psychoanalytical (Freud, 2005, Tisseron, 2002) and cultural approach. Certainly, such an approach, such an experience of the image, of the images, of the film, requires a little imagination; however, it does not fail for all that to be founded in reason in the plastic and contextual elements implemented in the advertisement. If such an approach can seem unstable (Didi-Huberman, 1992, Mondzain, 2007), it is nevertheless the condition not to reduce a presentation to a conventional system nor to reduce the reception to a passivity. It is a condition to think of the world beyond a sclerosing power (Mondzain, 2007).

4.1.2. Logico-discursive analysis of argumentation

In this perspective, the various features of the communication are analysed according to an approach inspired from the new rhetoric (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1958/2000; Meyer, 1986): considering the audience and locutor and the implicit influence processes as intrinsic to communication, the argumentation made by the advertising is reconstructed and briefly summed up in two steps:

The construction, presentation and staging of a topic of conversation and daily argumentation is analysed according to the dialogical model of communication of Grize (1996), specially developed for the analysis of daily discourses and natural logic (Grize, 1981),

The argumentative structure, often partly or even completely implicit, is reconstructed in reference to various models of argumentation (for synthesis, see for instance: Plantin, 1996, 2005, 2011; Van Eemeren et al., 2014).

Schematization

For each advertising video or image, a first approach consists in analysing the “representation of what it is about,” (Grize, 1990, p.29) manufactured by the advert designers and producers, which is called here a schematization (idem). Grize’s model provides various components (outlined below) and processes of composition (notably the logico-discursive operations). In this approach, the schematization is always situated in a context, including historical, social and cultural interactions with the topic of conversation. According to the fact, the situation of interlocution is generally the same in our case – an advert – and most often monological – a seller presents something to the silent audience – the places given to the locutor and to the audience (the buyer) are practically always the same: the locutor is the advertiser, seller or sometimes the producer, and the audience is only considered through the prism of the ideal consumer who decides to buy the advertised product. Hence, the analysis focuses on:

- the image of the locutor (the seller), the image of the object (the product) and the image of the audience (the consumer) that is staged in the video clip through the schematization;
- the [primitive notions], {object of discourse} and other logico-discursive operations relevant to the advertising message in the discursive schematization;
- the cultural preconstructs, which are not directly referred to discursively, yet are necessary to the reconstruction of the global schematization and generally belong to the normative thinking of a given culture;
- the representations and finality of the schematization. Since advertising always aims to trigger a desire for buying or consuming, the representations existing in the social realm and related to the object of schematization are differentiated in two categories: The desirable versus the undesirable representations. Indeed, since the audience may also relate the message to socially undesirable representations, the communication challenge of advertising (the finality of the analysed schematization) is both to evoke desirable representations and to avoid triggering undesirable representations. Typically, advertising triggers representations in the audience by the means of images, ambiance, music, etc. – preferably without direct discursive reference, in order to diminish the potential defensive reasoning or conscious thinking of the audience. Hence, the researcher analyses the relation between the schematization as a whole, and its historical, social and cultural context for inferring such representations. A synthetic presentation of these elements is presented in Figure 15.

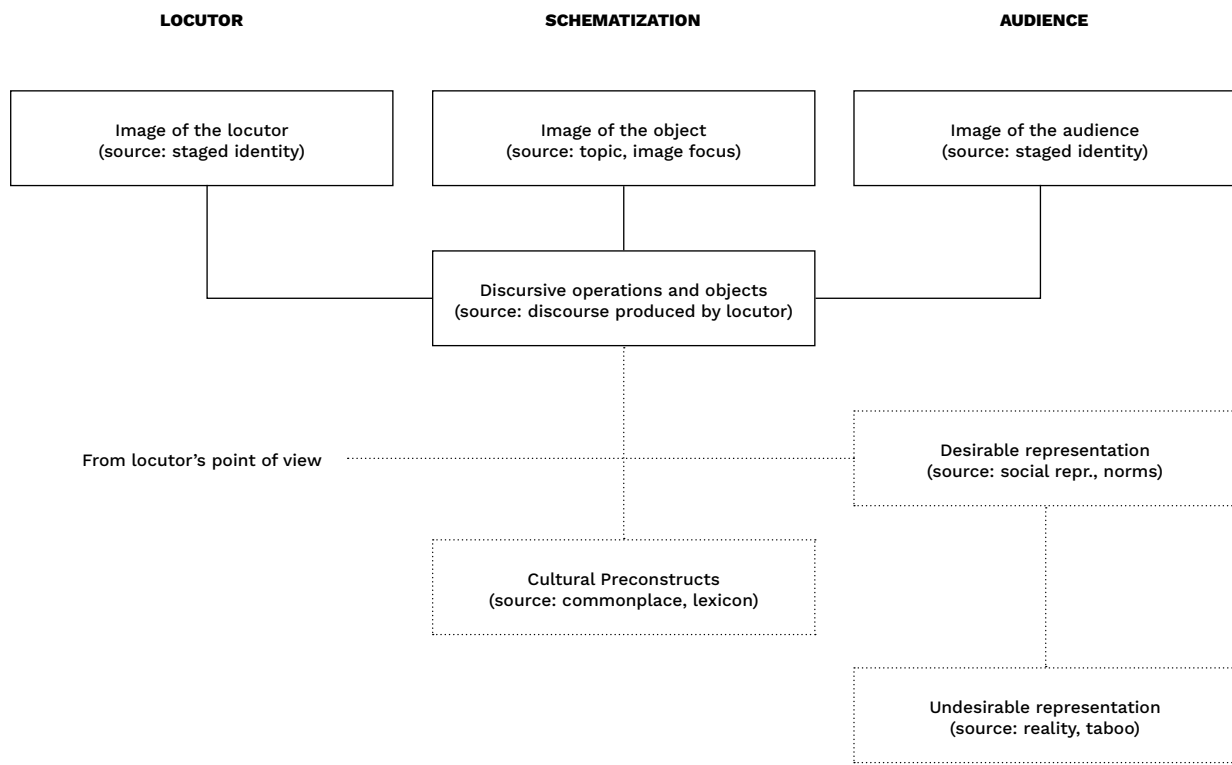


Figure 15. Concise presentation of a schematization.

