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1. Introduction

Bollywood films have reached Europe. They cannot only be bought in Indian groceries but are now also sold together with magazines. The publishing house DeAgostini has released a Bollywood DVD series in 2007. Two times per month such packages are sold at Austrian newspaper kiosks. In other words, even European companies react to the new media hype of Bollywood. Moreover, it can be said that India has succeeded in becoming a globally known and appreciated film industry.

When Europeans watch these films and are not used to Indian culture, they might be astonished and curious about many things. Firstly, they might wonder why most of the time people are dancing and singing for inexplicable reasons. Moreover, they might ask themselves why do such song scenes differ from the rest of the film and tend to portray completely different places and times. Furthermore, spectators might wonder about the massive use of branded goods and stereotypical character types.

This thesis will try to reveal some of these phenomena by explaining how films are produced and financed because they, in some points, differ considerably from European or American film productions. Moreover, it is demonstrated why Bollywood cinema incorporates song and dance scenes and why Indian producers think Austria is a fascinating and exotic location. In order to find out about Bollywood film producers' cooperation with Austrian companies, Mr. Köck from Cinetirol has been interviewed in October 2007. He or members of his team travel regularly to Indian metropolises to introduce Tyrol as film location and lure film producers to the Austrian Alps. Moreover, Cinetirol arranges and coordinates Indian film crews' stay in Austria. With the help of other companies, he enables a comfortable and trouble-free shooting. Of course, tourism also profits from this collaboration.

Another peculiarity about Bollywood films and these song and dance sequences is their connection to advertisements. On the one hand, songs are used for film promotion but on the other hand, brands are also promoted in these sequences. This could be observed while watching many Bollywood films. As a consequence, a questionnaire was developed in order to prove whether Bollywood fans from other countries also have come across this idea. This questionnaire was posted in Bollywood forums in the

internet in order to find out what people think about advertisements in Indian films. Moreover, people should answer questions like “Which brands are advertised most often?”, “Which actor presents most branded goods” or whether spectators feel annoyed and disturbed by the omnipresence of advertisements in films. Furthermore, they should also give reasons for these phenomena. Their findings are then analysed and sorted according to the age and period of time some is a fan. It should be found out whether there is a difference in brand perception between older and younger respondents or whether it is decisive if a person is for a longer or shorter period of time a fan.

Furthermore, people’s responses are combined with a film analysis. Seven films are watched in order to count the appearance of brands and advertisers in order to find out which brand dominates and which scenes are predominantly used for brand integration. This analysis shall also show whether the difference types of product placements that exist in Hollywood films also can be found in Indian popular films as well. This investigation is followed by an analysis of brands’ narrative functions in films and especially in song and dance numbers. It should be shown whether brands fulfil certain functions and how they influence an actor’s image or maybe even profit from it.

The aim is to show that advertisements even flood Indian feature films. Film producers have agreed to integrate advertisements in films in order to help “nationalise” foreign brands by integrating them in Indian films and turning actors into role models in order to increase the product’s degree of acceptance by people. Moreover, India even exports their films to other countries, thus reacting presenting other cultures their way of using globally known brands. In fact, India shows that it has also become a globalising power.

2. Bollywood film production

As this thesis deals with product placement in Bollywood films, it is crucial to discuss film production in order to understand how and why products are integrated at all into films. Firstly, the term Bollywood and its use in this thesis are explained before describing how films are produced and distributed and why the liberalisation of economy lead to a new era of film financing. It shall further be found out why certain sequences are presented in television before a film's release and why brands are integrated. Furthermore, reasons for the considerable number of film failures shall be depicted. In this connection organisation of production is discussed as well.

Thus, this chapter shall provide a general overview of Indian film production and explain why it contains attractions that other film industries lack and how despite these attractions still most films fail before even been released.

2.1. Definition of the term Bollywood

As this thesis deals with product placement in Indian popular films, it is important to clarify how the term Bollywood is used here and what meanings it implies, before presenting a general view of Indian film production and financing. The term Bollywood is made up by the words Bombay and Hollywood and refers to the most popular film industry of India having its seat in the capital of India. Although, Bombay was renamed into Mumbai and films have also been shot in other Indian cities, the term Bollywood still remains until today.

For this thesis, the term Bollywood is treated as a more flexible term. In other words, not only films produced in Mumbai are discussed but also those from other Indian regions, such as Telugu films, as well. The term Bollywood here rather refers to a genre comprising kitschy, colourful and loud films with rhythmical melodies, resembling, to a certain degree, Hollywood musicals. Moreover, they are characterised by exaggerated melodrama, trivial story lines and actors behaving like national heroes. This short explanation even implicates that Bollywood is not a straightforward and boring genre, as shall be demonstrated in the course of this thesis.

Many authors have already stated that this type of film is versatile and have tried to compare it with existing and known genres, such as Hollywood musicals and classical Indian theatres. One of them claims that in the 1960s Indian film makers mixed up styles from different genres, such as theatre, other cinemas and music in order to establish a unique Indian film style¹. Another one argues that Indian popular films resemble Hollywood musicals and adds that in Indian films ‘all genres are mixed and blurred’².

Moreover, it is often stated that Indian popular cinema has never been a homogenous form of entertainment and that Western cultures’ influence cannot be denied. In this context, it should be seen as ‘a hybrid product’ (my translation of Tieber, 15). However, this makes it difficult to sharply divide the two industries but Tieber claims that even though Bollywood and Hollywood might in some points resemble each other, they are basically different concerning the structure and narration of their films. Moreover, Scheinert conveys the impression that Bollywood is copying Hollywood’s film musicals but is not able to drop its traditional roots properly and competes against its ideal, which it will not be able to reach³.

No matter whether the Bollywood industry is influenced by another one or not, it cannot be denied that it is characterised by extraordinary peculiarities. Therefore, Tieber takes over Tom Gunning’s concept of the ‘**cinema of attractions**’ to refer to Bollywood’s outstanding entertainment characteristics. In other words, the Indian film industry enchants the audience by presenting them a different world from which they have usually been used to. This means that Indian popular films are ‘exhibitionistic’ and address the audience deliberately in a direct way. Therefore, they destroy the illusionary film world whereas in Hollywood, the focus is set to hide and ignore the presence of the camera. As consequence, the spectator turns into a voyeur secretly following and observing the story. Tieber further argues that Bollywood cinema is exhibitionistic and extroverted in so far, as it is shot with regard to possible present audiences⁴. This means that people are aware of the fact that they are presented an illusionary world and deliberately watch these films in order to enjoy a fictitious but entertaining world.

¹ Cf. Alexowitz, 57.

² Cf. Srinivas, 185.

³ Cf. Scheinert, 35.

⁴ Cf. Tieber, 59 and Gopalan *Indian cinema*, 366-367.

Srinivas even mentions this type of cinema's traces by arguing:

With its direct presentational style, multiplicity of genres, and focus on spectacle, travelogue, and display, Indian cinema is closer to turn-of-the-century cinema and its aesthetic of astonishment [...]. (186)

Tieber further argues that direct addressing, frontal staging, self reflexivity and the mentioning and comparing of other films make Indian cinema so special and remarkable. In addition, action commentaries, portrayal of Gods as well as songs in which the narrator changes abruptly from first to third person, make Indian cinema extraordinary. In this context, it can also be added that characters' inner feelings and typical psychological characteristics are not as logic and comprehensible as they are in Western cinemas⁵.

In this context, it should be mentioned that melodrama is one of these entertaining attractions. Some spectators think it is kitschy and ridiculous, while others love this display and exaggeration of feelings. Although melodramatic moments are recognisable and seem to be simply constructed and transparent, the dreamy world of the spectator is not destroyed. And again, it is this unrealistic and fictitious world that attracts spectators. Dwyer also claims that people escape their lives and forget their problems when seeing melodramatic films⁶.

According to Gokulsing & Dissanayake (94-5), song and dance scenes are also attractions of Bollywood films. They argue that films contain such sequences because of traditional reasons as it lies in the nature of Indian people to transmit myths, traditions and literature musically. In fact, they resemble very much Indian theatres, which influenced the development of Bollywood cinema. Moreover, it is often claimed that they are based on traditional Indian mythologies, such as the Mahabharata and Ramayana, whose traces can still be found in story lines of romantic films⁷.

Thus, the concept of 'cinema of attractions' applies to the main part of this thesis as well. Product placements and song and dance sequences are portrayed in order to entertain the audience and to advertise products. Thus, exaggeration is a feature shared by both of them.

⁵ Cf. Tieber, 32-59 and Bauer, 35-37

⁶ Cf. Dwyer, *Cinema India*, 28-29.

⁷ Cf. Scheinert, 33.

Halpern also mentions an interesting concept that can be applied to Bollywood films and can explain why people like Bollywood films. He refers to a film as being a 'public dream' with following peculiarities:

In terms of content, films enable fleeting inner emotions with universal appeal to transcend time, place and language through the permanent images of cinematic expression. Although a dream can only be remembered after the fact, a film can be watched over and over on videotape or DVD. (3)

Halpern describes in a very interesting way how dreams and films resemble each other by the fact that people must accept the unreality of the dream or film in order to be able to enjoy watching or experiencing it. In other words, if people always remind themselves of dreams as being unreal and cinemas as being illusive, then dreams and films would not be enjoyed. Therefore, one deliberately has to enter the world of illusion in order to understand and participate in experiencing it. This may also be interpreted as explanation why the 'cinema of attractions' is popular in such an extent. In other words, people deliberately look for possibilities to escape the real world and real life. Thus, Bollywood spectators do not feel cheated and awake angrily or leave the cinema in a furious way. In fact, the contrary happens- song and dance numbers offer what people's lives lack (Halpern, 3-4).

As it has been clarified how terms such as 'Bollywood' or 'Indian popular films' are to be interpreted and applied to this thesis, the next chapter reveals other relevant and important facts about Bollywood film production, which are as well of great importance for understanding the implementation of product placements into feature films better.

2.2. Bollywood film production

It is a given fact, that American and European film productions to a certain extent differ from each other with regard to film financing and production costs⁸. Nevertheless, it can be summarised that a feature film production is usually divided up into different parts. The three stages of production are: pre-production (planning and organisation of following stages, calculation of costs), shootings as well as post-production (synchronisation, addition of special effects, music, editing and assembling copies for distributors). This chapter focuses on the importance of the first stage which helps

⁸ Cf. Bauer, 87-88.

producers to shoot a film on schedule, whereas the next chapter deals with film financing. Both are important with regard to Bollywood films, as they present the basis for all kinds of arrangements concerning in-film advertisements and choice of shooting locations.

A closer look at the organisation of film productions shows that in order to enjoy international reputation and acceptance, Bollywood film producers have to get over a lot of organisational hurdles in order to produce a box office hit. Of course, like other film companies too, Indian's also employ personnel working in different sections. The following description of division of production labour describes different stages and peculiarities of Bollywood film production:

First of all, an actor, producer or director has an idea and tells it to a screenplay writer who starts working on a script. At the same time, the producer looks for a music composer, dialogue writer, director and song lyricist who try to prepare the basis for the song and dance sequence production.

Then the budget is fixed with financial backers (who are sometimes the distributors) who also have to decide on number of song and dance sequences, actors and special effects. Sometimes such sponsors only promise their financial help when certain popular stars are acting. As the following chapter will explain, financing is a very complex and sometimes illegal affair because money is raised from dubious sources. Even advertisers are interested in Bollywood film production, which subsequent chapters illustrate. Thus, sponsors have more power and right of co-determination than might be assumed. If the sponsor is not satisfied with the script or other details, it has to be changed.

Furthermore, technical personnel⁹ are employed and dates for shootings are fixed. At this point of time, songs have to be ready because they influence the planning of shooting and the choice of location. This means that songs have to be recorded before the film is shot¹⁰. In other words, singers perform them while actors move their lips and concentrate on choreographies.

⁹ Cf. Bernstein, 73-87 for a general overview on film production and its personnel.

¹⁰ This recording method is typical for music videos, Cf. Bühler, 200.

Moreover, song lyric writers, composers, singers and producers have to discuss and coordinate themes of songs and film¹¹. A composer chooses a melody fitting the theme and topic of the film. This means that producers collaborate with composers and dialogue writers in order to fix whether firstly the music or the dialogue text is being created. The producer has to inform them about his intentions and the style of the film. In very short time dialogue writers and music composers design the bases for song and dance sequences. Moreover, choreographers develop dances and start studying choreographies with background as well as main dancers¹².

During shooting many other people prepare the location for the film production. Of course, these employees are temporary workers and have to be hired from certain companies which differ with regard to types of scenes shot. An important and expensive component of shootings is the production of song and dance sequences, which can be interpreted as one of the most outstanding attractions of Bollywood films. The organisation and arrangement of their production are discussed later with regard to location placement.

After shooting, the editor makes a rough cut and shows this version to producer, director and distributors. Sometimes changes have to be made and shoots have to be repeated. After re-editing and discussion with all financiers, a final cut is made and shown to The Board of Film Censors who may sometimes demand further changes. The censors often control whether the ban on kissing and portrayal of naked bodies is

Lastly, editors add background music and re-record the film, which they sell in form of release print to distributors. At the same time, song and dance sequences are edited and formed to videos. Music channels, such as MTV, then present these videos, in order to attract audience's attention and persuade them to watch the film¹³. Subsequently press conferences are held and films as well as actors and music are introduced to the public. Sometimes television is also used to introduce a film by showing a documentary of the film production or earlier films of certain actors in order to point the audience to a

¹¹ Cf. Buchacher, 54.

¹² Cf. Meissoun in <http://www.meissoun.ch/dlai/dlai-bw-artikel.htm>, "Farah Khan" in *Best of Bollywood* 2 (2008): 12; and <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JWIbN9AVbLU>

¹³ Cf. Bühler, 161, 176-177.

particular film project¹⁴. After these publicity campaigns, the film is released in the cinemas.¹⁵

This description of the procedure of a Bollywood film production shows roughly that film production in India has to be professionally organised in order to be successful. Yash Chopra is one of some producers working according to such plans. He is one of the most popular and successful film producers of Bollywood, who even developed his own film style. In the meantime he has become an idol for many amateur film producers¹⁶. He has contributed a lot to Bollywood good reputation in other countries. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that he only belongs to the minority of successful producers.

It is an unfortunate but given fact that most producers' projects fail, while India is the country bringing out the highest amount of films in the world. Although Bollywood's production methods resemble those of Hollywood, most Indian popular films are not nearly as successful as American productions are. More precisely, eight hundred films are shot each year¹⁷, of which about one hundred and fifty are released and only a tiny fraction really becomes a big hit. In the year 2002, the revenues of only eight films were able to cover their costs¹⁸.

There are many reasons for the high amount of production failures. One of the main causes is the absence of professional employees involved in this work. Often people shoot films who are neither skilled nor have any experience with Bollywood. Laity productions are not unusual because the luxurious film world attracts many nonprofessional people seeing in Bollywood the opportunity for making big money. As a consequence, the lack of technical knowledge leads to freezes of film productions and subsequently to bad investments. Moreover, people's working conditions are not as structured and organised as they are in the West, maybe also for financial reasons¹⁹. Sometimes producers even realise too late that their ideas and visions about the film

¹⁴ Cf. Dwyer, *Yash Chopra*, 151.

¹⁵ Cf. Gokulsing & Dissanayake (2004), 102 as well as Uhl, 107-109 and Alexowitz, 74-76.

¹⁶ Cf. Dwyer *Yash Chopra*, 132-133, 137.

¹⁷ This is almost as twice as many as produced in Hollywood. Cf. Srinivas, 185.

¹⁸ Cf. Uhl, 107.

¹⁹ Bauer (40) describes further that in the United States many companies, agents and studios are only occupied with buying scripts, casting actors and trying to find scripts fitting the market. In contrast, European film producers depend on banks and other sponsoring institutions. They must organise and structure the production in a different way.

production have been wrong and they need other actors, other scenes, locations or songs. Lack of script, of technical knowledge and planning are said to be responsible for the failure of a film²⁰. In other words, script and film calculation²¹ help the film team to keep production under control and save a lot of money because chaos costs time and results in delays. Moreover, each retard costs money and increases the risk of failure. Pendakur describes that even if the production is progressing in regular time, it very much depends on the actors' punctuality and reliability²². This coordination is very difficult as many stars work for several projects at the same time and cause expensive delays so that often stand-ins have to help out during rehearsals.

Pendakur, for example describes that film costs have increased dramatically in the last years and that the smallest mistake or unplanned incident may destroy a producer's work or even life²³.

However, in Bollywood some film makers have learned from the mistakes of former generations and tried to work against this deficiency. In other words, producers have distributed jobs to professional and skilled people. Thus, in the last years many professional and successful producers have passed on their knowledge to a new generation of directors, producers and make-up stylists who have learned from their ancestors how to be successful in film business. However, newcomers have still difficulties in establishing a good reputation and earn a lot of money.

Bollywood is partly run by family dynasties and big families. Very often relatives also assist film projects. Therefore it is not surprising that many film companies are still family firms where one person may hold various positions. Yash Johar is the head of such a dynasty. He has produced box office hits like *Dil To Pagal Hai*, *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham* and *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*. Father Yash Johar worked as producer, director and head of the company *Dharma productions*. At first his wife Hiroo assisted him and then son Karan followed his foot steps. In the meantime, many other family members have started working there as well²⁴. Another example of such a film family or even dynasty is the Chopra family owning *Yash Raj Films*. Another interesting phenomenon of Indian film dynasties is that a producer may also be script and dialogue

²⁰ Cf. Pendakur, 24-34.

²¹ Cf. Bauer, 80.

²² Cf. Pendakur, 30.

²³ Cf. Pendakur, 30-32.

²⁴ Cf. Best of Bollywood, Vol.3, 11 and Vol. 1, 11.

writer as well as cameraman. In the case of Santosh Sivan, a cameraman also takes over the part of a director²⁵.

The companies do not only employ family members, but strangers as well. It seems as if money opens doors to new friendships. If someone is able to afford a film production, it seems as if this person is also going to have many friends. Generally said, the working atmosphere with newcomers is also very affectionate as Nikhil Advani, a director and friend of Karan Johar, claims. He states that “Dharma Productions” is like ‘a second family’ for him²⁶. Therefore it is not astonishing that producers sometimes become friends or even marry each other. Sometimes members of one film dynasty marry those of another one, in order to ensure famous and popular descendants who then have a pre-destined career as actor or director. For example, lyric composer Javed married script writer Honey Irani. Subsequently, their son has become one of the up and coming stars.²⁷

To sum up these general remarks on Bollywood film production, it can be said that the ‘cinema of attractions’ indeed produces more films than Hollywood, but in fact is by far not as successful as the latter. It can be claimed that a lack of planning and qualification are the reasons for many failures. As a consequence financiers are searched in order to save projects from ruin. In most of these cases, manufacturing companies are allowed to place their products in order to procure funds for film projects. On the other hand, money is also provided by Mafia organisations and other criminal institutions, which then also have a say in production. It is therefore not astonishing why untrained people work in this business. Thus, it can be said that this chapter explains the bases of film production and financing and intends to demonstrate why producers need financial support. The following chapter further discusses various possibilities of financing Bollywood films, which again is relevant for understanding the choice of advertisements in and about films.

²⁵ Cf. Best of Bollywood, Vol. 10, 11.

²⁶ Cf. Best of Bollywood, Vol. 2, 11.

²⁷ Cf. Best of Bollywood, Vol. 3, 13-15.

2.3. The financing and distribution of Bollywood films

The preceding chapter illustrated how film production is organised and that many actors and directors stem from famous dynasties. In this context, the following pages discuss financing and distribution of Bollywood films. This is important with regard to production, as the fact that money is raised by different sources, influences the film in many ways. Thus, financiers and sponsors often have a say concerning content and cast of a film. Therefore, the most usual ways of financing and distributing Indian popular films are explained.

Khanna, as mentioned in Tieber (48-49) proposes four types of film financing most often used in India:

The first possibility of funding a Bollywood film is when a producer cooperates with a financier who provides the majority of funds necessary for production. The residual money is made available by the sale of rights to a 'World Rights Controller' who takes ten percent of sales but arranges income by further sale of film rights. Of course, the controller also profits from all film incomes.

Secondly, films can be 'self-financed' which means that production companies are able to raise a part of the film's finances on their own. Other funds are provided by sale of rights, product placement and loans, which are characteristic for big companies (owned by film dynasties). Thus, product placement, which is mentioned here as financial support of film production, can be interpreted as another of those 'attractions' described in the preceding chapter. As this type of financing is used very often and is also visible in films, it should be looked at in more detail later.

In addition, producers (often directors or wealthy actors) may also provide the majority of funds themselves and then tries to find many other investors and financiers to cooperate with them. This is not difficult because fame and reputation promise success and financiers have confidence in a celebrity's ideas and competence. One such famous producer is Shahrukh Khan, who uses this kind of financing for his film productions²⁸

²⁸ He already produced films such as *Asoka* (2001), *Main Hoon Na* (2004), *Om Shanti Om* (2007) and *Billo Barber* (2008) – to name only some of the most popular ones.
Cf. <http://www.imdb.com/name/nm0451321>

because it is easier for popular people to be accepted by banks and financiers. Moreover, the fact that he knows popular and successful producers and behaves as if he is related with them, helps him a lot for finding supporters, as everybody wants to work with him. Shahrukh Khan has turned into a brand promising success. Therefore he is in great demand.

The fourth possibility to get money is receiving a grant from an institution. Such films are called 'commissioned films', as they are often supported by the National Film Development. They are often produced in cooperation with TV channels or certain film production companies.

However, there is also the branch of low-budget films which are often small production projects and are therefore financed by businesspeople thinking that they are able to enter Bollywood and make great profit in the Indian film industry. Unskilled people (who have already been mentioned) work for these companies and try to copy great and successful directors and producers.

To sum up, it can be said that in only very few cases the producers are able to pay for all the costs themselves and finish the film on time. Therefore, pre-selling of film copies to distributors in order to receive additional money is very common. Sometimes a producer is even able to make profit before the start of the production just by sale of release rights²⁹.

The expenses of film productions vary. A low budget film may cost about 250 million rupees, whereas one which incorporates special effects, song and dance numbers, as well as famous stars, may cost the threefold. About one quarter of all expenses is allotted to the actors' salaries³⁰.

Thus, distribution companies function as film financiers and are entitled to decide over choice of actors, location and other production factors. Moreover, they are the ones being responsible for promotion and film marketing³¹ because borrowing money from banks has been impossible until recently due to the fact that India's government did not

²⁹ Cf. Tieber, 49.

³⁰ Cf. Pendakur, 30 and Tieber, 47-48.

³¹ Cf. Bauer, 38-39.

allow the Indian film industry to be called “industry”³². A reason for the banks’ disinterest might be unorganised film productions and therewith linked high risks and fears of bad investments³³.

As already mentioned financiers promise financial help after popular actors have signed the contract and warranted collaboration. In other words, the presence of stars stands for success. However, celebrities also choose their films carefully by being told the scripts and knowing producer, director and other personnel. As already described, many families and even dynasties are involved and cooperate with others, which is the reason why people know each other. In contrast to the American film industry, in the Indian one, actors, singers, dialogue and script writers or composers are not casted by agents or agencies or comparable companies. Almost everything is fixed by handshake and personal contacts.

An interesting phenomenon is the financing with black money other criminal acts. Tieber thinks that one of the reasons for this development is the evasion of high tax rates (46-47). Furthermore, evasion of taxes is seen as petty misdemeanour. Pendakur (54) also mentions some actors and famous Bollywood celebrities who are being detected. Amongst others, Shahrukh Khan, the person representing honest and loyal film characters, was seized 15 million rupees. Thus, this shows that not even the most sympathetic actor is always honest in real life. Although tax inspectors regularly control film companies and very often detect hidden asset, which is of course only the tip of the iceberg, the wrongdoers are not seriously punished. In contrast, it seems as if government has no power over corruptions.

In the film *Tera Jadoo Chal Gayaa* by Vashu Bhagnani, the theme of taxes, criminality in film industry is mentioned and incorporated in the plot in following way:

Kabir hides Mr. Oberoi’s cash box in order to help him evade tax payment. The latter, on the contrary, does not know anything about his luck. Suddenly one day a stranger enters the office pretending to be a client and asking Mr. Oberoi about his revenues, the boss boasts about his successful business dealings: ‘...yesterday Doly Chewing Mix owners gave Rs. 20 lakh³⁴ in cash’ [1:47:03]. The stranger is astonished about payment

³² Cf. Gokulsing & Dissanayake (2004), 49-50.

³³ Cf. Gokulsing & Dissanayake (2004), 121-122.

³⁴ Lakh is a counting unit in India and stands for one hundred thousand rupees.

in cash and even claims that 'Nobody pays in cash these days' [1:46:57]. After Mr. Oberoi confirms several times that he keeps cash in his safe, the client suddenly puts down hat and shoulder bag and calls two men to come and bring his coat and tie. Surprisingly the visitor turns into the income tax inspector and asks Mr. Oberoi for the safe's code. Naturally, Mr. Oberoi feels threatened and tells them the number. However, fortunately there is no money in there and the three strangers have to leave. The fact that no further investigation follows is very interesting and might be realistic. Maybe it is due to the fact that police and official institutions are powerless against the majority of delicts, although inspectors even tend to use creative methods to control companies, as demonstrated by the described scene.

Unfortunately, criminal offences are not restricted to tax evasion. It has been found out that increasingly, Mafia is also involved in the Indian film industry. It is argued that the main reason for Mafia's interference in the Bollywood industry is its role as financier. The fact that government did not accept Bollywood as an industry until 1998 caused film producers to ask for money from shady financiers because official financial institutions did not give loans. Another reason for criminal interference in the Bollywood industry according to Pendakur is that the government did not support the development of the film industry for a long time because the establishment of infrastructure and purchase of equipment were not being sponsored (54).

Many producers also agree to pay high amounts of money to criminal organisations help them to threaten actors, directors or other specialists and enforce cooperation. As already mentioned time schedules of actors are often fully booked and keep them from participating in more projects. However, without the promise of famous actors, a producer may not find investors and a film would not be able to become a box office success and has no chance of survival in the huge Indian film industry. Therefore criminality is closely related to the Bollywood film industry.

However, criminal institutions do not even shrink away from murder which the assassination of Gulshan Kumar, a Bollywood film producer, shows. This incident in 1997 brought much shady racketeering to light although much more crime is left under the surface. Moreover, it confirms Mafia's involvement in the Indian film industry. Pendakur claims that in the 1990s even 40 percent of films were produced by criminal organisations (54). However, it seems as if celebrities who are threatened or

blackmailed, do not even inform the police that their life is in danger³⁵. In the case of Rajiv Rai, a bodyguard saved the producer's life by shooting back and injuring the alleged criminal³⁶. Police is not taken seriously because film industry that is involved in shady dealings acts according to own laws.

Other corrupt and shady factors influencing and provoking Bollywood crises are the illegal reproduction and sale of DVDs and videos. Nowadays especially illegal copies seem to be a problem and represent a great loss of revenues. Even in Indian groceries all over Europe the sale of copies is quite usual and seen as unspectacular. However, the copying network is as complex and dense that almost every salesperson makes use of it. A detection and ban seems ridiculous and ineffective.

Furthermore, the Bollywood film industry is also threatened by the emergence of cable and satellite television. As many TV channels broadcast films before their official releases, rural cinemas seem to die out. The reason for this phenomenon is that films are shown at first in bigger cities and larger cinemas (often multiplexes) and are then passed on to smaller theatres in suburban or rural areas. Thus, a film sometimes does not even reach rural cinemas before it is broadcast on television. This often threatened the existence of smaller cinemas and caused the government to react and establish a law blocking the broadcasting of films before their official release. In other words, TV channels have to wait one month after the films release in the cinemas to broadcast it on television³⁷.

However, in order to produce a successful film, it also has to be promoted and advertised in the media. Bollywood producers have turned their song and dance numbers into hallmarks of films and used them for promotion before film release in the cinemas. The sequences are edited and adjusted to music video style in order to attract the audience's attention. Therefore it is not astonishing that MTV in India is full of Bollywood videos³⁸. Sometimes film promotion is linked to brand promotion and product placement, as a part of cross-promotion strategy. However, promotion and

³⁵ Cf. Srivastava in http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/south_asia/3152662.stm

³⁶ Cf. <http://www.rediff.com/news/jul/31rai.htm>

³⁷ Cf. Tieber, 47.

³⁸ Cf. www.mtvindia.com

marketing in and around Bollywood films are discussed in the next big part of this thesis.

Some sources claim that Bollywood has changed its financing strategies in recent years. Although banks have become more flexible in lending money, government still charges high taxes for feature films. Therefore Bollywood producers depend on modern marketing strategies in order to increase their income and to not only depend on ticket revenues or DVD sales. Product placement and film marketing in the internet, television and other media have become important and powerful tools for financing films³⁹. Therefore the main part of this thesis deals with product placement in Bollywood films and its perception by its fans. Moreover an analysis follows demonstrating with examples how impressive this advertising method really is.

2.4. Conclusion

To conclude, it should be emphasised that the aim of this chapter was to show how Bollywood films are financed, as this is crucial for film production. Moreover, the advent of new financing possibilities enables producers to develop more contacts with manufacturing companies and to move away from criminality. Although, criminal acts will never be brought under control, it was important to demonstrate that this film industry works according to its own laws and rules. Actors and producers tend to be puppets of investors who demonstrate their (political) power by influencing film production. This means that behind the glossy and idyllic Bollywood world the fight for political and economic power dominate reality.

Nevertheless, the focus of the following chapters will be on one of the financing methods of Bollywood, namely product placement. This trend, which is already known from Hollywood films, does of course not only provide money for producers but also fulfils certain narrative functions within films, which shall be discussed in the following chapters.

³⁹ Cf. Sukhbinder, www.mubs.mdx.ac.uk/Research/Discussion_Papers/Marketing/dpap%20marketing%20no-30.pdf

3. Product placement

The former chapters' concentration on Bollywood films and their peculiarities in general is now followed by a description of their most powerful and influential feature, namely product placement, something they have in common with the American film industry. In other words, product placement transmits advertising messages in feature films and is therefore able to influence spectators. Furthermore, it helps film producers to raise money and organise props for expensive projects.

Product placements in Hollywood films and TV series have already been discussed in many diploma theses⁴⁰. Most often mentioned and popular placements are BMW cars and Omega watches in *James Bond* films, Reese's Pieces in *E.T.*, Nike shoes in *Forrest Gump*, Apple computers in *You've got Mail* and Manolo Blahnik shoes in *Sex and the City* (to give just one example of a TV series as well).

Unfortunately, the majority of investigations have predominantly only focussed on Hollywood, also serving as a fundamental inspiration for the analysis of product placement in Indian popular films. Thus, the following part of the thesis describes general remarks on product placement in Bollywood and shall be seen as introduction to observations of product placements in Indian popular films.

After the definition of product placement and its reasons and benefits, the collaboration between manufacturers and film producers in terms of placement organisation is explained. This is followed by the introduction of placement types used in the Indian film industry. At the end, location placement, a very common advertising strategy is discussed in more detail to show that Bollywood has even reached Austria.

3.1. Definition of product placement

Before discussing advertisements in Bollywood films, the term product placement has to be defined in order to clarify what the analysis deals with. As already indicated, product placement is a form of advertising that integrates branded goods, functioning as props, into feature films. Thus, the spectator does not feel disturbed by them and accepts

⁴⁰ Cf. Diploma theses of Ehrenbergerova, Figo, Kofler, Potye, Skoko, Ujetz and Zwinger who wrote about product placement in Hollywood feature films and analysed various Hollywood films and series with regard to spectators' perception and reaction to brands in films.

their display more or less, because their integration into films is not too obtrusive and disturbing. In most cases, companies pay a certain amount of money or return a kind of service to film producers in order to be able to place their products and take part in decision-making of scene production⁴¹.

Sometimes product placement resembles surreptitious advertising, which is not astonishing, as distinctions between and definitions of these terms are often blurred⁴². In this thesis, product placement is interpreted as incorporation of branded goods into a film's narration in form of 'dramaturgically necessary props'⁴³ fulfilling advertising functions. The portrayal of brands is paid either in cash or by return services⁴⁴, which is often not admitted or confirmed publicly by any of the contractual partners⁴⁵. Surreptitious advertising, on the other hand, is the portrayal of branded items without any reference to the film's narration. It seems as if surreptitious advertising evokes bad connotations because spectators feel disturbed and confused and insist on their right to be informed about advertisements in order to know when someone wants to influence or even manipulate their (consumption) behaviour⁴⁶. Therefore, in television, brands and sponsors are introduced either at the beginning or at the end of a programme because law in many countries bans surreptitious advertising. Thus, it can be summarised that both strategies have advertising aims and want to influence or manipulate spectators' buying behaviour but differ in their degree of spectator deception and dramaturgical importance.

Additionally, Zwinger mentions another similar form of advertising, namely subliminal advertising, which has been forbidden because spectators are addressed unconsciously by being showed branded goods or logos only for a split second. The eyes and brain do not consciously perceive these advertisements⁴⁷. With regard to the appearance of labels

⁴¹ Cf. Kloss, 497.

⁴² Cf. Ehrenbergerova, 9 and Bente, 24.

⁴³ My translation of Ehrenbergerova's definition:

Unter Product Placement versteht man die Darstellung von Waren, Dienstleistungen, Namen, Marken und Tätigkeiten eines Herstellers von Waren oder eines Anbieters von Dienstleistungen, wenn im (Kino-)Film ein dramaturgischer Bedarf besteht.
(Ehrenbergerova, 9).