Figure 15 presents on the first line the way 1) the locutor, 2) the topic of the conversation and 3) the audience are staged by the schematization (called “images of” in a metaphorical sense). On the second line, in the centre of the figure, the discursive operations and objects are included, quoting the discourse used in the advert, and constitutes the core of the schematization. The dotted lines, which relate it to implicit cultural preconstructs and (social) representations the locutor tends to invoke or cast aside, form the schematization, yet without referring explicitly to it.

When discursive content is directly quoted from the adverts (written or spoken use), it is put in between accolades {...}. For example, an advert states: “La différence est là.” In the analysis, the reference to {difference} or {the difference is there} may be made. Notions displayed or referred to yet without any linguistic explicit appearance are indicated as primitive notions in between vertical lines |...|. In this case, the exact phrasing is the choice of the analyst, yet the notion is mentioned (for example, appears as an image, a symbol, etc.).

Argumentative structure

In addition, the argumentative structure will be reconstructed according to various types of argumentation known in the field of new rhetoric. Once the structure identified, Toulmin's model (Toulmin, 1958, quoted by Plantin, 2005) is notably used for a quick reference to a normative or expected syllogistic structure, in order to reconstruct and present the elements remaining implicit in the advertising argumentation. Figure 16 presents in a synthetic layout the expected components (data claim, warrant, etc.⁹), and supports the researchers' reconstruction of missing elements in the explicit discourse. When an implicit meaning is expressed, it is put into brackets [...]. When, for example, a video clip allows to reconstruct an argument, the implicit claim may be expressed by the analyst as such: [animals are privileged compared to humans].

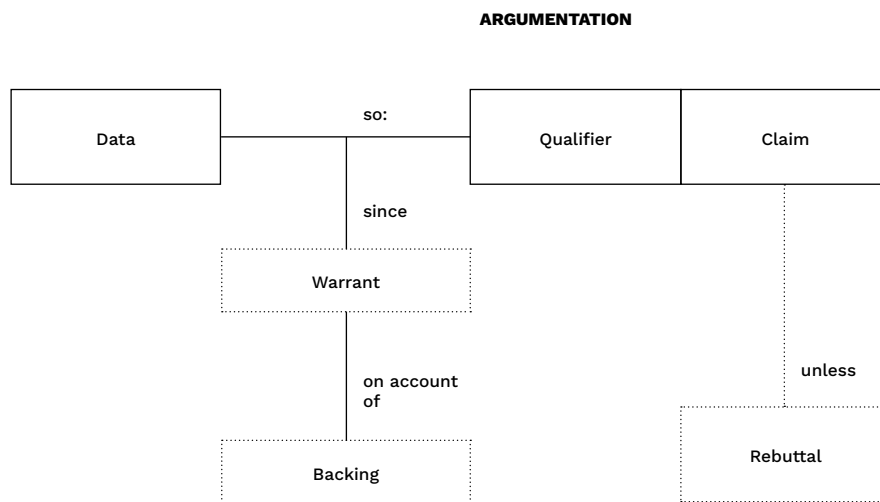


Figure 16. Concise presentation of (implicit) argumentative structure.

Once the structure (see Figure 16) is completed with explicit elements, empty categories support the reconstruction of the implicit elements of the argumentation, since such logical structure also works as an assimilation framework: the audience expects such logical structure, and tends to fill the gap with their own interpretation. Yet, such interpretation is not free: explicit elements exert constraints on what could be inferred in the available places in the model. Hence, filling the argumentative structure sketches the argumentative influence exerted on the audience through logical links. It also provides the opportunity to more easily notice logical fallacies in the advertised message.

Of course, much more can be said of a specific argumentation: Each will be commented on according to its particularities, for example stating the typical topos or logical form of the argumentation (syllogism, irony, analogy, etc.) may allow an evaluation of its quality. In addition, implicit refutation of non-quoted opposing arguments may be interesting in the context of advertising, and will be mentioned when identified.

⁹ For a detailed presentation of each category of the model, refer to Toulmin or Plantin's presentation (see references).

4.1.3. Multimodal analysis

Video clips of the advertisements are analysed using a multimodal perspective that enables consideration of linguistic and visual semiotic dimensions, and more specifically nonverbal information as transmitted by gestures, postures, and orientation of observance. This multimodal approach relies on a theoretical meshing that includes discourse analysis, gesture studies, anthropological studies or social semiotics in order to be able to acknowledge the complexity of nonverbal interactions and human actions. Gesture studies (McNeill, 1992, 2005; Kendon, 2004) posit that there is a strong semantic and temporal synchronicity between speech and gestures, or “visible action” in general (Kendon, 2004). Gestures may have different conversational functions (interactional, referential, pragmatic) and semiotic relations to their referent. The forms can help categorise gestures in different dimensions among which: (i) iconic gestures present images of concrete entities and/or actions; (ii) metaphoric gestures picture abstract content; and (iii) deictics are pointing gestures (mostly with the hands, but could also be performed with the feet, elbows, lips according to contexts and cultures). Studies of posture and proxemics are mostly influenced by the work of American anthropologist E. T. Hall (1966), who theorised the notion of proxemics, that is, interindividual distance and organisation of space. Four main inter-individual distances are traditionally considered: intimate, personal, social and public; each of them implies certain types of interactions. Another perspective on multimodality which is part of this theoretical meshing is one that draws on social semiotics as developed by scholars such as Kress (2010, 2011), Kress & Van Leeuwen (2001), and Cope & Kalantzis (2015). The researchers proposed to theorise their reflection on social semiotics and multiliteracies so as not to separate linguistic signs (including varieties of norms and languages), from visual resources (gestures, posture, images) or new technologies.

This theoretical meshing allows for two main and intertwined levels in the analysis of the video clips. The following separate presentation is motivated by heuristic reasons, but these levels need to be appreciated holistically in a complementary, contradictory or redundant relationship:

A discursive level

Drawing on discourse analysis (Angermüller, Maingueneau & Wodak, 2014; Maingueneau, 2005; Kerbrat-Orecchioni, 1990, 1992), and in particular the enunciative perspective where “the ‘situation of enunciation’ cannot be a situation of communication, socially describable, but rather the system where the three basic positions of enunciator, co-enunciator and non-person are defined” (Angermüller et al., 2014, p.147). Therefore, attention is paid to the use of pronouns, contextual and textual setting, tenses, speech, thematic progression, repetitions, figures of speech, terms of address. These elements allow for a better understanding in terms of:

- how the viewer or co-actors are addressed and considered in the overall narrative,
- how the arguments are organised and to what purpose,
- the type of human and animal relationship built or presented,
- the emphasis privileged in the narrative,
- the cognitive and affective implications/actions expected from the viewer.

A nonverbal level

Specific attention is given to gestural and corporal phenomena in order to analyse the role and place the body of the actors played in the message conveyed:

- Gaze, co-speech gestures, postures, facial expressions.
- Synchronicity of image/speech.

Here, the elements considered facilitate the interpretation of the visual strategies of the video clips on the basis of:

- Gaze orientation
- Speech-gaze orientation synchronicity
- Joint attention built, and for what purpose,
- Location and postures of the actors
- Non-verbal signs interaction and combination (are they redundant, complementary or contradictory)

4.1.4. Anthroposemiotic approach

Considering the semiotic plurality of advertising media, the message, by mobilising distinct discursive and visual semiotic registers, generates a permanent negotiation or renegotiation of meaning, oscillating between comprehension and interpretation (Falardeau, 2003) since the plurisemiotic reading is metaphorical (Kress, 2009). This necessary "mise en récit [storytelling]" (Ricoeur, 1983) of the intimate semiotic combination allows access to the meaning produced by the receiver (Kress, 2009).

The analysis of the materials was carried out at different scales.

An ethical scale

In order to identify the axiological and ethical posture of the sender of the message, the methodology was based on the relationship between the discursive content of the media and the image. This relationship between the discourse and the image makes it possible to identify the intentions of the sender (Unsworth, 2010; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2020).

The following three different types of discourse-image relationships have been considered (Nikolajeva & Scott, 2001).

i) A relationship of redundancy:

In this case, the discourse and the image present a majority of identical information. Even if the semiotic modalities do not allow for strict similarity, the information provided by the two modalities is redundant. The aim here is informative and factual.

ii) A stereotypical relationship:

When the image has no direct link with the discourse and belongs to the visual culture, the inter-semiotic relationship triggers the mechanism of stereotyping. The aim here is dangerous because it mobilises a common imagination to convey a message. The approach mobilises the affective dimension that links to the culture and guarantees belonging to the community.

iii) A relationship of reflexivity:

By creating a gap between the meaning of the discourse and the information present in the image, the semiotic combination resists the fabrication of meaning and requires the viewer to create the message metaphorically. The aim may be reflexive but, in the argumentative approach of marketing, it constitutes a manipulation of the viewer. The message remains to be constructed by the receiver on the basis of separate elements, the argumentative process is similar to the syllogism.

A visual semiotic scale

The method of analysing images alone comes from social semiotics (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2020), which recognises three meta-functions to any form of language: representational, interactional and compositional.

Several components have been studied:

- the passive or active character (with or without a goal) of the represented subject(s) makes it possible to observe whether the viewing subject sees the represented subject as an actor in his or her environment;
- the direct interpellation of the viewer or the placing of the viewer in the position of spectator (image-demand/image-offer) makes it possible to observe whether the viewer is interpellated or placed in the position of witness;
- the connivance or distance between the represented subject and the viewing subject allows us to observe the distance set with the other;
- the degree of iconicity of the images makes it possible to see the link with the iconographic reality of the subject being viewed;
- the contextualisation of the represented subject allows us to see if a critical perspective is possible for the viewer;
- the degree of salience of the image in its ability to capture the attention of the viewer allows us to measure its impact on the receiver.

An anthroposemiotics scale

The themes, objects and practices put into discourse in the different media were contextualised both in the archaeological and ethnographic knowledge available for the origins of Western civilisation and in the symbolic values that humans may have attributed to them.

To cross the symbolic and semiotic perspective, the analysis mobilised:

- the semantic study of discourse (Henrion-Latché et al., 2020);
 - the semiotic and iconic characteristics of the message produced (see Figure 17) (Greimas, 1986; Brandt, 2018; Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2020);
 - the discursive and pragmatic properties of the message (Brossard et al., 2014).
- Figure 17 - Semiotic square (excerpt from Greimas, 1986).

4.2. EXAMPLES OF INDIVIDUAL ANALYSIS

4.2.1. Visual and psychoanalytical approach

Bell

In this series, the primitive, archaic, stereotypical instincts of the dominant male are exacerbated, with the symbolism of fire, the woman/child sexual object, war/fighting/battles.

To show that these advertisements, far from promoting an ecological turn, lead back to a patriarchal civilization based on conquest and violence; yet the ecological question is systemic and these advertisements only reinforce the existing, which, in a finite world, with industrialization and the entry into modernity is no longer viable.

Today in the context of the war in Ukraine, these commercials are particularly difficult to watch.

In these series, the firms do not play on the arguments conveyed in the public space against the consumption of meat (the conditions of animal life, slaughter, etc.) or on the link to respect for nature. The spaces solicited are historical places (memory: the city in the 19th century, tradition or historical re-enactment: the arena) or imaginary spaces anchored on a basis of reality (forest and building). The fiction is called upon to put forward the relationship of the human being to the world as it is constructed (fire, technological invention) and in particular its relationship to fire with the rich symbolism attached to it: warming (sex, food) and mysticism (purification, strength).