⁴⁴ My free translation of Berndt (1993) as cited in Kloss (497):

Product Placement ist die gezielte, entgeltliche Platzierung eines Markenartikels als reales Requisit in der Handlung eines Spielfilms, [...] wobei der Markenartikel für den Betrachter deutlich erkennbar ist.

⁴⁵ Cf. Ehrenbergerova, 9 and Figo, 39.

⁴⁶ Cf. <http://www.kuluttajavirasto.fi/Page/a00fd4c7-4769-4dd9-8ce6-5b086830a5de.aspx>

⁴⁷ Cf. Zwinger, 13.

in Bollywood films, it should be mentioned that although products are sometimes presented very quickly in films, they must not be mistaken for subliminal advertising. Even though product placement indeed uses tricky methods to portray brands very quickly, people should still be able to identify them and learn about their practical use in everyday life. In other words, potential buyers should have the possibility to identify with advertising persons and establish a desire to imitate their behaviour and presented identities. Moreover, the distinction between product placement and surreptitious advertising is sometimes confusing in Bollywood because it tends to be a matter of interpretation. Therefore, this thesis concentrates on all kinds of portrayed advertisements in Bollywood films and treats them under the general term of product placement, of course fulfilling certain functions, which the following chapter discusses.

3.2. Reasons for placements

There are many reasons for presenting labelled goods in feature films. This chapter describes motives, benefits and aims of in-film advertising from the perspectives of companies and film producers. The aim is to demonstrate that placements are not just ordinary props but are integrated into films for specific reasons.

First, companies benefit from placements because films transform spectators into potential buyers and consumers whose behaviour influences a company's revenues and degree of recognition. Films are perfect advertising media for many reasons. Primarily, it is a cheap form of advertising with regard to the amount of spectators. In contrast to TV programmes, a feature film is not regionally or nationally dependent and is shown in cinemas all over a continent or even the whole world. Moreover, a film can even be bought on DVDs or VHS cassettes in order to be watched many times again at home for many years. Therefore, this is the perfect medium for having a long-lasting effect on spectators. Furthermore, the atmosphere of cinemas influences the audience's sensory reception, as the closed and darkened hall and the absence of disturbances and distractions (mobile phones have to be turned off, speaking is undesired, no opportunity is offered to zap to another channel) and payment of admission keeps people in their seats until the film is over. Moreover, a film's theme enables a company to adjust certain products with the target audience or plan general advertising strategies. This

increases the probability that spectators of certain target groups react positively to portrayed products and brands. For example, it is more likely that teenagers watching a romantic high school film would also buy beverages or clothing brands associated with younger people. This means that product placements are perceived best by certain target groups and are neglected by people who do not belong to these groups, which is also illustrated later by the evaluation of the questionnaire. Additionally, actors also function as role models who present certain products in everyday use and therefore influence spectators, who might want to imitate their idols⁴⁸.

Another aim of product placement is to correct or extend an existing image of a product. This means that a product is shown in many ways and maybe in connection with unusual habits and actions in order to extend its area of use. Sometimes there is not enough time or money and a film can portray only a small part of a writing or logo. Thus, the brand has already to be well-known to spectators in order to be recognised quickly. Of course, this advertising strategy is rather inappropriate for implementing new products because audience might be confused and react with rejection and ignorance.

In addition, an important benefit of product placements in feature films is also that rivalry is avoided by permitting only one brand per product group (e.g. Nescafé and Starbucks coffee or Mc Donald's and Burger King never turn up in same films). This means that a company is able to attract spectators' full and undivided attention⁴⁹.

However, film producers profit from product placements as well. By integrating product placements, a producer saves a lot of money for props and other items necessary for producing a realistic and authentic film. Thus, companies often determine how their product is presented or insist on portraying a product in a certain scene in order to ensure the transmission of the appropriate and correct advertising message. In other words, companies are also decision-makers in film production. Maybe their opinion is not as influential as the one of financiers and distributors, but they still have something to say to film production. Therefore, they should be added to the list of film financiers⁵⁰. However, film producers accept their opinion in order to be able to produce the films. It must be mentioned that although collaboration is connected with

⁴⁸ Cf. Ehrenbergerova, 14-16, Kloss, 499 and Figo 18-20.

⁴⁹ Cf. Kloss, 499, 503-504.

⁵⁰ Cf. Tieber, 48 and Ehrenbergerova, 17.

the payment of a certain amount of money or return services, this opportunity is still cheaper than organising all props on one's own.

Of course, product placements are not only tied to benefits but are also accompanied by disadvantages. One of the cons of product placements is that sometimes spectators do not recognise a brand because it is portrayed shortly or at an unpropitious moment in the film. Another reason for failure might be the placement in an unsuccessful or bad-image film influencing the reputation of the brand or the whole product group in a negative way. It may happen that the product is presented in a very unrealistic way and spectators feel teased or annoyed by an exaggerated or repeated representation of a branded product⁵¹.

One of the disadvantages of product placements is that sometimes spectators do not recognise a brand. This happens if the brand appears in an unsuccessful or bad-image film influencing the reputation of the brand or the whole product group in a negative way. Sometimes the product is also presented in a very unrealistic way and the spectator feels teased or annoyed by an exaggerated or unsuitable representation of the brand or product⁵². Thus, in order to avoid failed placements, companies pay high fees, entrust advertising agencies with organising films, with handling and arranging the whole product placement process. The following chapter describes the organisation of placements in more detail.

3.3. The implementation of product placement in feature films

The previous chapters have explained the term product placement and its benefits as well as disadvantages. Moreover, this part focuses on the organisation and coordination of brand integration. Furthermore, this part shall demonstrate that product placement is not just a bartering or illegal surreptitious advertising. On the contrary, this form of advertisement is well organised and planned.

⁵¹ Cf. Zwinger, 16, 25-26.

⁵² Ibidem.

Zwinger claims that branded goods have been used in the film sector since the 1920s because production teams needed props, as films should represent true-to-life stories⁵³. Therefore, companies and film producers tried to establish contacts and friendships in order to facilitate product placement organisation.

In the 1970s and 80s branded items were integrated even more in Hollywood films and film producers eventually began to admit that they cooperate with certain companies and presented their products for payment. Soon, more and more companies wanted to place their products in films. On the contrary, producers looked for financiers and prop suppliers. After a time it became impossible to overview supply and demand of this product placement market. Therefore, agencies and companies emerged that were only occupied with coordinating collaboration of manufacturers and film producers. This facilitated and pushed on production time.

As a logical consequence, both contract partners had to pay agencies for their coordinating assistance, which made product placement even more expensive as the ‘middlemen’ also wanted to profit. Thus, it was not astonishing that companies and producers began negotiating by avoiding agents in order to save more money⁵⁴. However, nowadays it is difficult to describe in detail how product placement is organised, but in fact this is often done by advertising agencies.

Often these companies possess film scripts and look for ideal and suitable scenes and story lines for product placement. On the other hand, they also have lists of companies with registered trademarks. Therefore, the major task of such placement agencies is to find suitable products, which do not exclude each other because of economic rivalry (such as Coca Cola and Pepsi). Sometimes certain companies even align with others in order to constrain rivalries from placing their products in films⁵⁵. Coca Cola once even went as far as to buy Columbia Studios, which guaranteed extensive Coca Cola placements (and consequently Pepsi bans) in Columbia films⁵⁶.

⁵³ Cf. Zwinger, 14.

⁵⁴ Cf. Segrave, 170.

⁵⁵ Cf. Segrave, 168-169.

⁵⁶ Cf. Segrave, 170, 175.

In most cases the management section of a company decides which products are to be promoted and how various campaigns should look like, which messages need to be transmitted and what type of product will suit the target group. Naturally, the budget is also discussed. Then these plans are sent to a product placement agency that often coordinates and organises advertising campaigns of all products of a manufacturer and tries to find suitable films that are able to highlight and present products from their best side. The film production company, on the other hand, transmits a list of needed items and props for their film shooting. The agency then coordinates supply and demand and proposes plans coordinating products and suitable films. After agreement, companies then sign contracts enabling film producers to collect the needed props from a product placement warehouse or from the manufacturing companies themselves. Most of the shooting time, employees of the agency overlook the shooting and control whether the products are really integrated in the way as has been fixed in the contract.⁵⁷

Mostly, product placement in feature films is only one part of a cross-promotion strategy. This means that a certain product is not only shown in a film but in different other media as well, such as magazines, TV commercials or the internet. More precisely said the manufacturing company wants to increase a product's recognition and image. If the payment of product placement is based on returned services, a manufacturer tends to take over film clips or print posters of main actors and mention the film alongside the advertised product. Very often, an actor appears at a public demonstration or implementation of a product in order to increase the image merge of actor and product and of course the reputation of both⁵⁸.

In terms of film production, a branded product has to harmonise with film, scene and actors. This means that their images have to fit each other in order to be able to transfer or merge⁵⁹. Predominantly films with prospect for success (owing to famous directors) and renowned cast are chosen for product placements. Moreover, the scenes in which products are to be placed have to transmit a certain mood and atmosphere facilitating the appeal to consumption. It is often also claimed that spectators have to be in a

⁵⁷ Cf. Ehrenbergerova, 56-59.

⁵⁸ Cf. Auer/Kalweit/Nüssler, 96 as cited in Potye, 55.

⁵⁹ Cf. Figo, 71-74.

positive mood to accept advertising impulses and be willing to react to them. Therefore, product placers often choose films with happy ends⁶⁰.

Naturally, the place and duration of brands' portrayal as well as the advertising actor is strictly defined and planned. Even camera position, lighting and use of colours are important to present a brand from its best. Ehrenbergerova and Potye claim that brands are integrated at the beginning of a film and during exciting scenes⁶¹. Although the former mentions the dangers of integrating a brand in very exciting and thrilling scenes, with regard to Bollywood films (and the following analysis), it can be claimed that product placement is strictly avoided in extremely emotional scenes. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that it depends on the type of placement which actors and scenes are chosen. For this reason, the next chapter describes common placement types.

3.4. Placement types

As many diploma theses about product placement have explained placement types in detail, this thesis only focuses on those appearing in those Bollywood films analysed. Moreover, some of them fulfil also narrative functions and are discussed in more detail at the end of the next big part of the thesis. This means that different placement types are used in different parts of the film. But before focussing on their functions in films, this chapter will introduce the most often occurring placement types.

First, it has to be differentiated between **verbal and visual placements**. Verbal ones are interwoven in dialogues of actors, when a brand's name is mentioned or its benefits are discussed. Of course, actors increase the advertising effect by combining verbal and visual advertisements. An example of such a strategy can be found in the film *Pyaar Mein Kabhi Kabhi* created by Tyger Productions. Interestingly, in one scene of this film [1:43:54] a group of students, who has formed a band, wants to sing and introduce themselves to a record label. The song and dance sequence starts with Sid asking a janitor whether the building of 'Tyger music' is open [1:43:53]. Those who remember the film production company know that this is a verbal placement for the film's producer. Unfortunately, the singers are at first not allowed to enter and start singing in

⁶⁰ Cf. Schiller, 730-736 as cited in Potye, 55.

⁶¹ Cf. Ehrenbergerova, 60 and Potye, 134.

front of the company's estate. Throughout the whole performance, among others, the logo of Tyger music is shown very often, in order to emphasise also the visual aspect of the placement. As the logo was shown 8 times, they suddenly were allowed to enter the building and were able to sign a record contract in front of another Tyger- music logo on the wall of the management's office. Altogether, these are successful placements as the spectator has the impression that only by appearing in front of this company, the film had a happy end. Moreover, this scene also shows how music industry works and how even ordinary people may become famous, which of course is an appeal to spectators to come to sing to this record label. At the beginning of the sequence, the janitor also claims that it is exhausting that so many young people come every day and want to become famous. This means that the Tyger productions company is presented as busy and successful company being able to choose with whom to collaborate, as there are masses of people waiting for a record contract. In fact this placement is also part of the following types as well, which confirms the claim that placement types do not exclude each other but also overlap.

Corporate and **Service Placements** are used to highlight and improve a company's or institution's reputation and to portray their services⁶². In most of the analysed Bollywood films, advertising agencies (e.g. in *Ela Cheppanu*) as well as police are being presented very demonstratively in order to positively influence spectator's opinion. Such institutions are very often part of the service sector. However, these placements' aim is to improve a cliché and assign other connotations to stereotypical prejudices.

Very similar to these advertising types is **image placement**, when the whole film tries to improve the image of an institution or company⁶³. In most Bollywood films, the police are portrayed as very clever, helpful and appreciative in an extremely exaggerated way. According to Fernandes, the police is often presented alongside the Ambassador car and therefore profits from such placements as well (52). In *Veer & Zaara*, even the Indian Air Force is shown in action. In the films relevant for this thesis, police and Army are often presented as very clever and skilful when investigating murder cases (in *Ela Cheppanu*) or debunking tax evaders (in *Tera Jadoo Chal Gayaa*).

⁶² Cf. Zwinger, 17-18.

⁶³ Ibidem.

Idea placement is a way of presenting a socially relevant theme in a film in order to sensitise the audience or to point to specific problems. Very often, ideas, stereotypical thoughts, prejudices or certain taboo themes are presented in order to avoid offences and rejections of the spectators. In most cases the aim is to sensitise society and point to problematic moral ideas of society⁶⁴. Speaking in terms of Bollywood films, this means that often themes, such as homosexuality, arranged marriages, AIDS, death, tensions between Britons and Indians, religious and moral Indian values are mentioned.

For example, in *Ishq Hai Tumse*, the protagonist discovers that his uncle secretly drinks alcohol [13:36]. Although the brand is not portrayed, the scene transmits the message that drinking is bad for health, which becomes evident when the uncle mentions that his heart is already very weak. Later in the film he dies of a heart attack and the protagonist throws away the liquor bottle in order to prevent other people from getting in touch with this ‘dangerous’ drug. However, even if the brand is not shown, the impression is conveyed that all heavy alcoholic drinks are dangerous. Therefore, images of other alcoholic products are bashed as well.

Very popular placement types are **product placement** in particular and **generic placement** in general. The two differ from each other insofar as the former focuses on specific goods whereas the latter advertises a whole product group without reduction to certain specific brands or items⁶⁵. In other words, every product placement is somehow a generic placement as well, as it also stands for all other products of a product genre. Its image may affect the one of the whole product genre and of course that of economic rivalries as well⁶⁶.

Moreover, Kloss states that **on-set placement** and **creative placement** are very popular as well. He and Zwinger claim that the first type is used very often. On-set placement means that the product is not an important prop and does not have any big influence on the development of the story line⁶⁷. Therefore, this form is found frequently in films because it enables advertising without big effort, as certain products are produced by many manufacturers and can thus be easily interchanged, while the product stays the

⁶⁴ Cf. Zwinger, 18 and Hormuth (1993).

⁶⁵ Cf. Kloss, 501.

⁶⁶ Cf. Zwinger, 17.

⁶⁷ Cf. Kloss, 503 and Zwinger, 19-20.

same. Examples can be found in every film, such as in *Tera Jadoo Chal Gayaa*, when the protagonist (Abhishek Bachchan) walks past a Wriggley's chewing gum poster [1:39:05] that has nothing to do with the film or the story as such. In other words, another poster advertising another brand could have also been placed here. In addition, the placing of a washing machine in the back part of the living room in *Ela Cheppanu* [45:13] is a rather funny example.

Creative placement, on the other hand, is the contrary, when a product is integrated in the film's action and representing a necessary prop. In *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* [23:23], Raj stops at a gas station in order to buy Stroh's beer. As Simran's father has already closed the shop, the young man pretends to have headache in order to be let in. In fact, he only enters the shop because of the beer, which he needs for his friends. Thus, without the need for Stroh's beer, he would not have entered the shop and the film would have proceeded differently.

In those films relevant for this thesis, another interesting type of placement occurs that can be heard but is not mentioned verbally by any actor. It is called **music placement** and advertises sounds or melodies associated with brands, products or singers. An example of such a sound occurring in Bollywood films is the original Nokia ringtone in *Kyaa Dil Ne Kahaa* [23:25], in *Dil Ne Jise Apnaa Kahaa* [21:37] and in *Ela Cheppanu* [15:38].

Sometimes soundtracks are advertised as well. In one scene [1:28:00] of the film *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* the melody of Celine Dion's 'My heart will go on' is heard in the background. Kloss defines this type of placement as 'trying to bring certain music titles through TV and film to the charts'⁶⁸. However, with regard to the previous paragraph, his definition should be extended because it evokes the impression that only music titles are placed. In fact, companies use all kinds of noises or characteristic melodies of their products and commercials to attract spectators' attention.