On analysis of the symbolism of fire, see:

- Charbonnier, P. (2019). Abondance et liberté. Une histoire environnementale des idées politiques [Freedom From Want. An Environmental History of Political ideas]. Paris: La Découverte.
- Cholet, M. (2019). Sorcières. La puissance invaincue des femmes [Witches. The Unbeaten Power of Women]. Paris: La Découverte, 2019.
- Bachelard, G. (1938). Psychanalyse du feu [Psychoanalysis of Fire]. Paris: Gallimard, Folio.
- Freud, S. (1930). Malaise dans la civilisation [Civilization and Its Discontents]. Paris: PUF.

Analyzed examples:

- Bell, Admeira No. 1615650 25s: A short version of No. 1615649. Shocking today with burning buildings // Ukraine war. Soft music.
- Bell, Admeira No. 1615649 45s: In French or Italian long version of No. 1615650. With an atmosphere worthy of a series on vampires or fantasy literature. The urban landscape in dark blues and grey is prey to flames, they are triggered by man, master of fire, the “natural” fire invades the urban space built by man to bring the joy of meals with family or friends and feed the fires of love (an embracing couple).

In the current context, this is worse than the previous one with:

- An empty swing that moves,
- A white wolf,
- An extinguished light bulb in close-up,
- A single man who looks like a mafioso,
- The man makes a fire (with a match), the woman sees the flame of her lighter getting bigger, suggestively vulgar, then they put together “the fire to the powder”: shots of fires which are declared to follow each other to arrive at the burner of the gas stove,
- A new couple is presented,
- The bulb is shown lit, suggestively,
- The grilled ‘thing’ in close-up resembles a mini pig,
- A typical ‘galadrielle’ woman (a powerful witch, half-dangerous, half-good),
- People under/near a bridge ‘picnicking’, refugees.

Again the parallel of woman and meat (cf. ads Proviande), in a romantic version.

These two shots are linked:

Admeira No. 1019605, 12s: “The flavour of the past in today’s pleasure. From Bell.”
Contextualization: setting yesterday => longevity and tradition of the Belle brand.
The butcher uses a large knife to cut a thin slice from a sausage and offers it to a child who has arrived in a state of want (or lacking) and who feasts on it.
Observe the attitudes and expressions of the two protagonists.

Admeira No. 1019603 50s: long version of No. 1019605. Music lyrics: “...don’t you think I’m satisfied...” along with the following shot:
This is not the case in the short version.

And if that wasn’t enough: Under the pretext of a challenge with the young boy.
The next shot is unequivocal, we go from the rolled ham to the sausages
– Admeira No. 906566 45s long version of No. 906567: “Bell the barbecue for the beaters.”
The games, the castles. In short, base, uncivilised instincts are valued.
The challenge, the danger, the fire, the violence, the “chief”.

4.2.2. Logico-discursive analysis of argumentation

Meat: “The Difference Is (T)here” series

In this series, the focus is on the interviews with various meat producers from Switzerland. Hence, the discourse varies greatly from one video to another. The schematization nevertheless follows a general common design, represented in the following figure:

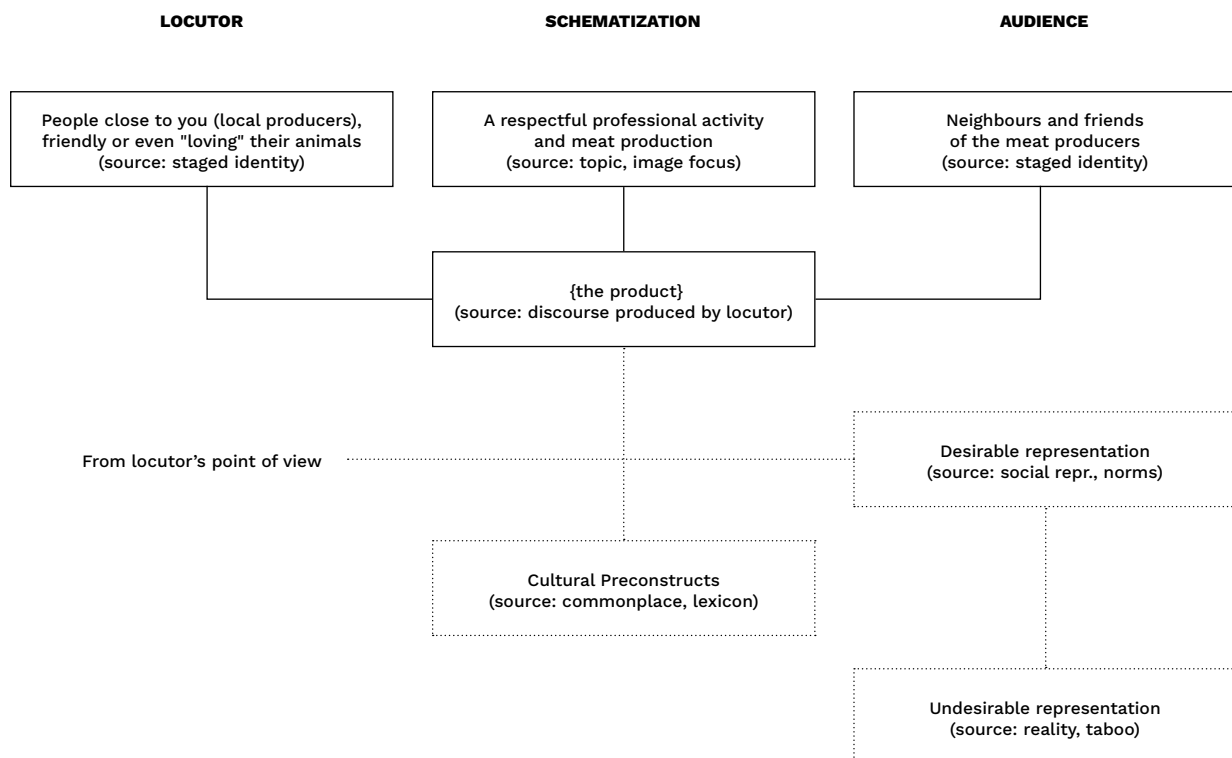


Figure 17: Concise presentation of the schematization

The schematization never focuses on “meat”, yet address it as {the product}, which is a process of “semantization of the argumentative link”: the argument holds in one word or sentence (see Plantin, 2005, p.35, about Grize stressing “the abductive strength of language”: “The statement is self-argued, it expresses a complete point of view, which is given as irrefutable.” The word is self-argued: the animal has no existence per se, it is neither a living being nor is its meat the flesh of a killed animal, it is merely {a product}. This way of schematizing is most visible when one of the interviewed farmers states {a stressed animal, it is noticeable in the quality of the meat}. Within this schematisation, what means a statement like {produced in the respect of the animals}? The differentiation of {the product} with {the animal} only serves to put the former in the forefront, and forgets about the latter: the animals are hardly visible in the video clips, with one exception where a farmer is surrounded by his chickens for a few seconds. On the contrary, when advertising for milk, butter or eggs, the animals are very present in the camera focus.

The risk taken in moving the camera to the local producer is probably to make the animals too present, while schematizing meat as a product requires a certain distance with the animal, which can even be acknowledged in the lexicon developed for addressing meat (especially in French): one does not eat pigs, yet “pork”, leaving the raw meat to degrade into carrion is nicely called “aged” (“rassir”) or even “develop its flavour” rather than “stale”, etc.¹⁰ In this vein, one of the interviewed producers speaks of “nice pork raised on the straw”, a self-argued statement considering the animal (pig) a product (pork), which is hiding the violent end brought by the producer to the animal’s life – it is a product from the beginning – and treating it like a vegetable or mushroom (“raised on the straw”), an analogical reference that blurs the thoughts of unsanitary conditions related to livestock breeding, or even animal mistreatment when space or cleaning is insufficient. The only producer who mentions the slaughtering is cut right after saying the word.

One of the interviewed producers seems to have a different type of discourse, oriented on popular wisdom (or Christian tradition), stating “it is like in life, one must give to receive...” Despite the ostensible wisdom of such aphorisms, its very abstract nature draws attention away from the concrete challenges met in animal breeding (scarce space, lack of cleanliness, diseases, separation from offspring, killing).

Advertising Swiss meat, the comparison to foreign meat is nevertheless always implicit. The local legal context –comparative advertising is forbidden in Switzerland – partly explains it, yet the use of implicit argument seems at least as important. Here is a reconstruction of the implicit argumentation:

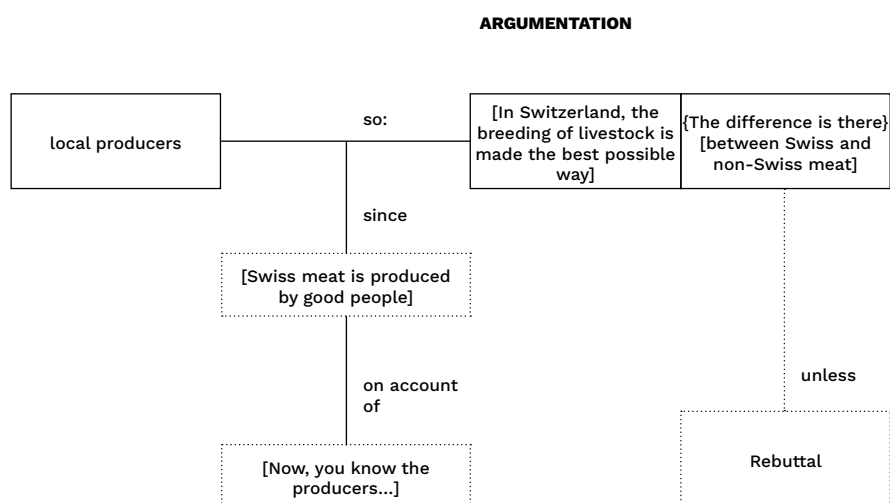


Figure 18: Concise presentation of the partly implicit argumentative structure

¹⁰ There are many euphemisms, such as the “culled cow” (“vache de réforme”), designating a cow destined to be slaughtered. The list of all terms developed for softening or dissimulating the violence of animal exploitation would be too long to establish here, since it is not the aim of this analysis.

The general argumentative structure, once explicit, is particularly vague: of course, knowing someone (or just seeing their face on a video) does not mean they are a caring and well-intended person towards animals; likewise, local production necessarily means the Swiss meat is better. The claim is also particularly vague, since the {difference} – while easily understood as in favour of Swiss meat – could be on the flavour of the meat, like on the welfare of animals, or on anything else.

Milk: “Lovely” and “Amazing” series¹¹

Unlike meat advertising, in which animals are practically always out of sight, the cow has become here a (fake) star of the show: she has a name – which is a tradition in Switzerland, all cows have a name given by the farmer – that participates in the argumentation: not that the cow actually is “lovely”, but rather “loved” by its owners. This sliding moves the power relation between the farmer dealing with their animals like possessions (in Swiss law, animals are but possessions) to set the scene on a king-like (or queen-like) cow, staging the farmers at her service (so far as to spend time repelling flies from the cow).