Another very common placement type is **location placement**, where a certain region, country, place or city is presented from its best side. Bollywood films are full of location placements. They sometimes even resemble travel advertisements when portraying picturesque landscapes and exotic holiday destinations such as islands,

⁶⁸ My own translation of Kloss' definition of music placement:

Als weitere Form ist schließlich das Music Placement zu nennen, mit dem versucht wird, bestimmte Musiktitel über Film und Fernsehen in die Charts zu bringen. (Kloss, 501)

mountains or European cities. Sometimes these locations appear without any connection to the storyline of the film. As already mentioned before, the Austrian region Tyrol, as well as the landscape of Switzerland have often been used in Bollywood films to improve tourism sales and lure tourists to these regions⁶⁹.

3.5. Product placement costs

After discussing the process and organisation of product placement, the question of how much this type of advertising costs, remained unanswered. Thus, the following chapter depicts the financial aspect of brand integration. Moreover, it points to the fact that values of these types of advertisement cannot always be correctly estimated because often reliable and affirmed data are missing⁷⁰.

In fact, it is hard to determine exact costs of in-film advertisements. Generally, it can be argued, that the costs of product placement are calculated with regard to the duration of brand presentation and the reach of the film itself. Kloss, however, proposes a formula for calculating product placement costs by comparing product placement with commercials. He also states that fees depend on the amount of spectators, type of placement and length of time the product is presented on screen but only presents figures with regard to the German film industry (508-509). The facts that brands appear in different types of scenes and are presented by various actors are presumably crucial factors influencing the calculation of brand integration's costs. Moreover, the type of return service might also influence the price. Whether Kloss' formula can be applied to the calculation of placement costs in Bollywood films has not yet been proved.

Sukhbinder also mentions figures in connection with Bollywood's product placements. He claims that Coca Cola had to pay \$ 215,000 for having beverages placed in *Taal*. Kaul, on the other hand, argues that in the film *Mohabbatein* Coca Cola even spent 1.5 crore⁷¹ rupees for being mentioned in connection with the title and themes of the whole film⁷². The difference between these placements is that Coca Cola in the latter was not

⁶⁹ Cf. Kofler's diploma thesis and Kloss, 501, Dwyer *Cinema India*, 49, as well as the next chapter.

⁷⁰ Cf. Sukhbinder in http://www.mdx.ac.uk/bs/departments/Marketing/Docs/dpap_mkt_no30.pdf

⁷¹ A crore is a counting unit used in India and stands for 10 million rupees. According to the exchange rate of Dollar and Rupees on 2 February 2009, \$ 307,573 would be equivalent to 1.5 crore rupees.

⁷² Cf. Pummy in <http://www.financialexpress.com/old/fe/daily/20000826/fco26048.html>

used by main actors in the film's storyline but is presented as sponsor of the whole film and its theme and image⁷³. In contrast, many authors have presented their estimations on placement costs in Hollywood as well. According to Segrave companies have to pay between \$ 10,000 and \$ 40,000 per placement in a film (169).

However, it is difficult to compare product placement costs of film industries because often sales figures are not confirmed officially by involved companies. In addition, it has to be said that, in general, production costs and therefore also revenues differ considerably when comparing India with the USA⁷⁴. Thus, economical backgrounds of these industries also have to be taken into account. Moreover, it is often also not stated with what kind of return service a placement is combined or how many and which kind of placement is used. This makes it difficult to compare costs.

After giving an overview of product placement, their organisation and companies' cooperation and different placement types with regard to Bollywood films, the next chapter deals with a special placement type in more detail. Thus, location placement is described with regard to Austria as exotic location. Moreover, it is focussed on the organisation of a shooting in Austria. This demonstrates that intercultural communication as well as cooperation is involved when Bollywood producers shoot abroad and presents the whole world to its spectators.

3.6. An example of a location placement

Location placement, as already mentioned, is the portrayal of certain beautiful or outstanding places in films. It is a fact that Bollywood cinema is full of such placements, as production teams often travel to various countries and 'exotic locations' to shoot song and dance scenes. In a way these shootings are also representations of a production company's wealth and success.

The following chapter illustrates how the production of song and dance sequences is organised. In this context, Austria and especially its region Tyrol are described as exotic location used by Indian film producers. In order to find out more about Tyrol and Bollywood productions, I travelled to Innsbruck to interview the leader of an institution

⁷³ Cf. Kaul in <http://www.financialexpress.com/old/fe/daily/20000826/fco26048.html>

⁷⁴ Cf. http://www.businessweek.com/magazine/content/02_48/b3810019.htm

specialising in luring international film productions to Tyrol in order to increase the region's touristic turnover. The outcome of my own interview with Mr. Köck from 30 October 2007 will be combined with the one done in 2005 by Kofler.

The organisation of a song and dance number production is discussed because the next big chapter of the thesis deals with product placement in Bollywood films and especially with the presentation of brands in song and dance sequences. Therefore, it is important to mention some introductory facts about song and dance production first.

Shooting abroad has become an interesting attraction because it breathes new life into Indian films which had been produced indoors for a long time⁷⁵. One of the first exotic places that had been chosen by Indian film producers was Switzerland. A lot has been written about this location, also with regard to consequences for tourism and economy. Now that Switzerland has become too expensive and has been worn out by all possible Indian film companies, Bollywood film makers search for new, cheaper and more diversified locations in Austria, Germany⁷⁶ and Eastern Europe⁷⁷.

Austria and its Alpine region Tyrol attracted India's attention as well. Indians perceive the climate as well as the landscape of the Alps as very fascinating and see mountainous regions often as holy and precious because they are generally the seats and domiciles of Indian Gods. However, even if Mr. Köck claims that representatives of other Austrian regions are not very much interested in attracting Indian film teams, Pestal has found out that in the year 2005, the Austrian president travelled to India and was accompanied by the provincial prime ministers of Tyrol and Salzburg. These two representatives used their stay in order to introduce their provinces to Indian film producers. Naturally, politicians expect positive effects on tourism. Pestal further describes that in addition to Austrian representatives, German ones have also tried to attract Bollywood's attention. Thus, it can be summarised that these new locations have become serious business rivals to Switzerland (46-49).

⁷⁵ Cf. Nahta in <http://sify.com/movies/bollywood/fullstory.php?id=13232132&page=1>

⁷⁶ Cf. http://www.bna-germany.com/news.html?&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=82&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=16&cHash=96c940297f

⁷⁷ Cf. Shedde, 18.

After negotiating cooperation, local institutions work together with Indian film teams to coordinate shootings in order to enable a smooth communication between companies from different cultures.

3.6.1. CineTirol's contribution to the presentation of Austria as exotic location

CineTirol is an institution founded by the province of Tyrol and 'Tirol Werbung', a Tyrolean tourism agency. With regard to Indian film productions, it can be said that it organises the stay of film teams. CineTirol further arranges film and stay permits and other legal formalities ensuring comfortable, secure and legal working conditions for the film crew⁷⁸.

The first meeting between Tyrolean representatives and Indian film producers is decisive for further collaboration. Every year a team of CineTirol's representatives is travelling at least once to Mumbai, Bangalore, Hyderabad or New Delhi, establishing contacts and meeting producers in order to introduce Tyrol as possible film location. The Tyroleans present their home country by showing a promotion film called 'Showreel', which takes only a few minutes and emphasises very impressively scenes of typical Tyrolean landscapes, architecture, people and possible locations as well as interviews with famous directors, such as Jean-Jacques Annaud, who describes positive experiences he made with shooting in Tyrol. Mr. Köck claims that during this meeting CineTirol already has to pre-estimate the needs of Indian producers and to present locations being of interest for the foreign guests. Often this presentation is already decisive whether Austria comes into question as location or not, which is the reason for CineTirol's orientation on the Bollywood producer's needs, as this may be the only meeting or direct contact before location scouting. In this context, Kofler also cites Dr. Keplinger, who explains location scouting as a meeting of Indian film producers coming to Austria before a shooting to look and decide which location would be the best for a certain song. Often song scenes are shot very quickly without lots of formal arrangements. Nevertheless, Mr Köck explains that location scouting is very important as also financial aspects as well as legal affairs and the needs are being clarified.

⁷⁸ Cf. Kofler, 81-90 for further functions and more detailed explanations of CineTirol

Concerning choice of location, Indians are not very demanding. Although Mr. Köck and his team try to find out which places and sights are preferred by Indian people, they always hear the same answer: ‘Alpine scenery, lakes, mountains, sights, historical buildings’. Indian producers have no concrete wishes which location to choose. Therefore, they predominantly react to CineTirol’s proposals, as they have no idea about Austrian landscapes and places. Nevertheless, places such as the Achensee, Swarovski Crystal Worlds and the inner city of Innsbruck are most popular shooting places⁷⁹.

Furthermore, Mr. Köck therefore claims that film teams do not inform themselves about the region before they come to location scouting except if they have already been there and remember or want to use the same location. In the majority of cases they know how to travel to Munich or Innsbruck by plane or train and then trust coordinating companies, such as the one of Mrs. Keplinger, which coordinates the stay and everything that has to do with shooting, e.g. renting cars and buses, booking hotels, casting background dancers, organising meal during shooting and clothes, as Indians are sometimes not appropriately dressed for snowy glaciers in winter. Very often Mrs. Keplinger’s company also casts extras and provides background dancers- who stand out in exotic song and dance numbers with their light skin and blond hair colour.

Mr. Köck admits that cooperation with Indian film teams is not easy and cannot be compared to the one with Western film companies. Sometimes producers book hotels but then do not cancel on time or come earlier or later as planned. This is not very easy to coordinate because often whole hotels have to be booked in order to guarantee a comfortable stay for the Indian guests. This means that cooperation with Indian companies requires high flexibility of Austrian companies. Kofler confirms these uncoordinated production conditions by claiming that Indian film crews often also do not even have a script to follow. Some production teams are not very organised, if compared to European standards. She even contends that Indian film groups are chaotic. Often cooperation with Indians seems even unreasonable⁸⁰.

Austrians find it also difficult to collaborate with Indians because of their lack of financial resources. In other words, Eastern film teams are not used to expensive

⁷⁹ Cf. www.cinetirol-locations.com, an archive presenting pictures of all kinds of possible locations in Tyrol in order to facilitate the choice of locations.

⁸⁰ Cf. Weinzierl as mentioned in Kofler, 106.

Western equipment. It is unusual and very complicated to work with companies not having the same standards of equipment and technical devices. This means that Indian producers have to carefully plan their expenses and rent local filming equipment, being quite expensive. The company “Creative Creatures” states on its website that there is no equipment renting agency in Austria. The nearest is located in Munich in Germany and therefore “Creative Creatures” closely works together with this German company in order to assist Indian producers⁸¹. Thus, Indian people try to save money by bringing staff from India in order to avoid dependence on expensive Austrian film teams or technicians. However, CineTirol does insist on having a manager or coordinator on location helping and assisting the crew. Often a chauffeur is being hired who brings the film team quickly from one location to the other, which saves a lot of time and money for foreigners who are not familiar with the region.

Mrs. Keplinger, as cited in Kofler, complains that it is extremely difficult to help being economical and finding rooms for only 30 to 35 Euros. Unlike Western actors, Indian stars do not always need special luxurious rooms abroad, they tend to stay in same hotels and accept same standards as the rest of the crew does. This is very different from other film industries and is something, Tyrolean companies have to accept and meet with flexibility⁸².

Usually film teams of approximately 20-35 people come and stay for about 8-10 days. Sometimes the production groups are larger. For example, in October 2007 about one hundred Indian people stayed for three weeks to shoot scenes for the film *Yuvraaj*. The stay is very precisely organised and the crew has not very much time for sight seeing or shopping, as their working day lasts up to 20 hours, on very hot days even 14-16 hours. Such exotic shootings are very expensive for Indian film companies. Therefore there is not much leisure time planned which is a reasonable explanation for the crew’s disinterest on Tyrolean lifestyle, culture, tradition and habits.

Alexowitz also writes about the Indian’s preference for new locations because of financial reasons. In the last years, New Zealand and Malaysia have become the new exotic locations, as costs are nearly a quarter cheaper than the European ones (195). However, this does not discourage Mr. Köck, who is confident that the Indians’ interest

⁸¹ Cf. http://www.creative-creatures.at/fs_ver_equipment.htm

⁸² Cf. Kofler, 108.

in Austria is not going to decline because more and more film production companies from all over India become interested in Tyrol. Furthermore, another reason for the decline of interest in Swiss locations might be that the small Alpine country has now become a well-known and maybe too popular location for Indian film shootings. The attraction of the new and unknown has vanished and nothing special about the already well-known sights is left any more⁸³.

To sum up this chapter it should be mentioned that most of the facts are taken from the interview with Johannes Köck who confirmed that it is really a unique experience to collaborate with companies from other countries and cultures and get to know each other's (working) habits and lifestyles. Moreover, he sees CineTirol as a kind of intercultural mediator. This was also the reason for publishing a brochure for Indian guests in order to introduce Tyrolean and Austrian habits to them and simplify collaboration.

Moreover, location placement, of course, also aims at an increase of tourism with regard to the portrayed place. Mr. Köck is sure of the fact that the portrayal of Tyrol in song and dance sequences motivates spectators of Bollywood films to come to see shooting locations. Moreover, Indian newspapers also mention Austria as exotic placement⁸⁴. Fans have already been influenced by such a publicity. It is often claimed that tourists come to Tyrol when making tours through Europe visiting Bollywood locations. Furthermore, it is often stated that Europe is one of the top travel destinations of India's middle class⁸⁵.

Thus, this part of the thesis has shown that product placement is a versatile term, representing a lot of benefits for advertisers as well as film producers. Moreover, it has been demonstrated that product placement is also used as means of financing film products and portraying manufacturer's products in films and therefore influence the audience to buy portrayed products.

In addition, the next part of the thesis will deal with product placement in Bollywood films as observed by fans from online communities. Their responses shall bring to light whether they feel influenced and disturbed by the portrayal of brands. Moreover, it shall be found out which products are perceived most often by these fans and which brands

⁸³ Ibidem.

⁸⁴ Cf. Kurmanath, in <http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/2003/11/11/stories/2003111101091700.htm>

⁸⁵ Cf. Kofler, 109-115 and Ansari.

are remembered. Furthermore, a film analysis will prove or refute respondents' answers by providing examples from Bollywood films.

4. Product placement in Bollywood

The following part of the thesis concentrates on two main ways of demonstrating product placement in Bollywood films. On the one hand, a questionnaire has been developed in order to illustrate whether in-film advertisements are being discovered by spectators at all and if so, which products and product groups are being identified. Its results are evaluated and presented in this thesis. On the other hand, a film analysis follows exploring which brands are portrayed most often in seventeen Bollywood films in order to prove the outcomes of the questionnaire. The comparison is then followed by a discussion of brands' narrative functions in films in general and song and dance sequences in particular in order to show that product placements not only fulfil advertising functions. In other words, together with song and dance sequences, in-film advertisements fulfil specific narrative functions.

4.1. Product placement in Bollywood films as perceived by users of Bollywood forums in the World Wide Web

Bollywood fans from all over the world meet in internet chat rooms and forums to discuss films and gossip about actors and other celebrities from the Indian film world. Some of them even write weblogs, commenting on Bollywood's news⁸⁶. Thus, it seems as if Bollywood fans observe all peculiarities occurring in films. Nevertheless, it has been found out that they do not discuss in-film advertisements at all⁸⁷. The aim of this thesis is therefore to investigate whether fans know that brands are portrayed and to see whether responses of fans differ with regard to certain parameters, such as age and period of time being fan. For this reason, a questionnaire has been developed in order to gather as many reliable information as possible from the widest possible range and variety of fans.

However, before looking at the results of the questionnaire, the following chapter describes the planning, development, distribution and evaluation of a questionnaire that

⁸⁶ Cf. Fuchs & Pestal, 31-33.

⁸⁷ This applies to those forums mentioned in the appendix.

was sent in April 2008 to Bollywood fans in order to find out what they think about product placement in Bollywood films.

4.1.1. Planning and construction of the questionnaire

The planning phase of the questionnaire was of course the most influential one as many things had to be taken into consideration. On the one hand, questions had to be designed in order to get as many information as possible from fans. On the contrary, the design, layout as well as presentation of questions were also important because they influence a respondent's motivation to read the questionnaire until the end. Therefore information achievement and observation were crucial themes in this phase.

Firstly, reasons for developing a questionnaire have to be explained. There are of course many possibilities for gaining information on Bollywood but a questionnaire is a common practice to confirm or disprove certain ideas and expectations about a certain issue not dealt with extensively. Furthermore, a questionnaire is a possibility to gain information from many people in a very short period in a rather uncomplicated way. For this thesis, Bollywood fan knowledge is very important because fans usually know every detail about films and tend to watch films more often and realise peculiarities quicker than usual spectators. It should also be mentioned that there would have also been the possibility to interview some NRIs in Vienna. However, one must not forget that an Indian does not necessarily have to be a Bollywood fancier.