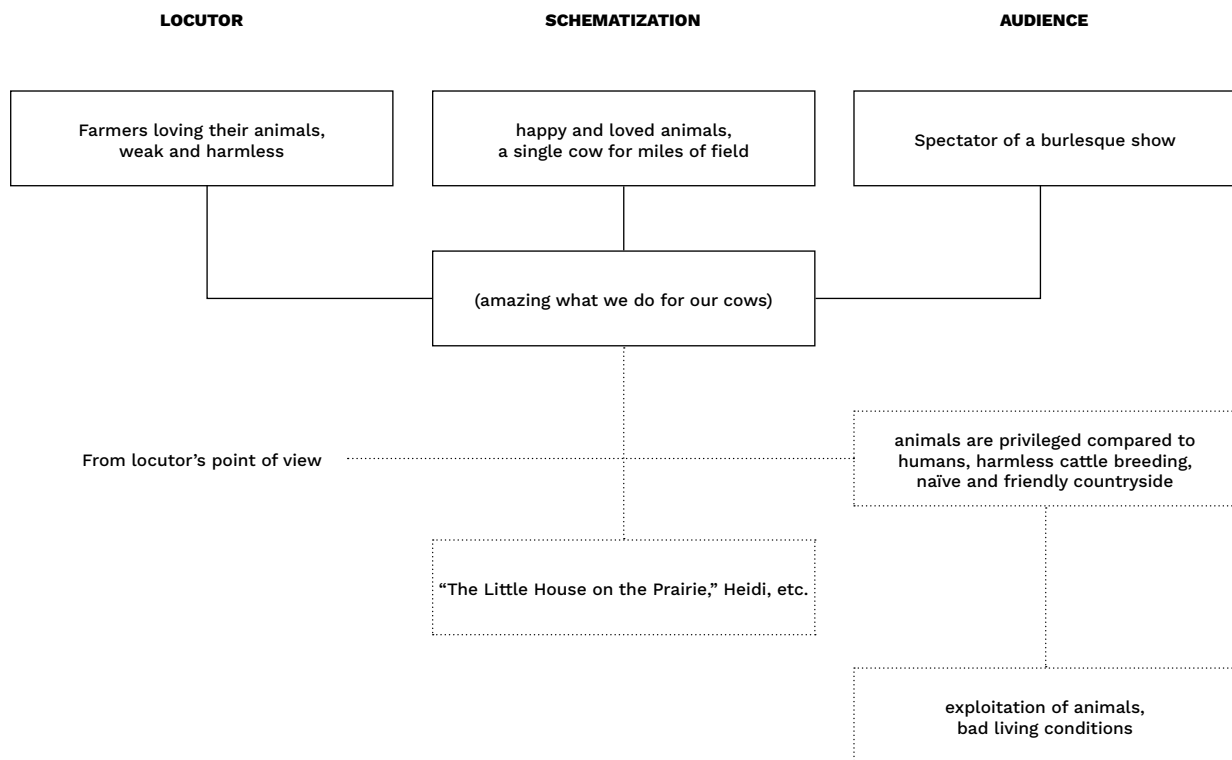


Figure 19: Concise presentation of the schematization

The exaggerated naïve stage set for presenting the cow baptised “Lovely”, as well as the name itself, brings a burlesque coloration to the advertising series. As such, it is common and not necessarily inadequate in advertising, and could constitute a second degree, ironic communication. Yet, this burlesque coloration interacts with the content of the argumentation, which is actually very serious, and addresses precise arguments from the ecological and antispecist critique of meat and animal product consumption. Taken together, the burlesque schematization and the serious and detailed argumentative structure contaminates the ecological and antispecist critique with the burlesque, bringing forth the implicit message that such critique itself is risible.

¹¹ Translated from German “echt stark”, French “trop fort” and Italian “tanti fascoli”.

ARGUMENTATION

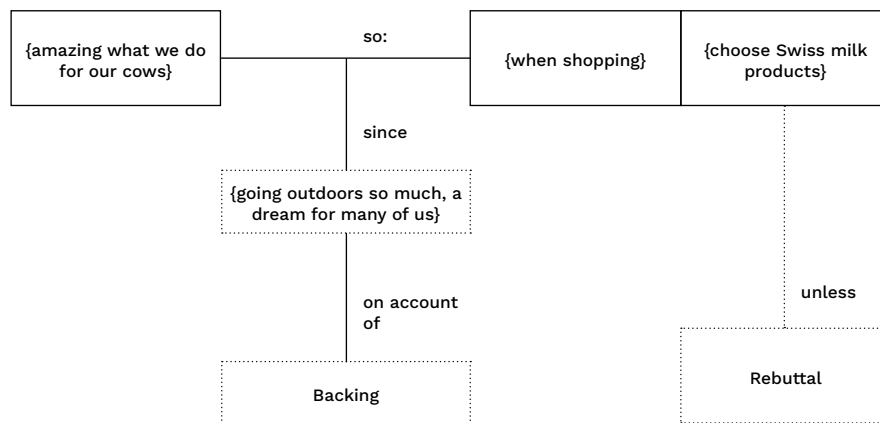


Figure 20: Concise presentation of the partly implicit argumentative structure

The various video clips of this series address the following points, known from ecological and antispecist critique to animal breeding and exploitation:

Animals spending too much time indoors without stretching their legs is addressed by the words “going outdoors so much, a dream for many of us,” implying the cow is privileged compared to a human working at a computer.

- The contribution of livestock to global warming (methane emissions) is addressed by “cows increase the capacity of Swiss meadow to capture CO2.”
- The critique on the importation of fodder from far away¹² is addressed by “grass is so abundant that our cows can be picky.”
- The general ecological impact of animal products compared to vegetable food is addressed by “no long journey, our products are always fresh” and “we all keep watch on sustainability,” a rather meaningless sentence, not committing much to anything.
- The mistreatment inflicted on animals in Switzerland, regularly covered by the media, is addressed by “our cows have the right to be cows,” even more meaningless and far from any real commitment.

Hence, under the cover of harmless burlesque human roles in relation to the cow, detailed and precise argument of the critique of animal products (over)consumption are seriously addressed in the dense and short discourse at the end of the video clips, either by directly contradicting the critique (“grass is abundant”) or by committing vaguely to the values of critique (“we all keep watch on sustainability”).

Coop: Meat advertising

Grill-time is associated with party-time. In one advertisement, people singing converge on a barbecue. Another advertisement announces the “season of grilling” (Admeira No. 1092891), staging ordinary people on their balcony, garden or terrace with a diversity of meat. People are called by their first names. The key suggestion here is that it is normal to eat meat: everyone does. Yet, one child eats a grilled corn cob and the narrator states: “Jennifer, who suddenly starts to like vegetables.” (Admeira No. 1092891) Several ads start with the slicing of vegetables. At one point, a steak transforms into a courgette when flipped over a fire. The final results of the cooking contain various types of meat, as well as vegetable skewers. The shortest version of the clip has much fewer vegetables, keeping the meat as the central piece of a meal, which is notably suggested in several clips by the way the meat falls heavily on the barbecue, its size and mass evoking the satiation of hunger and the nutritive worth of meat.

¹² In 2019 and 2020, a lack of grass for grazing livestock in Switzerland was reported by local media. Imports come from as far as from Brazil, constituting a direct threat to the Amazon forests.