It was therefore logical to choose fans from the internet because the World Wide Web seems to be nowadays a common place for film discussions and information sharing. Bollywood forums mushroom all over the internet and seem to be optimal places for questionnaires because many people with same interests log in to discuss the newest films, their most favourite actors and film scenes as well as talk about film facts only known to hardcore Bollywood insiders.

Moreover, the answering of a questionnaire at home in front of the computer guarantees anonymous answers and protection of each individual's private sphere. Therefore, on the one hand, it is more likely that people give honest answers and on the other hand, cannot be influenced by the answers of other respondents. Moreover, people are not forced to spontaneous answers, such as in interviews. As interested people voluntarily

answer the questions, it can be assumed that they take enough time to read all the questions and are not under time pressure or feel observed.

Secondly, aims and expectations were also very influential in designing the questionnaire. The main aim it of was to find out whether online Bollywood fans recognise brands or advertised products in Indian popular films at all and whether the outcome can be related to the age of or period someone is a Bollywood fan. Moreover, the outcome of the questionnaire shall illustrate which brands are recognised most often, which is very interesting because people are not interviewed after a film and cannot revert to information saved in short time memory. This means that they only remember those brands and products that are advertised extensively and frequently. Moreover, it shall be revealed which actor advertises most and how people perceive the connection between actor and advertised product.

As answers of the questionnaire should be presented in graphs and tables, it was useful to design closed questions with clear defined answers in order to be able to count the responses, sort and compare them. A difficulty of the questionnaire was to avoid influencing respondents' opinions but at the same time clearly define the questions' direction. As the internet is a fast-paced and constantly changing medium, online users should not be annoyed by too long or demanding pieces of writing. Thus, questions had to be clear, short and visually highlighted. Furthermore, open-ended questions were avoided at all because these might discourage respondents from answering. Choosing a mixture of multiple choice questions and rating (Likert) scales was perceived as fitting best for this kind of study⁸⁸.

4.1.2. The structure

After fixing aims, target respondents and question types, it was important to arrange and order questions. The structure of a questionnaire is very important as it influences the respondents' behaviour and interest in answering the questions. Thus, the questionnaire's title was not 'Product placement in Bollywood films' but

⁸⁸ Ideas for questionnaire design and development of questions were taken from Cohen, 245-266. Moreover, Dr. Hüttner's advice was also very helpful with regard to questionnaire development and empirical research in general.

‘Advertisements in Bollywood films’ in order to explain clearly and simply without any misunderstandings what the form is about. This was perceived as important because not every Bollywood fan (especially younger respondents) might be familiar with the expression Product placement. Moreover, English and German versions of the project were prepared in order to accommodate international fans⁸⁹.

The questionnaire itself is divided into two parts, of which the first is an introduction followed by the question part. After the introduction of author and topics of diploma thesis and questionnaire, anonymity is reassured as well as the use of data is explained. Twelve questions follow with multiple choice and rating scale answers. Some questions allow the ticking of more answers, whereas other questions restrict the answering possibility to only one answer. In addition, there is also the possibility to leave out parts, which some people also did.

However, the development was also accompanied by difficulties, of which one was the choice of programme enabling individual reaction but preventing respondents from changing given questions or other information. Moreover, they should also be able to quickly send the document back without saving anything on their computers. Fortunately, a programme could be found that also enables the attachment of a ‘send via email’ button, which allows a comfortable and quick transmission of anonymous answers. It is very important that answers are delivered to the author’s mailbox in a unitary and coded form in order to be sorted better and more quickly. Adobe Live Cycle Designer 8.0 seemed to be made for this type of questionnaire, as it already contains exemplary survey forms enabling change of layout and design.

As the creation phase has been already discussed, it should be proceeded with the introduction of the questionnaire’s structure. The first question part concentrates predominantly on whether fans recognise branded items and luxury goods in Bollywood films at all. Rating scales enable a decision between more answering possibilities in order to specify one’s opinion more. It is perceived as important to be able to give more answers because brands from various product genres are presented at the beginning. However, the brands given in the third question belong all to the clothing sector because clothes are those items presented most often by actors in Bollywood films (according to

⁸⁹ The English version is to be found in the appendix of this thesis.

the following film analysis). As the advertising message of clothes and other advertised products is increased if presented by an actor, the advertising actors also play an important part in product placement. Respondents should therefore identify the most prominent advertisers in films. Of course, although the sixth and seventh question present more options, the choice of answers was deliberately restricted to one because the evaluation should reveal which advertising actors received most votes.

As the eighth question deals with reasons for product placements, closed multiple choice questions are preferred because people should not be deterred from filling out this questionnaire or having to think of a good answer. Moreover, it is easier to process responses, count and compare them. As a unique and fix explanation for product placement in Bollywood films cannot be given, these given responses function as proposals that are confirmed or contradicted by the results of the questionnaire and later by the film analysis. However, it shall only be presented whether people agree with suggestions and towards which answer they tend. Thus, only proposals and hypotheses are presented.

Questions 9 to 12 focus on the spectators' personal perception of advertisements and whether they feel disturbed by them. Moreover, it should be answered whether song and dance sequences influence a brand's advertising message and the influence of product placement on fans' buying behaviour. These questions were chosen in order to focus on spectators' observations and to highlight the direction of their opinion about brand presentation in Bollywood films.

Finally, the last point asks for personal data such as age and period being Bollywood fan. This is deliberately put at the end to finish with easy and relaxing issues in order to avoid scaring respondents at the beginning asking for personal information⁹⁰.

After the development, a trial questionnaire was sent to ten Viennese Bollywood fans in order to test the project. Fortunately, people reacted positively, gave useful hints and encouraged me to continue the spread of the questionnaire. Therefore, I registered in more than twenty online forums in order to make the project known. Respondents were asked to answer until the end of May 2008.

⁹⁰ Cf. Cohen, 245.

Interestingly, some people also followed the invitation to comment the questionnaire or give suggestions and complaints by e-mail. One person wrote that although she had been watching Bollywood films for many years and knew that product placement is incorporated in Indian films, she could not remember one single brand. Others stated that they never pay attention to any advertisements in Bollywood films at all, although they realise them but in fact are not interested in them. Probably those people who cannot recall any brands are those who feel manipulated by advertisements and therefore react with rejection towards it. The fact that they did not just leave out the boxes and send the questionnaire without commentary shows that they demonstratively wanted to show that they did observe product placement but evaded giving any detailed information in order to avoid being classified as ‘potential buyers’⁹¹. The majority of e-mail respondents added that the questionnaire was a good idea and that they absolutely wanted to learn more about this topic.

To conclude the general remarks on the questionnaire, it can be said that respondents reacted positively and were astonished about this topic. They perceived the structure as logical and were keen to answer all questions in order to help develop this project further and gain new insights in Bollywood film practices. In fact, their opinions, curiosity as well as experience were expressed in their answers, which are examined in the next chapter in more detail.

4.1.3. Evaluation

This chapter presents the results of the questionnaire and is to be seen as complement of the film analysis carried out in the next big chapter. The aim is to demonstrate that fans are aware of product placements in Bollywood films. Moreover, it shall be examined whether and how their opinions differ. These results are then compared with product placements in seventeen Bollywood films in the next chapter, in order to support or refute fans’ opinions.

After the arrival of completed questionnaires, their sorting began. As people’s responses appeared in the form of numbers and tables, it was easier to organise them.

⁹¹ Cf. Zwinger 25-26, Kloss, 505.

Furthermore, anonymity is guaranteed as well with such a method. First of all, the answers were arranged according to period of time informants are Bollywood fans. After evaluation of this category, answers were sorted according to the age of fans. These two groups are discussed separately in the following chapter and are followed by a conclusion summing up the most outstanding findings.

Before describing outcomes of the different analyses, a few general remarks shall describe the most obvious and most outstanding results. These findings are not discussed in great detail in the following sections, as they are later compared to results from the film analysis.

The first astonishing peculiarity is people's willingness to fill out the questionnaire, as informants at least answered 11 out of 13 questions. This means that they were more or less interested in the topic of the questionnaire and seem to have understood the questions. Reactions confirm this observation, as some of test persons and respondents' statements in emails reassured that the questionnaire was very interesting and that there was nothing to be misunderstood or too difficult and specific. Moreover, the facts that nobody completely negated the first question and that all respondents ticked one of the first three boxes, lead to the assumption that all fans understood the question and were aware of the presentation of branded goods in Bollywood films. This is perceived as confirmation of the claim that product placement is used relatively intensively in popular Indian films, which this thesis in fact tries to demonstrate and prove.

However, it must be admitted that some informants also omitted certain questions. There were a few leaving out the second, third and forth question, which deal with product groups, brands and branded items presented in Bollywood films. One test person explained her missing answers by stating that she never pays any attention at all to advertisements and brands. Nevertheless, she was aware that advertisements are shown in films but did not want to identify and recall them because she was annoyed by advertisements and therefore rejects them and reacts with protest and ignorance. This example might also stand for other respondents skipping questions.

Another interesting outcome of the questionnaire concerns the fifth question. All respondents, without exception, answered that more men than women advertised branded goods by ticking the box 'male actor'. The film analysis has to prove whether

this is true and to identify those supposed advertisers. Similarly, the sixth question reveals in a similar distinctive and unambiguous way, that almost all respondents identified Shahrukh Khan as most popular male advertiser. Only one of the 62 informants chose another actor. In contrast, most people voted in the next question for Aishwarya Rai as most popular female Bollywood advertiser but the result is not as clear as the former one. It seems as if some informants thought the option 'Other' would be more appropriate and another actress would advertise more. Another possible interpretation for the choice of this answer might be that respondents did not recognise any of the persons or answers given and therefore chose 'other' because this is an undefined option, similar to 'I don't know', which one informant also described as such. It can also be observed that some people did not fill out the questions about brands and actors at all and ticked the boxes 'Other'. This also relates to the phenomenon described above and could be interpreted as evading specific identification or choosing the option 'other' in order to avoid giving any detailed statements or to admit being influenced or manipulated by advertisements. Nevertheless, the film analysis shall prove whether these actors really advertise branded items in films or whether they are specialised in appearing in other advertising media.

As no further similarities or differences are observed, it can be summed up that both, trial, and the real questionnaire, were accepted by respondents. This was demonstrated by the relatively high number of participants answering the majority of questions. Therefore it can be assumed that product placement is a common and often occurring phenomenon as it was accepted and identified by all fans. Surprising answers as well as astonishing differences between the groups stress the fact that fans should be divided into certain groups in order to examine results in more detail and compare them, as is done in the following sections.

4.1.4. Analysis 1- Period of time being fan

The following part of the thesis is a detailed analysis of the questionnaire with regard to the period of time respondents are Bollywood fans. This is asked at the very end of the questionnaire, where informants were presented four options out of which the suitable should be chosen. In other words, they had to decide whether they are less than one

year, between one and five years, between six and ten years or for more than ten years Bollywood fans. According to these groups, people's responses are analysed in the following chapter.

The four groups varied in number of members. Of 62 informants, 2 people did not fill out this question and are therefore excluded from evaluation. Furthermore, 9 people belong to the first group (short-time fans), 35 to the second group, 8 to the third group and 8 people to the forth group. Interestingly, the majority of respondents are between one and five years Bollywood fans. This could relate to the fact that many respondents stem from German forums and thus were not familiar with Bollywood until RTL 2 began broadcasting Indian popular films in the year 2004⁹².

With regard to the first question about fans' perception of brands in Bollywood films, narrow differences between the groups' answers can be observed. Members of group 1 and 2 selected the first two options equally. This means fans more or less agree with the statement that branded products are placed in Bollywood films. In contrast, informants of the third and fourth fan category preferred the second option most. Although this is not a significant and big difference because answers do not contradict each other, it can still be observed that responses of people, who are for a longer time fans, diverge from those of the short- period fans. Members of the first group did not give as decisive answers, as respondents from groups three and four did. In other words, the longer someone is a fan, the more resolute he/she is in identifying product placement in Bollywood films.

However, results of the second question are more diversified. In other words, people identified groups of consumption products being portrayed most often in Bollywood films. Most informants voted for clothes, as is portrayed in Figure 1.

⁹² Cf. Pestal, 26 and <http://www.rtl2.de/12307.html>

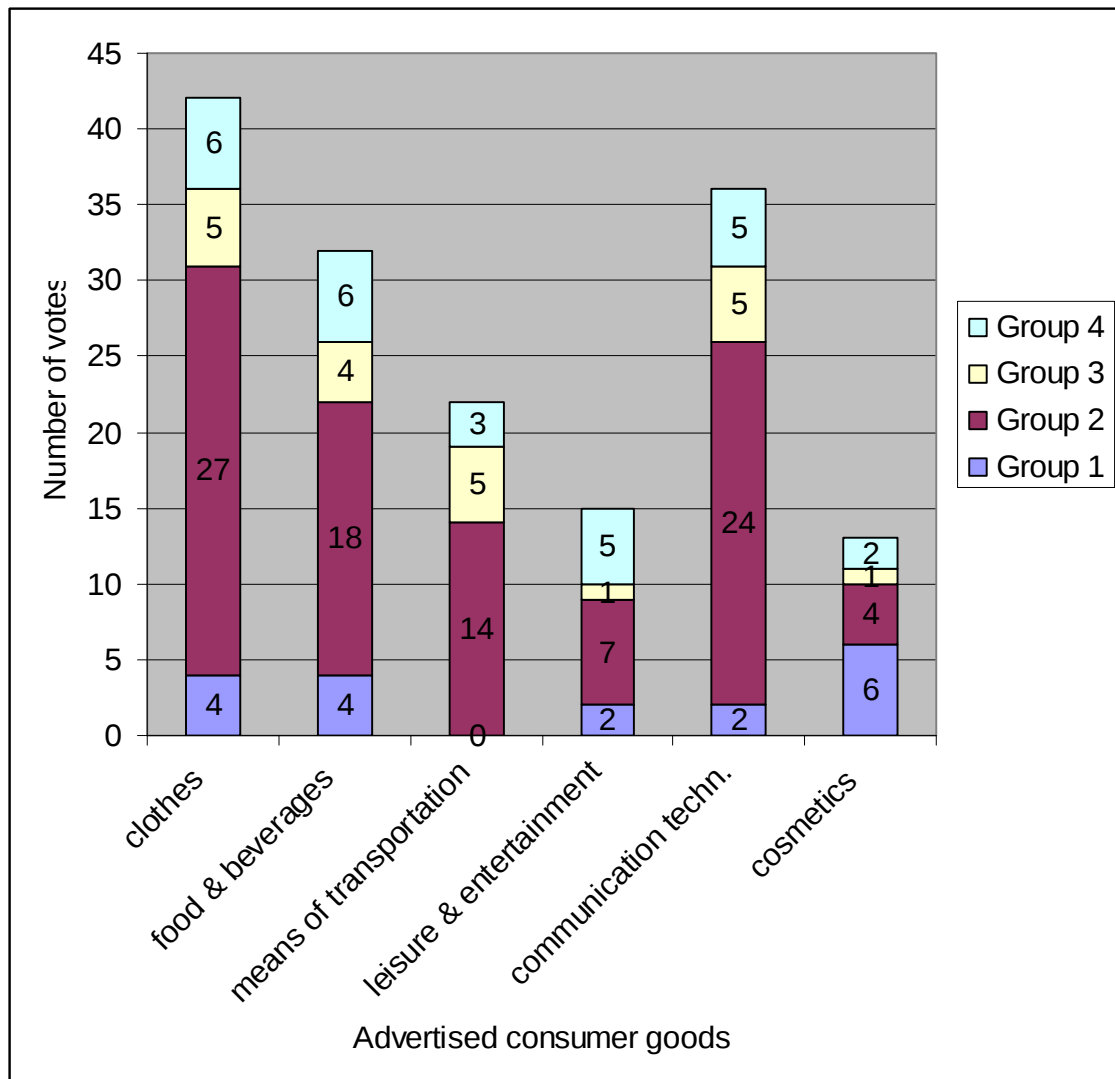


Fig.1 Analysis 1- people's opinion about most often portrayed products

As the chart illustrates, all four fan groups mostly preferred clothes as well as communication technology. Thus, people think that products of these categories are shown most often. In contrast, the least selected product groups are leisure and entertainment products as well as cosmetics. These outcomes, of course, also relate to spectators' perception of popular portrayed advertisers. Therefore, if one trusts informants' answers, advertisers present clothes and communication technology but never or rarely cosmetics. According to this description one would assume men advertise products in Bollywood films, as they are mostly not associated with cosmetics. That this assumption really turns out to be true, is demonstrated in the following chapter in more detail.

Furthermore, another interesting fact is that respondents of groups 2, 3 and 4 answered very similarly. Only the first group differed most from them. More precisely, the

formerly mentioned three groups neglected the option of cosmetics but preferred clothes most. On the contrary, the first group voted for those categories diverging most from the answers of all others. Its members thought means of transportation are shown least and cosmetics most in Bollywood films. These decisions really surprise and at the same time are disputable when comparing with outcomes of other groups. Furthermore, no group-one member did select the means of transportation option. Moreover, communication technology and media were also among the least chosen answers although in other groups these options are among the most selected. An explanation for these differences might be that members of the first group have not seen many films and therefore lack Bollywood experience and knowledge and as a consequence voted for different answers.

The third group (6-10 years) is a very averaged and inconspicuous one because its members voted for clothes, means of transportation and communication technology equally, whereas they almost neglected entertainment and leisure products as well as cosmetics. Due to its responses, this group seems to represent the general majority of fans' answers.

Those answers representing reality most are analysed and examined in the next big chapter. It shall then be proved whether group one stands out because its members know more and observe product placement more precisely or whether other groups stand out by having more Bollywood knowledge.

In connection with product groups and advertisers, brands also dominate Bollywood films. Therefore, people were asked to identify those clothing labels they think are most often shown. Results demonstrate that informants, being for less than one year Bollywood fans, lack knowledge about brand portrayals in Bollywood films because some of its members either did not select any of the presented brands or left out the question completely. Some did not choose anything but ticked the box 'Others'.

This behaviour could either be explained by claiming that people tick 'Others' when they do not know any of the given labels or by stating that they could not find a suitable answer in the list and thinking of a completely different one. No matter which interpretation is preferred, it is a fact that members of the first group differ from all the others, which the following table illustrates in detail. It is clearly observable that no other group has left out as many answers as the first group did. Surprisingly,

respondents from group 2 filled out more answers than those of group three although one would assume that the third group has more Bollywood experience and therefore also marks more options. In other words, the willingness to complete this part of the questionnaire differed from first to fourth group. It stands out that in group 4 each option is selected at least once whereas in group 1 the majority of labels are left out.

Brands/ Groups	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
Adidas	-	16	5	6
Armani	-	4	2	1
Chanel	-	-	-	2
DKNY	-	4	-	2
Dolce & Gabbana	2	3	1	2
Fila	-	7	2	2
Fruit of the Loom	-	8	4	4
Fubu	-	6	-	2
GAP	-	10	4	2
Gucci	-	5	-	2
Hugo Boss	-	6	4	2
Kappa	-	11	-	4
Lacoste	-	10	1	4
Nike	-	7	3	7
Prada	2	4	-	2
Puma	2	1	-	2
Reebok	-	2	-	2
Ralph Lauren/Polo Sport	2	15	2	2
Speedo	-	1	-	1
Tommy Hilfiger	2	16	3	3
Others	5	10	-	1

Tab.1 Analysis 1- Number of votes clothing brands received

Generally said, the most selected brands are Adidas, Tommy Hilfiger and Nike. These labels have in common that they almost always appear on sportswear products. In contrast, labels such as Armani, Chanel, DKNY, Puma, Reebok and Speedo received fewest votes. Moreover, the most diverging results were achieved by groups one and four either voting for or neglecting at all Adidas and Nike. It also seems as if the brand Chanel was only identified by the fourth group, whereas Dolce & Gabbana, Ralph Lauren/Polo Sport and Tommy Hilfiger were recognised by all informants.

In order to change from a general comparison to a more detailed overview of groups' responses, they should be analysed in isolation. This could help find out peculiarities of

each fan category. For example, the second fan group voted most often for Adidas, Tommy Hilfiger and Ralph Lauren/ Polo Sport. Answers do not surprise and rather reflect the majority's answering trend. Moreover, ten informants also selected the option 'Others' in combination with numerous boxes of other brands, which is a distinctive difference to the answering methods of the first group. Least votes of this group were given to Chanel, Puma and Speedo. This group reflects answers from people who have been fans between one and five years and who are familiar with almost all brands.

Members of the third category have been fans for more than six but less than ten years. They demonstrated their Bollywood experience by ticking at least (almost) once every label. In this group, Adidas is followed by the brands Fruit of the Loom, GAP and Hugo Boss equally. It stands out that many answers have received equal or a similar number of votes. Furthermore, the option 'Others' was not chosen at all.

Lastly, interesting voting results can be observed by the fourth group, where Nike received most ticks, followed by Adidas and Fruit of the Loom as well as Kappa and Lacoste. The fourth group, which contains people who are more than ten years Bollywood fans, is the only one that ticked every box at least once. With regard to this, it resembles the second group most. People belonging to this category, are familiar with many Bollywood films and of course know all the actors, plots and props. Therefore, it can be assumed that they also know a lot about brand integration and advertisements. Again, like the first group group 4- members identified a label which was omitted by all the others, namely Chanel. This is a very interesting result and shall be further examined in the film analysis in order to prove this statement in practice.

It was also asked which types of clothes are advertised most often in Bollywood cinema. According to all respondents, T-shirts are used frequently. In the first group this answer is followed by dresses and skirts. The second group has the same order of answers, which is then followed by sweatshirts. The third group ticked T-shirts and sweatshirts equally often, similarly did the members of the fourth group. Interestingly, the first, second and third group did not tick the box of underwear at all, whereas group 4 did. Group 1 and 4 also did not pay attention to sportswear. Group 4 here definitely stands out. To sum up respondents' results of this question, it can be said that T-shirts,

dresses/skirts as well as sweatshirts are the most frequent clothes used for product placements.

Answers of question 8 provide an overview of informants' opinions about product placement and its reasons. The top answer is the first one stating that product placement tries to influence spectators and tempts them to buy advertised products. In contrast, the answer chosen least often is the third one, stating that designers want to increase and spread their degree of international familiarity.

Again, there are differences between the four categories. For example, members of the two groups containing long- time fans mostly preferred the statement that India wants to demonstrate its economic progress and wealth. This answer even received most ticks by members of the fourth group.

By comparing answers of the first two groups, it can be noticed that members of the second (1-5 year fans) believe that advertisements are part of everyday life and are therefore represented in Bollywood films. In contrast, from the first group nobody ticked this statement. Moreover, the second fan category further stands out as being one of two groups claiming that sponsors are presented in Bollywood films. The third group was the only one whose members did not think at all that designers want to increase their degree of familiarity.

To sum up the results of this question, it can be generalised that the longer someone is a fan, the more this person thinks India wants to portray its wealth and therefore uses product placement. Other facts such as influence of spectators are important as well but are treated equally as the claim that designers want to increase their influence on spectators. Moreover, it stands out that groups that have been fans for a longer time tend to pay little attention to the second and third answer but do not extensively fall out.

Furthermore, the first group differs from others according to its chosen options in the ninth question. Here most people of group 1 have expressed to feel disturbed by product placements. However, three people also claimed that they disagree with this claim. Thus, it seems as if among short-time Bollywood fans there is a sharp division. The second group has clearly signified that its members have nothing against brand portrayal in Bollywood films, as 22 of 35 members chose answers of the right half of the scale. The majority of the third group also shows disagreement with the statement whereas most people of the fourth group chose the fifth option and therefore claim that

they feel least disturbed by product placements. To conclude, the outcome can be interpreted in as far as members of group 1 feel most disturbed whereas groups 3 and 4 are less annoyed.

Concerning influence on buying behaviour (question 10), it must be remarked that most people do not feel influenced by branded items in films. However, the fourth group was the one inflicted most by doubts and marked the box 'I don't know' as often as 'No'. A similar result appears in the first group. Therefore, a possible interpretation of these results might be that the first group does not know much about brands whereas the fourth might admit that product placement has some influence but that they are not necessarily influenced by it. Only a minority of people from the first two groups admit that their consumption behaviour is affected by product placement.

Answers of the next question surprise in as far as informants do not agree with each other as clearly as in the question before. More precisely, group one stands out by being the only one that claims that song and dance sequences influence the impact of a brand's advertising message. Thus, one could argue, that a brand's influence is increased when portrayed in these scenes. This means that Bollywood 'newbies' think that there is a connection between songs and brands. In contrast, all other respondents denied this question and therefore contradicted the responses of the first group, also refuting the given statement. In fact, song and dance numbers often contain product placements. Whether their effects on spectators are really influenced by song and dance sequences or vice versa, shall be examined in the film analysis of this thesis.

To sum up the outcomes of this chapter it can be claimed that it seems as if group one has least experiences with Bollywood and therefore its answers differ from those of other respondents. For example, people from group one identified other brands, products and product categories than all the other fans. Sometimes their answers contradict those of other informants concerning labels and products, for example. On the other hand, the forth group also stands out by giving slightly different respondents than all the other groups. By comparing all results, it seems as if answers gradually change from first to forth group. Therefore, this analysis reveals that there is a significant difference in answers with regard to period being fan. This outcome has been expected. Of course, the film analysis will also show which of the groups was closest to

actual product placements in Bollywood films. However, before turning to another chapter, the questionnaire is discussed according to age of respondents.

4.1.5. Analysis 2- Age of fans

This chapter is concerned with how old informants are and examines whether age plays a significant role in identifying product placement in Bollywood films. Therefore, respondents' answers are divided into five groups, of which the fifth had to be neglected because no respondent was over 61 years old. The first group contains responses of people up to the age of eighteen, the second fans between 19 and 30, the third those between 31 and 45 and the fourth those between 46 and 61. Generally said, it immediately stands out that the second group has most members (25), followed by group 3 with 22 fans. The fourth group has the fewest members, which may be attributed to the fact that respondents are internet users and that Bollywood forums are predominantly used by 'younger' fans⁹³.

The outcome of the first question does not differ much from the general remarks and results of preceding analysis. It can only be said that the oldest group stands out completely agreeing with product placement. Younger groups were not as decisive as some of them also chose the neutral option. Therefore, it seems as if the oldest group is the one most secure of its knowledge and film experience.

The second point deals with advertised products. Figure 3 on the next pages illustrates the results in detail. Interestingly, only older informants (those of groups 2, 3 and 4) chose clothes and communication technology as most advertised objects. On the contrary, youngest informants were the only ones claiming that second most advertised products are food and beverages.

⁹³ In as far as one can rely on people's honesty when filling out user profiles in online forums.

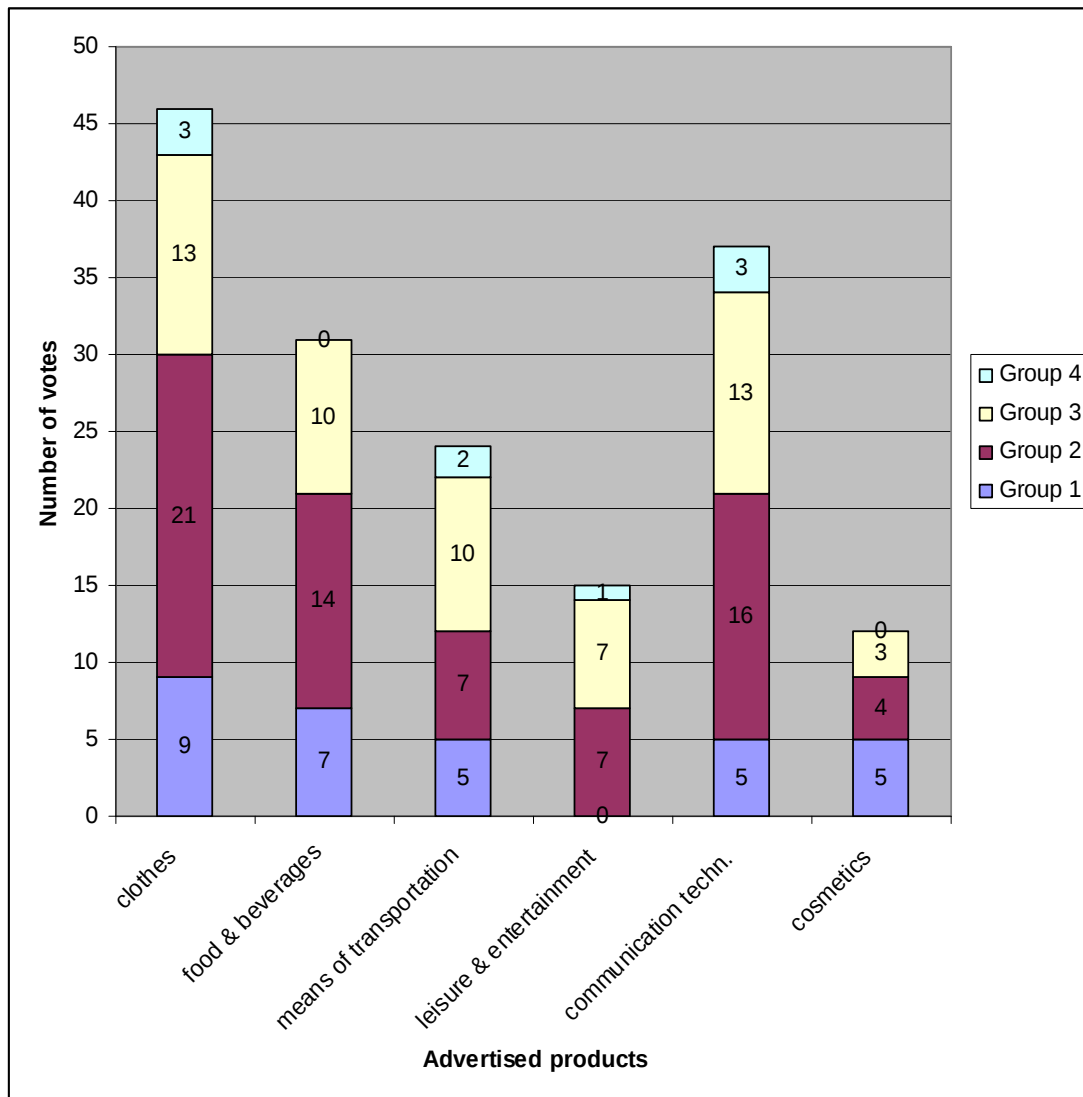


Fig.2 Analysis 2- People's opinions about most advertised products

Furthermore, the first and fourth group should be compared because they differ significantly in terms of food and cosmetics. In other words, these products have been neglected at all by the oldest fans, whereas younger ones still voted for them. In contrast, the younger respondents did not pay any attention at all to entertainment and leisure products.

A reason for this result might be that in Bollywood films product placements are aimed at certain target audiences whose lifestyles are marked by the consumption of certain beverages, food and cosmetics. For example, the brand Coca Cola might target at a younger, rather than at an older audience because the lifestyles of the former fit Coke's advertising messages and image most⁹⁴. Similarly, food producers such as Mc Donald's

⁹⁴ Cf. Scheible, http://www.acs-onweb.de/hd/content/pres_c2_advertising_and_youth_markets/Coke_HomepagesDFH.htm

have their own target audience and are therefore not perceived by older age groups⁹⁵. The film analysis is going to show how these brands appear in films and how actors advertise them and address their target groups. Moreover, it is looked for explanations why brands appear in certain scenes and what their advertising message is.

Returning to the recognition of certain products, it should be added that group one further stands out by omitting leisure and entertainment products at all. Nevertheless, this does not seem to be an extraordinary peculiarity as other members did not like this option either. Moreover, younger fans voted equally for means of transportation, communication technology and cosmetics. Of course, young people are more interested in make up, mobile phones and cars, as these are status symbols according to which their identities are built up.

In contrast to first and fourth, the second and third groups do not differ from each other considerably. Nevertheless, it can be observed that each of them voted equally for certain product groups. The second fan union stressed means of transportation and leisure products equally. On the other hand, group three thought clothes and communication technology as well as food & beverages and means of transportation should share ranks. However, it must be admitted that they do not differ much and should rather be compared to oldest respondents.

Group 4 preferred clothes as well as communication technology most. This means they focus on products that are either worn or presented by actors. As earlier mentioned, they neglected those products most which are preferred by younger audiences. Therefore, it shall be further examined in the next chapter whether those products identified most by older people are presented and used by older or younger actors in films. Thus it shall be proved whether actors function as role models.

To sum up results of this question, it can be argued that opinions of younger and older fans differed most, whereas data from second and third groups resembled most. It seems as if products were recognised by those fans most belonging to target audiences of brands. Films are therefore a suitable advertising medium, as manufacturers know beforehand the film, the genre it belongs to as well as the film's expected spectators.

⁹⁵ Cf. Scheible, http://www.acs-onweb.de/hd/content/pres_c2_advertising_and_youth_markets/Coca_spotsDFH.htm

Thus, advertisements can be arranged individually in order to address specific target groups. However, the next question deals with whether these target groups also differ in identifying brands of clothes.

Concerning portrayed brands in Bollywood films, it must be mentioned that at first sight already some striking similarities stand out. In other words, the three younger groups of respondents believe that Adidas is portrayed most often. This is a very interesting and convincing result, as three groups vote for one and the same label. Figure 4 illustrates this in more detail.