Surprisingly, one ad features soccer star Darko (Admeira No. 1000992), presented as everyone's friend, bringing meat to various barbecues, until he finds himself in a group exclusively composed of vegetarian women, at which point the narrator – a Coop shop assistant – explains that Coop also sells vegetarian options (Darko emerges with an aubergine). If this clip is innovative in many ways, and exceptional in the sense it presents non-meat alternatives while advertising meat products, it falls into a particularly strong support of stereotypes: meat is for men, especially athletes or men of high physical performance. The alternative product to meat is not very convincing: of course one can find an aubergine in a Coop store. It looks like the communication here is designed to hide the shop's meat alternatives (vegan meat substitute, halloumi cheese, etc.) as well as to give it some space. Moreover, the vegetable alternatives are carefully presented as complementary – Darko adapting to other people instead of making a choice of his own – and as a way to fit into various normalities, rather than as an issue of ecological engagement, or health.

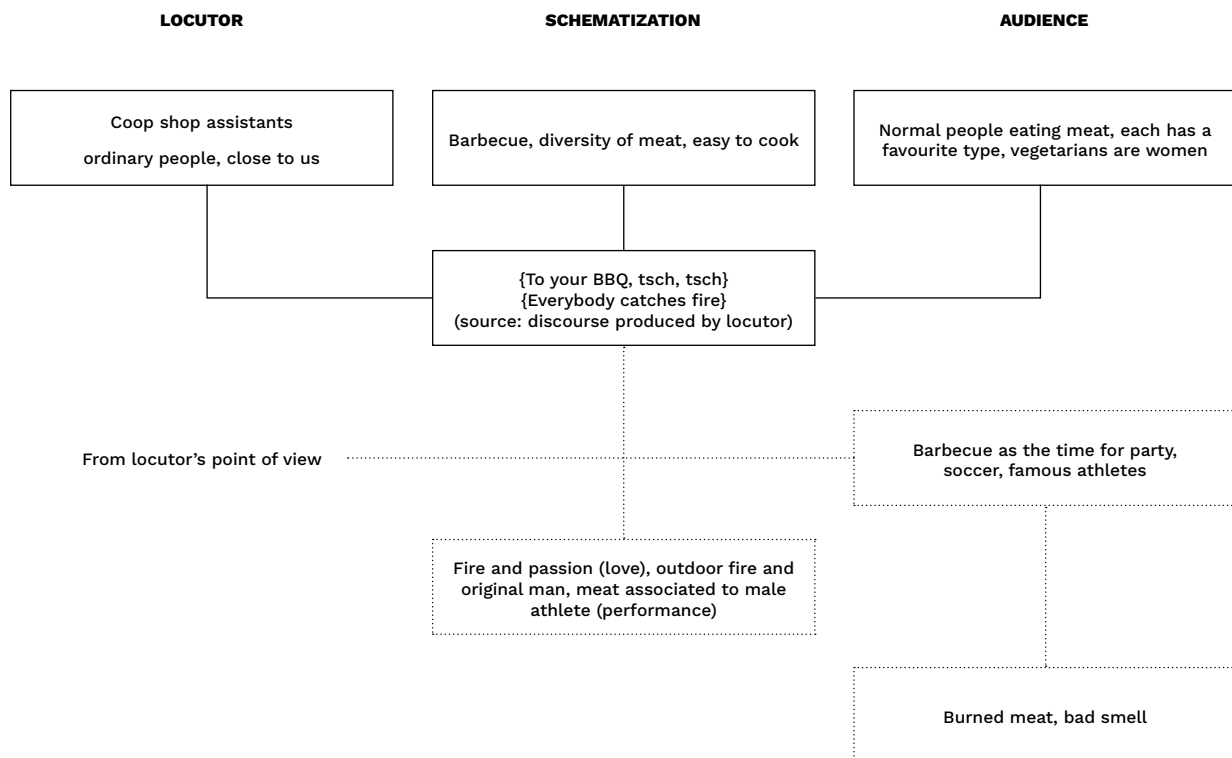


Figure 21: Concise presentation of the schematization

The slogan “to your BBQ, tsch, tsch,” used in several clips or printed on products, suggests the ease and quickness of the cooking: each “tsch” corresponds to the grilling of the meat on each side. Two sides, two “tsch”, and the meal is ready.

Another suggested representation in various video clips is the proximity with ordinary people, and with the Coop shop assistant following closely the taste and needs of their customers, so much so that in one clip (e.g. Admeira No. 1001741 “Schmöcker”) Armin provides precisely the meat “Pierre” has burned during his romantic barbecue with “Valérie”. Here, meat is meant to accompany the highlights of an ordinary life. The coloration given to these clips, staging ordinary people on ordinary occasions, brings some realism to the schematization: instead of “selling a dream” as done in the staging of an idealised nature, or mythic evocation (as in “Arena” from Bell), what is advertised is actually what people get with buying the meat. A sense of honesty emerges from this rapprochement; yet, it only supports more efficiently the pervasive idea that eating meat is normal, what everyone does, and does not prevent these clips from supporting stereotypes, such as grilled meat is the natural timeless food of human beings, only women are vegetarians, everyone likes the smell of a barbecue, and grilling meat is quick and easy.