Brands/Groups	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4
Adidas	8	11	8	1
Armani	4	1	2	-
Chanel	-	2	-	-
DKNY	-	4	1	2
Dolce & Gabbana	-	6	3	-
Fila	2	6	4	1
Fruit of the Loom	3	2	8	2
Fubu	4	4	-	-
GAP	3	9	6	1
Gucci	2	6	3	-
Hugo Boss	2	6	4	-
Kappa	4	9	5	-
Lacoste	2	7	5	-
Nike	4	4	4	1
Prada	-	5	2	-
Puma	-	5	-	1
Reebok	-	3	-	1
Ralph Lauren/Polo Sport	5	8	7	2
Speedo	-	2	-	-
Tommy Hilfiger	6	8	8	2
Others	6	-	4	-

Tab.2 Analysis 2- Number of votes clothing brands received

The yellow fields in figure 4 highlight most preferred answers. It also becomes visible that group three and four selected more than one brand as the most often portrayed label. Thus, members of the third community have voted equally for Adidas, Fruit of the Loom and Tommy Hilfiger, whereas the fourth group preferred DKNY, Fruit of the Loom, Ralph Lauren/ Polo Sport and Tommy Hilfiger. Interestingly, the preference for more than two labels is also a peculiarity found in the second analysis (analysis with

regard to age of fans) only. In contrast, in the preceding chapter only one fan group preferred two labels equally.

Moreover, it also stands out that certain brands were chosen only by some groups, whereas being omitted by others. This applies to Chanel, Dolce & Gabbana, Prada, Puma, Reebok and Speedo.

Thus, oldest participants neglected Adidas but voted instead for four other brands equally. Its members rather decided to mark labels such as DKNY, Fruit of the Loom, Ralph Lauren/ Polo Sport as well as Tommy Hilfiger. Moreover, these respondents tended to be fussier than the others as they left out some brands and only focussed on those they thought of being important, although they had the option as well to tick more boxes. They did not even make use of the option 'Others', which they have in common with the second youngest fan group.

In contrast, the youngest respondents' answers differed with regard to the last option. These fans were also those ticking the box 'Others' most often either because they know many more brands or identify none of those given in the list. Nevertheless, even though they are very young, their answers resemble those of other groups, as they ticked brands which have also been preferred by others. Therefore, their results are not surprising.

Group 2 distinguished itself from all other fans, as it comprises most members, which is clearly visible as all labels were marked at least once. Moreover, it is the only group omitting the option 'Others' completely. This means that respondents did not think there were other brands left not mentioned. Furthermore, GAP and Kappa as well as Ralph Lauren/Polo Sport and Tommy Hilfiger received equal ticks in this group.

The third oldest group did not differ dramatically from the former fan community and is therefore not treated in detail again.

To sum up the results of this question it can be said that all respondents recognised the brands Adidas, Fila, Fruit of the Loom, GAP, Nike, Ralph Lauren/ Polo Sport and Tommy Hilfiger. This means that brand awareness of these labels is relatively high because they are identified by all age groups. However, Adidas clearly stands out, as

already mentioned before. It is very interesting to observe that here the first group also identified many brands. Moreover, the oldest fans do not express their Bollywood experience by ticking all boxes but by carefully selecting appropriate answers. Thus, it seems as if they voted equally for certain brands because they think these labels occur similarly in Bollywood films. Comparing oldest and youngest respondents' groups, it stands out that each of them selected labels not being identified by the other group. Labels, such as Armani, Fubu, Gucci, Hugo Boss, Kappa and Lacoste were chosen by youngest, whereas DKNY, Puma, Reebok were selected by oldest participants. However, whether these brands are presented by older or younger actors and therefore address certain target groups, has to be found out.

As most of the just mentioned brands are presented on T-shirts, it can be argued that answers of questions three and four match perfectly. In other words, sportswear is advertised most often and also identified by the majority of informants. Moreover, dresses and skirts were also ticked. The option least chosen was underwear, which only received ticks by the second fan community. Furthermore, the oldest group did not mark trousers and jeans, suits and dinner jackets, underwear as well as the option 'Others' at all. Thus, it can be summarised that in general people preferred sportswear labels such as Adidas and therefore also focus on T-shirts and sweatshirts, as presented by actors such as Shahrukh Khan.

Of course, it is also interesting to ask people why these brands occur. Some members of the groups answered similarly. When comparing their responses, it seems as if the two younger groups both agree that brands are incorporated into films because of the advertisements' influence on spectators. In contrast, older members (groups 3 and 4) confirm that brands are integrated in order to present sponsors.

Furthermore, it can be observed that informants of the first and fourth group contradict each other. What the youngest respondents highlighted, was neglected by the oldest and vice versa. Thus, youngest participants did not at all think that the main reason for product placement might be the portrayal of Bollywood film sponsors. In contrast, many people of the remaining groups thought that this is one of the main reasons for brand integration. Moreover, oldest participants did only vote for this answer. In addition, they also claimed that another reason for brand integration is to show India's

economic development, which was ignored by the youngest informants. To sum up, it seems as if answers of younger groups resemble each other as well as those of older groups do. Youngest people think product placement shall influence spectators to buy products and simultaneously increase designers' degree of international familiarity. However, remaining informants state that the main reason is to portray film sponsors. The fourth group's dominant preference for this option confirms Group 2 and 3's claim. Results of the twelfth question shall also be mentioned. The majority of respondents are rather against the statement that song and dance sequences increase brands' influence on the spectators. However, the third group is the only one presenting as many positive as negative answers and is rather centred on the neutral box of the scale. In quite the contrary to these answers are those of the fourth group, whose members are completely against the influence of song and dance numbers on the advertising attention of the branded goods.

Summing up the evaluation of the questionnaire concerning age of fans, it has to be stressed that fans were divided up in four groups. Most striking differences were found between youngest and oldest respondents. Of course, oldest does not mean most experienced. Therefore it should be mentioned that older people tend to recognise other products than younger participants do and vice versa. Moreover, similarities have been found between neighbouring groups. In other words, with growing age, people's opinions change. This could also be explained by claiming that films (and also brands) address different target audiences. Thus, people not belonging to these groups do not recognise certain brands or advertised products.

4.1.6. Conclusion of both analyses

Both analyses together demonstrate that product placement is not just a phenomenon occurring in Hollywood films, but that fans identify this advertising strategy in Indian cinema as well. Therefore, the questionnaire can be interpreted as confirmation of Indian film financing through product placement. Nevertheless, it was necessary to design a questionnaire in order to prove assumptions about product placements in Bollywood films.

In general, the variety of responses is evoked by different Bollywood experience of respondents. Some have been fans for a shorter, others for a longer period and therefore perceive product placements differently. The age of fans is also influential in identifying branded goods in Bollywood films.

According to the evaluation, certain brands, such as Adidas, Nike and Tommy Hilfiger dominate Bollywood films. Moreover, it has been found out that actors also play an important part in brand presentation, which is confirmed by clear and definite votes for Shahrukh Khan and Aishwarya Rai. Thus, the following film chapter will examine whether Shahrukh Khan really is a dominant male advertiser in Bollywood films and if not, who else presents branded goods and how brands are portrayed at all. In addition, this is also done with regard to Miss Rai in order to find out which advertising functions actresses have in Bollywood films.

Furthermore, the questionnaire shall reveal whether fans feel annoyed, disturbed or even influenced by advertisements. People received the questionnaire without any reference to specific Bollywood films in order to avoid answers drawn from short-time memory. In contrast, they should respond spontaneously because results then demonstrate which brands people really remember and which long-time effects advertisements have. Moreover, the fact that brands such as Adidas and Nike were preferred means that these brands are remembered without watching films or giving any references or hints.

People were also asked what they think of the reasons for product placement and whether their messages are influenced by song and dance sequences. Again, answers of older and younger groups were different as well as those of long-time and short-time fans. Thus, the following chapter and investigation shall demonstrate which of these groups was right and whose answers are closest to the analysis of product placement in Bollywood films.

4.2. An analysis of product placements in Bollywood films

This part of the thesis deals with product placement in Bollywood films. It demonstrates with examples that brand integration is in fact very outstanding in Indian popular cinema. It will be further proved whether the results of the questionnaire are realistic. As a consequence, fans' opinions are either confirmed or contradicted. Moreover, the brands' narrative function and advertising messages are also examined. Furthermore, it is investigated how brands influence a character's or narration's development. This is important as it shall be explained why certain brands have been used in certain scenes and how films and advertisements match.

Those films relevant for this chapter are chosen for specific reasons. First, they all belong to the genre of romantic films. This means that the main focus is about falling in love, finding one's love or about marrying. The analysis comprises 17 films of which many incorporate Alpine or Non- Indian landscapes as well. The reason for choosing them was to demonstrate various location placement types. Moreover, a Telugu⁹⁶ film is also included to show that even if extraordinary prominent or famous actors do not appear in certain films, product placement is still used extensively.

The analysing procedure comprises several runs. These steps are necessary because a film on average lasts three hours and a complete observation of all relevant details while watching the film for the first time is nearly impossible. Therefore, films are examined in following stages: Firstly, all scenes and short plot summaries are noted. This is followed by a closer look at all song and dance numbers and their messages. Finally, all advertisements are noted with regard to their narrative function and influence on character or song and dance sequences. All information is collected on a list for each film in order to compare product placement and film peculiarities.

As extensive amounts of product placements are identified in films, it is important to count them in order to be able to provide useful data for comparison with the results of the questionnaire. Sometimes dozens of product placements even appear within the first five minutes. However, it must be assumed that possibly not all advertisements might have been detected. It should therefore be stressed that the analysis focuses on those

⁹⁶ Telugu is one of many languages spoken in India. Films are often produced in other regions of India as well and therefore reflect regional cultures, as well as languages.

brands whose logos, writings or characteristic features are clearly visible for a spectator who has been watching Bollywood films for 3 years.

The film analysis itself is then divided into two chapters. Firstly, films are analysed according to questions from the questionnaire in order to prove informants' responses. This is then followed by an illustration of popular advertisers. It should be demonstrated which actors and actresses in fact present branded goods. Furthermore, brands and groups of products placed are counted and presented. The different placement types are identified and counted as well. This is followed by an interpretation of their functions in certain scenes, such as song and dance sequences. Moreover, it is also analysed what role a placement has in song and dance sequences, whether there are any placements at all and what the reasons for placements' presence or absence in these sequences are.

4.2.1. Results of film analysis

This chapter demonstrates which brands and types of brand integration have been found in Bollywood films. Moreover, it is shown whether the questionnaire reflects reality and what kinds of brands are advertised most often. An interpretation of their function follows before depicting two specific types of placements to demonstrate their use in song and dance sequences.

4.2.1.1. Comparison of film results and questionnaire outcomes

The analysis will demonstrate whether informants' answers resemble product placements found in the film analysis. As respondents' opinions are neither true nor false and simply reflect fans' perceptions of in-film advertisements, this chapter shall not be interpreted as prove or refutation of claims. In contrast, this part should be seen as supplement of a description of product placement in Bollywood cinema.

For this chapter 17 films⁹⁷ are analysed and in all of them product placements can be found. Of course, some contain more and others less advertisements, but in fact none of

⁹⁷ See bibliography for a detailed list of films.

these films was shot without the integration of brands. Altogether 1133 product placements have been identified out of which the film *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* comprises most, namely around 144. In contrast, in *Dil Ne Jise Apna Kahaa* fewest branded goods are found. Furthermore, it can be claimed that one film portrays on average about 67 product placements. However, it has to be mentioned that brands being repeatedly shown in combination with one and the same product are only counted once. Of course, directors integrate extremely often branded goods in order to emphasise a product and increase its recognition.

Concerning advertised consumer goods, a graph has been developed in order to demonstrate presented products visually. The following figure reveals products presented in all films. Portrayed branded goods have been summarised to groups. In contrast to the questionnaire, more categories are used in order to mention as many advertisements as possible. Moreover, it has been found out that means of transportation, clothes as well as food & beverages are presented in most films, whereas cosmetics and sport equipment are shown least.

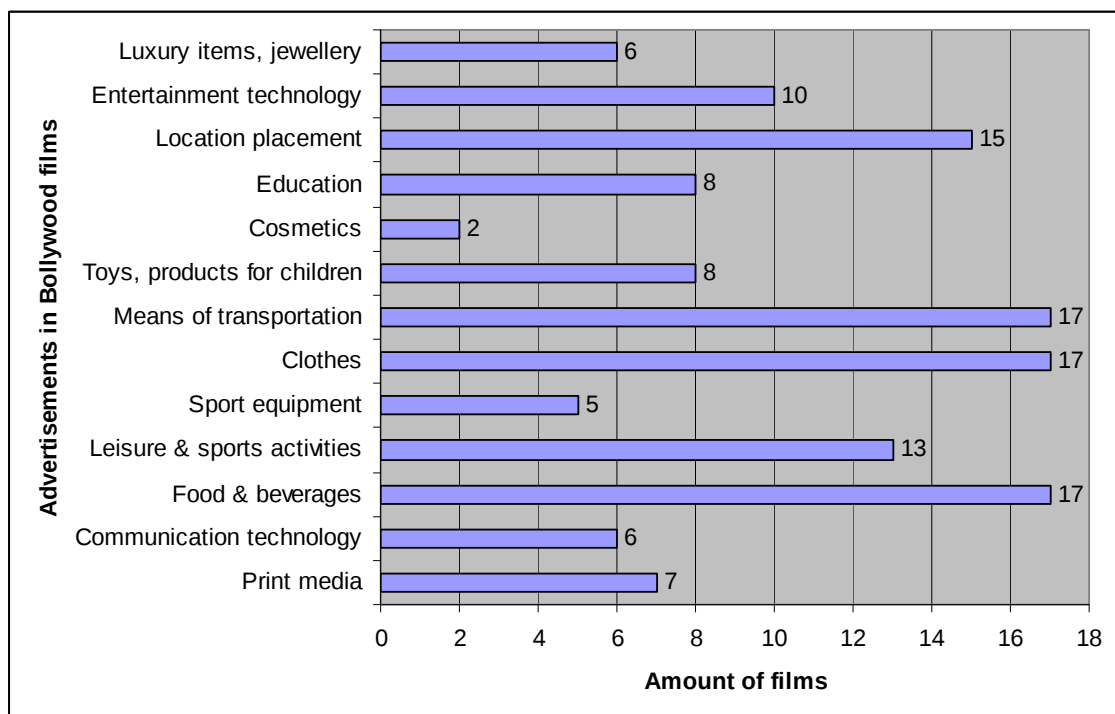


Fig.3 Occurrences of advertisements in Bollywood films

Comparing results from evaluation of the questionnaire with those from film analysis, it stands out that fans were right with regard to clothes, as these are advertised in all films.

Moreover, the lacking occurrence of cosmetics has also been assessed correctly. Although communication technology was also preferred by most respondents, it is not presented explicitly with visible logos in all films. Only in six films logos or ringtones of Nokia and other brands are advertised and thus included in this summary.

Furthermore, it can also be summarised which of the questionnaire's groups' answers reflects most the product placement in analysed films. It can be observed that in both analyses third groups (third oldest and third longest fans) were those assessing product placements most correctly with regard to the 17 films. This means that fans who have been watching Bollywood films between 6 and 10 years and those being between 31 and 45 years old seem to know most about product placement.

Furthermore, film analysis and questionnaire also resemble each other with regard to advertised brands of clothes. This means that the film analysis might be interpreted as confirmation of fans' statements. The following table shows this in more detail.

Brands	Amount of films
Adidas	11
Armani	1
Chanel	-
DKNY	4
Dolce & Gabbana	2
Fila	1
Fruit of the Loom	-
Fubu	-
GAP	5
Gucci	-
Hugo Boss	-
Kappa	-
Lacoste	1
Nike	9
Prada	-
Puma	4
Reebok	2
Ralph Lauren/Polo Sport	7
Speedo	1
Tommy Hilfiger	5

Tab.3 Clothing brands as found in Bollywood films

Examining all films with regard to portrayed clothes, it stands out that Adidas is advertised most often, followed by Nike, Ralph Lauren/ Polo Sport and Tommy

Hilfiger. This means that fans' opinions and actual occurrences of brands in Bollywood films agree with each other. However, in contrast to some of the respondents' opinions, Chanel, Fruit of the Loom, Fubu, Gucci, Hugo Boss, Kappa and Prada could not be found at all in any of the films.

Moreover, it should also be mentioned that many people also ticked the 'Others' option with regard to clothing brands. Admittedly, many other labels of clothes are portrayed as well. Here only those are listed that occurred more than once in films, such as Diesel, O'Neill, Pepe Jeans, Benetton, Calvin Klein and Harley Davidson.

Concerning the latter it must be noted that although this is a motorbike label, corresponding clothes are produced and sold in order to highlight the biker identity. However, in some Bollywood films even people who do not possess a motorbike wear clothes of this brand in order to demonstrate their liking or imitation of this identity. Moreover, there are similar brands symbolising a person's sense of belonging to a certain fan group. For example, Sixers' or NBA shirts in *Kal Ho Na Hoo* [22:26] and New York Yankees' caps in *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* [41:11] represent sports or leisure clothes of young American teenagers or students. The national identity of these groups is highlighted by the appearance of flags in the background or on other clothes in close proximity of these.