ARGUMENTATION

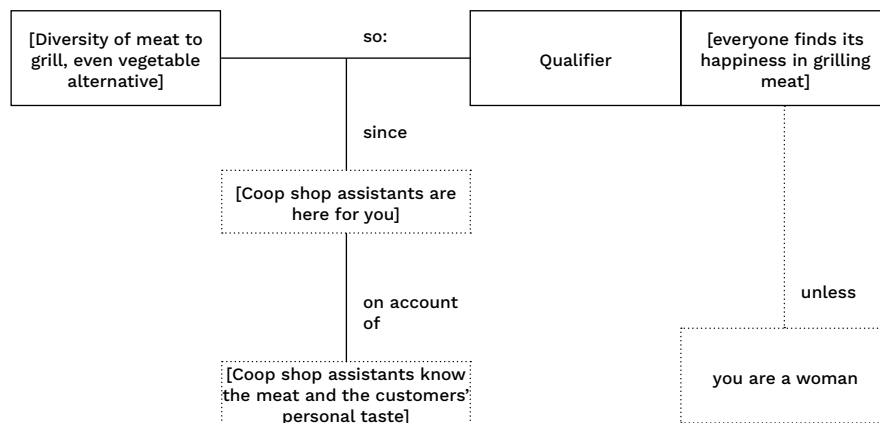


Figure 22: Concise presentation of the partly implicit argumentative structure

The precise argumentative structure is specific to each clip. Yet, a general claim emerges, that associates grilling meat with gatherings, adapting to each favourite taste, partying or going on outings and holidays, sharing romantic moments. In sum, something like: everyone finds happiness in a grill party. The Coop shop assistants are introduced as guarantors of this happiness, through their knowledge and care of customers' personal taste, and of the products, and through their dedication and passion for their job.

4.2.3. Multimodal analysis

GalloSuisse (Admeira No. 941675)

A young man opens his refrigerator at night and stares inside, looking for a snack. The shot is framed so that we, the viewers, are placed in front of the man, as if inside the fridge, which is emitting a loud hum. It is like we are joining the man's quest for something to eat, as we can look at the items in the fridge. The orientation of his gaze prompts us to understand that he is not looking for fruit or vegetables. He momentarily seems focused on milk, but he finally smiles when he spots the eggs and removes them. What is to be understood here is that eating eggs is no easy game; you need to make some effort, even crouching down before the fridge. The man is simultaneously level with the viewer, which creates a level of intimacy.

The eggs are placed in the centre of the middle shelf. Interestingly, the gesture of removing the eggs is synchronised with the appearance of the brand and its logo in the lower right corner: the logo appears as the actor has barely started to remove the pack of eggs. This automatic replacement of the product by the brand can be interpreted to mean that viewers can eat as much as they want, as eggs will always be available.

Proviande (Admeira No. 938285)

Throughout this ad, a close relationship is built with the viewer. The voiceover, creates an atmosphere of confidence by sharing a family secret. Consequently, the narrator trusts us and we are almost members of this trustworthy community. Deictic gestures have a referential function that build joint attention towards a common referent. But in this context, the man on the left points towards a place off-camera, thereby excluding us – as viewers and potential consumers – from this shared experience. Therefore, the only way to share their experience and have access to this off-camera information is by fully integrating their fictional world, that is, by eating meat.

The same process is featured in another ad from Proviande (Admeira No. 1026878) with the Meister family, where the young girl points towards a place or person off-camera, from which we are again excluded.

4.2.4. Anthroposemiotic approach

Proviande, the Meister Family, Le Noirmont (Admeira No. 1026878)

This advertisement shows a family of cattle farmers in Le Noirmont municipality of Switzerland. Through a technique of immersion in the heart of the living, at a scale that is neither micro nor macro but meso (at the group level), the animal is anthropomorphised. Using the basic principle of the semiotic square, the aim is not to say:

- that we are killing the animal
- that we do not respect the living
- that we continue to take what is due to us
- that we are doing the same thing as our competitors, namely factory farming.

Anthropologically, animal husbandry, having existed for some 12,000 years, is synonymous with the settling of nomadic populations, as well as territorialisation and possession. Although there is no consensus on its origins, it allows us to no longer depend on natural variations in the availability of resources and to take control over the living and therefore death. At the origins of Western civilisation, it coincides with the appearance of the first monotheistic activities of humans, who fabricate a divinity that ensures their domination over nature, which Christianity will take up (Genesis). Bruno Latour (2015) shows that humans' inability to modify their behaviour in relation to their environment stems from the fact that humans are not responsible for their actions, since the deity knows what is good for them, places them above nature and puts it at their disposal.

Swissmilk, Vegetable food, uploaded newspaper page

A metaphor of healthy and sustainable plant food is spun from a strong lexical field (12 terms) and visual dominance. Animal products are mentioned in only 6 terms and one sentence out of 16. A pregnant discourse praises the benefits of a plant-based diet.

The page is divided by a diagonal, from plants at the top left to dairy products at the bottom right, ending with the brand. The colour scheme is interesting: the plant green is in the image, which also has orange, complementary to the blue of the brand.

There is a clear desire to hide or camouflage dairy products in the plant world as healthy and sustainable.

There is an anthropological relationship between plants and milk on a symbolic level. Milk is often synonymous with purity, in this case the healthy nature of plants, and with 'natural' whole foods compared to mother's milk, in this case the sustainable nature of plants. The discourse here is highly feminised and totally

demasculinized: plants, food, referring to the maternal character of milk, also a symbol of innocence or even weakness: it is reserved for children, the sick and the elderly.

But milk must be dissociated from dairy products derived from animal exploitation and anthropologically considered as a 'live' resource intended to limit the seasonality of resources. All known human groups that consume dairy products also exploit animals for their meat, which is hidden here at all costs. Symbolically, they are often incompatible with meat: woman/man, living/dead, purity/defilement, which is reflected in the media.

Cheese, the Little Goatherd, uploaded TV spot

This narrative pits medicine against nature. The medical sphere is associated with breast milk, presented as a medicine and the temptation of the breast (even the eroticization of breastfeeding). Nature is associated with victory, strength, growth and a quicker discharge from hospital. Cheese is thus stronger than a drug like breast milk for growing up.

The permanent image of field against field creates a dialogue between the nurse and the child, also in the final scene.

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Imprint:

From Manipulative publicity to our plates: A Swiss study about the advertising of animal products

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Layout: Franziska Neugebauer

Photos: Tina Sturzenegger

Sources: Full data can be requested by Greenpeace

May 2022

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greenpeace.ch/publikation/85093/eine-schweizer-studie-ueber-die-werbung-fuer-tierische-produkte/

Greenpeace finances its environmental work exclusively through donations from private individuals and foundations. through donations from private individuals and foundations. The report was made possible by project-related donations. Many thanks.

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