By comparing attire placements in films, it can further be observed that in *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* almost no branded clothes are advertised. This is very uncommon, as Shahrukh Khan, the leading actor of this box office hit, often presents in-film advertisements. Nevertheless, it seems as if producers have focussed on the integration of other products, such as food and beverage brands, which appear in numerous scenes. Moreover, means of transportation such as convertibles, trains and airplanes have also been integrated. These products stress portrayed social groups as well as the identity of certain characters.

In contrast to *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge*, *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* presents most clothing product placements. The first branded attire shown is a DKNY shirt worn by the female protagonist in [19:48]. In the following 10 minutes fifteen different clothing brands are presented on screen, whereas it has to be mentioned that repetitions are not counted. Therefore, with regard to the variety of clothes, this film resembles more a

fashion show than a romantic film. This is also highlighted by the fact that even children are used as models by wearing pyjamas and T-shirts, thus promoting popular cartoons, such as Hello Kitty, 101 Dalmatians or Mickey Mouse in a holiday camp [1:53:34 et seq.].

In general, identified clothing labels are predominantly printed or sewn on T-shirts. In addition, brands also occur on sweatshirts and of course, sportswear. This is often presented in scenes illustrating sports and leisure activities. Mostly, people wearing these products are between 20 and 30 years old, students and have rich parents (enabling them the purchase of these designer clothes). Sometimes people around 50 and 60 years, main characters' parents, also wear track suits or Nike T-shirts. Predominantly, such clothes are worn by older actors at home, as can be observed in *Kyaa Dil Ne Kahaa*, when the fathers of the protagonists wear Nike T-shirts and track suits in [12:28] and [2:10:07].

However, there are also clothing categories chosen by fans that do not turn up in Bollywood films, such as dresses and underwear. Although fans voted for dresses and skirts, it has to be declared that these do not contain visible logos or writings of brands. In case of a product placement, the brand might not even be identified, thus such clothes are not counted as branded good in the film analysis. The same applies to evening attire and suits. Not even in these cases designers and manufacturers can be identified. With regard to underwear, it has to be pointed to the fact that in order to advertise lingerie, actors would need to undress themselves. This would not be uncommon for men, as they often appear with topless upper bodies or in boxer shorts. Women, on the other hand, are never shown undressed (in those relevant films) and thus cannot even advertise underwear. Therefore, in this context fans' responses have to be refuted.

Concerning the sex of advertisers, respondents' statement can be confirmed. More men than women present labelled goods in Bollywood films. Moreover, it is predominantly Shahrukh Khan who wears most of the designer clothes and drinks Pepsi Coke. Women do not present as many brands as he does, as only Kajol wears branded goods, such as DKNY in *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* [19:48 et seq.]. Another woman demonstrating a labelled product in use is Rani Mukherjee, sipping at a Fanta can in *Hum Tum* [27:35]. Although sometimes also women take parts as advertisers, men and especially Shahrukh

Khan, dominate the screens. This phenomenon shall be explained a little later in more detail, but prior to that, reasons for brand integration shall be depicted.

The next point of the questionnaire deals with spectators' opinions about reasons for product placements in Bollywood films. Of course, film teams incorporate branded goods in order to be able to finance their projects. Although designers often function as film sponsors, money is not raised exclusively from them. Therefore, brands only partly present sponsors (as not all financiers need to be manufacturing companies possessing logos).

Concerning another reason mentioned in this question, it should be added that films, of course, try to resemble reality and reflect life and the world realistically. Therefore a country, its culture and people's identities cannot be completely neglected and are consciously presented. In other words, the integration of branded items does not seem intrusive when appearing on goods needed for everyday life, such as food and drinks. Moreover, it can be further argued that by reflecting some kind of (idealised) reality, India more or less tries to demonstrate its wealth and economic development. This, of course has to do with the rise of the Indian middle class and its lifestyle. Fernandes even argues that it is the Indian middle class that is presented most frequently in Bollywood cinema (xiv-xv). Furthermore, it can be said that it is the consumption behaviour of this social class that is depicted and represented⁹⁸.

By asking for an assessment of the reasons of product placements, people should not be forced to commit themselves to an answer but to see whether these possible reasons are accepted at all and which options are preferred most. With regard to films, a true answer cannot be given. Thus, the main goal was to explain that with regard to the relevant films all options could come into consideration and to explain that maybe also political aspects, such as the portrayal of the economic development might come into question.

In order to proceed with the comparison of results from questionnaire and film analysis, question number eleven is discussed. It deals with whether fans think song and dance numbers increase an advertised label's influence on the spectators. Firstly, it must be explained that branded goods sometimes also appear in song and dance scenes. Of course, it has to be mentioned that there are different types of song and dance scenes

⁹⁸ Fernandes, 77-81.

fulfilling different functions in Bollywood scenes. Brands can thus not be integrated in every song sequence in order to avoid disturbance of exciting scenes or influence on a character's image. Therefore, the brand's advertising message depends on the type of sequence, its theme and mood and its influence on spectators. However, as these sequences always transmit certain messages and have important functions for the development of character and narration, it has to be found out what the function of brands is in such scenes and in what type of sequences they occur at all. This may also be a part of advertising campaigns and therefore scenes and brands do influence each other as they contribute to each other's box office successes.

But before concentrating on brands in song and dance sequences and their influence on narration, Shahrukh Khan as advertising figure is being examined and analysed.

4.2.1.2. Actors as advertisers

The first thing that immediately stands out while watching these films is that actors often wear branded T-shirts. Moreover, respondents' unanimous decision already indicates that Shahrukh Khan is the actor presenting most branded goods. Indeed, in every film he features, he advertises goods. Interestingly, he always presents same or similar brands.

Anupama Chopra has already described the phenomenon Shahrukh Khan. She mentions that his career started after university, which he financed by making commercials. During his studies, he had learned much about advertisements. He knew what the audience liked and accepted. It was then easy to present what spectators want to see. Soon he turned into the best-paid advertising star of India. He even earns more money with advertising than with acting. According to Chopra, he is a close friend of most of the producers and actors thus, it would be hard for him to ask for a high salary. This makes him a cheap actor, when compared to Amitabh Bachchan or Aamir Khan. Everything Shahrukh advertises turns into a successful product (Chopra, 215, 219).

People of all age groups like and trust him, which makes them buy the products presented by him. Advertising agencies use his positive image to sell all sorts of

products. During a poll, people had once been asked to identify products groups advertised by Shahrukh Khan. Interestingly, they mentioned commercials in which he in fact had never appeared, such as advertisements for financial institutions. This means that Shahrukh Khan has such a positive image that people associate all positive and reputable goods with him⁹⁹.

When Bollywood reached Europe, he had also been able to increase his popularity even here. Nevertheless, advertisements in Europe still tend to be free from Shahrukh Khan, due to Europe's orientation on Hollywood. Omega print advertisements are examples of advertising differences between East and West. In Europe actors such as Pierce Brosnan, George Clooney, Daniel Craig or actresses and models such as Nicole Kidman and Cindy Crawford advertise the Swiss watches¹⁰⁰. On the contrary, in India, Sonali Bendre, Shahrukh Khan and Abhishek Bachchan are the most famous representatives of this brand¹⁰¹. This comparison also shows that Omega watches adjust their representatives to a continent's culture, thus reacting to specific consumer markets.

In five of six analysed films where Shahrukh Khan is featuring, he wears branded clothes with clearly visible and recognisable logos or writings. He often changes between outfits of Tommy Hilfiger, Adidas, Polo Sport and Nike. His preference for branded clothes is also shown in the following figure, depicting a scene from *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*, where the protagonist tries to impress girls by stretching muscles, playing Basketball and sprinting.

⁹⁹ Cf. Chopra, 218.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. <http://www.omegawatches.com/index.php?id=103>

¹⁰¹ Cf. Schneider, 105 and <http://www.tribuneindia.com/2001/20010305/biz.htm>



Fig.4 Shahrukh Khan as advertiser in *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* [59:32]

It can further be claimed that these labels emphasise his sportsmanlike and trendy appearance. Very often, he represents a confirmed bachelor who is the most attractive man of a group, school or story and appears sympathetic and likeable. Usually he represents a successful and busy person, either working in a service sector job or studying at university abroad and is the ideal husband or groom in the eyes of female characters. However, he not only advertises clothing brands but also works under contract for beverage companies such as Pepsi. Therefore, it is not astonishing that in his proximity often big Pepsi logos appear, as in the film *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*, where he often holds a Pepsi can [43:19].

The main reason for the integration of a clothing brand into a feature films is that clothes can be presented very frequently. This means that actors, who wear them, become advertisers and even fashion models, because they increase the spectators' perception of a brand. Especially in scenes, such as dialogues, during close-ups or reverse shots, labels receive more attention because they are displayed more often. In the extraordinary case of *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* a T-shirt of Polo Sport appears up to 43 times in a period of 12 minutes from [48:55] to [1:00:16]. Shahrukh Khan, the advertiser, dances and sings and is thus shown often in reverse shots. Moreover, editing has increased the number of shots in which he is presented by adjusting the cuts to the rhythm of the music. Polo Sport is thus repeatedly presented in all possible poses and

stressed by lighting effects as well. No TV commercials would ever achieve such a long and frequent portrayal of a single brand. Therefore, the duration and frequency of in-film advertisements play a decisive role in influencing potential buyers' behaviour. Of course, advertising actors themselves contribute to a successful promotion as well.

Shahrukh Khan is one of India's best-paid advertisers and is most accepted by the majority of Indians, no matter which age or social group people belong to. His image and the constant acting of certain character types, such as the ideal son, caring husband, brother or son-in-law make him the darling of every spectator. Success and high sales figures can be expected by companies collaborating with Shahrukh Khan because whole India trusts and likes him. Moreover, spectators do not feel cheated or manipulated by him and thus often try to copy his style by buying those products presented by him.

However, not only Khan advertises brands but other actors too. In the analysed films, background dancers often wear branded clothes as well. Supporting actors present labels because their clothes and appearance shall stress the advertising message of the main actors' advertised products. Often supporting actors or dancers wear similar brands in order to emphasise a mood or a character's identity. Therefore brands with similar attributes and images, such as sports wear labels, are combined in order to stress the main actor's attractiveness and sportive looking. Another reason for the presentation of similar brands by main and supporting actors is that they should represent a certain social group or address a certain group of spectators.

Other male main actors, such as Dino Morea in *Pyaar Mein Kabhi Kabhi* for example also present designer labels but not as excessively and often as 'King Khan' does.

According to the results of the analysis, these male actors predominantly wear Nike and Adidas, in one case Tommy Hilfiger but never Ralph Lauren/ Polo Sport, which seems to be reserved for Mr Khan. Moreover, it is the brand Thums Up that is being advertised by Dino Morea and his colleagues most of the time in this film. By avoiding a variety of actors, a brand achieves more popularity as people clearly identify it with a special person and therefore are able to combine a brand with a successful actor. Therefore, from this point of view, images of brand and actor must resemble each other because

spectators have to feel the agreement in order to be positively influenced by the advertisement¹⁰².

Very infrequently, actresses function as advertisers. As already mentioned, in the film *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*, Anjali (Kajol), for example, excessively advertises the label DKNY. All her clothes, caps, jackets and bags portray this label's logo. In one scene at the beginning of the film [19:59], she plays an active, young and boyishly dressed girl. Later on, when becoming an adult from, she changes her attire from trousers to saris and more decent female clothes. Thus, wearing the brand DKNY might mean for a girl, to be accepted and strong like boys. Moreover, the western attitude that contradicts traditional values might be a symbolic representation of India's reception of Western trends.



Fig.5 Kajol wearing a DKNY outfit in *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* [19:59]

Generally, it can be summed up that by wearing branded clothes, actors resemble fashion models with the only difference that actors' catwalk extends throughout the whole film. Thus, male as well as female actors are role models of fashion. Spectators shall be able to identify with actors and influenced to imitate their behaviour and clothes.

¹⁰² Cf. Chopra, A. (218) and Ehrenbergerova,16.

Of course, food and beverages are also portrayed by actors. The combination Shahrukh Khan and Pepsi has already been mentioned. However, women advertise soft drinks as well. For instance, in *Hum Tum*, Rani Mukherji holds a cup of take-away Nescafé-coffee [17:32]. Later in the same film [29:37], she even takes a can of Fanta with her and finally throws it at Karan (Saif Ali Khan). In both scenes she represents a female student, having no time for drinking and thus taking the beverage with her. Thus, actors do not only represent clothes but also beverages.

To sum up, it can be said that actors function as demonstrators of products in action. They present a product's successful integration into spectators' everyday lives by displaying it in use, at the same time addressing people to purchase same or similar goods in order to be able to imitate their favourite actors and idols. Moreover, actors often appear in commercials on TV and in print media as well. The frequency of a celebrity's appearance in public, of course increases a brand's level of recognition as well as its advertising message. In order to explain how certain brands influence the image of an actor or a film, the next section deals with their functions.

4.2.1.3. Brands and their narrative functions

While watching these films it can be observed that brands are integrated into different scenes. This means, that not only different types of product placements can be found but that these brands also fulfil narrative functions. Of course, some of them help establish a character's identity, whereas others highlight and increase scenes' functions as they are embedded in song and dance sequences. Thus, it can be said that there are on-set placements, representing necessary props for the portrayal of characters and social identities and creative placements, advertisements integrated into the film's action and story-line. Thus, this chapter predominantly deals with these two types in order to demonstrate that examples of both are found in the 17 films.

Furthermore, it is revealed that certain brands are used in relative frequency in order to transmit relatively similar messages. The following table illustrates the outcome of the film analysis and lists those products and brands occurring most frequently in films.

Due to lack of space not all product placements can be mentioned and therefore only those are highlighted that occur in more than two films. This means that they are not detected accidentally but stand out. In the following two chapters some of the listed brands are discussed with regard to their narrative functions.

Product groups	Label	Advertising message, image of brand	Characters/ actors using branded products	Number of films this brand occurs
<u>Clothes, sportswear</u>	Nike	Spend time with friends, leisure activities	Young men in a group, 20-30 years old	9
	Adidas	Sports	Young men in group	11
	Puma	Sports, especially	Young men, between 20 and 30, in group	4
	GAP	trendy	Men, children	5
	DKNY	Elegant sportswear	Individuals, men, women between 20 and 30	4
	Tommy Hilfiger	Elegant sportswear, leisure clothes	Men, predominantly Shahrukh Khan	8
	Polo Sport	Elegant leisure clothes, luxurious	Only Shahrukh Khan	7
<u>Food & beverages</u>	Coca Cola	Enjoy life, meet friends, have fun	Main characters, young people in general	6
	Pepsi Cola	Be part of a social group	Often cans or vending machines at colleges, young people, especially Sh. Khan	5
	Nescafé	Coffee connects people, coffee for emancipated	Young women between 20 and 30	4

		women		
	Starbucks coffee	Busy people need coffee to go, meet friends	Young students, both male and female	3
	Kellogg's cereals (Frosties, Cornflakes)	Healthy breakfast for children	Children	4
	Stroh's beer	Have a socially evening with friends	Older men, 30+ years old	2
	Heineken beer	Have fun with male friends	Men between 20 and 30 years	2
<u>Toys & products for children</u>	Disney's soft toys (Tweety, Garfield, Mickey Mouse)	Soft toys in bed, best friends of children and young ladies	Innocent children and young women (!), also main actresses have such toys before they marry	9
	Harry Potter	Boys want to look like Harry Potter	Young boys	2
<u>Communication technology, media</u>	Compaq	Notebooks important for busy people-able to work any time at any place	students	9
	Apple Imac	Modern and innovative companies work with this computer	Young and skilled businessmen	3
	Nokia mobile phones	Connecting people, everywhere	People between 20 and 30	9
	<i>Wireless telephones at home</i>	More freedom of movement at home, wealth	Older people, 40 years +	14
	The Times of India	informs you about news in India	People of all age groups	2
	MTV, music channels	entertainment at home, be up to date	Children, teenagers	3
<u>Means of transportation</u>	Airplanes (Lufthansa, Austrian)	Fly to universities abroad,	People of all age groups	12

	Airlines, airberlin, KLM, Hapag Lloyd)	holidays, meet relatives abroad		
	Eurail/ train	Visit relatives	All age groups, sexes	4
	Harley Davidson motorbike	Freedom, loneliness, power, independence	Bachelors, men around 30 years	6
	Honda, Ducati	Freedom, power, impress women	Young men, no car, rich parents	3
	convertibles (VW, Mercedes)	Enjoy nature, impress women, drive for fun, leisure activity	Men around 30 years	5
<u>Leisure activities</u>	Brunswick bowling	Entertainment in leisure time, with friends or girl friend	Young men between 20 and 30	4
	Sony Playstation 2	Entertainment at home- sports games	Boys, men between 20 and 30	2
	Sony, Panasonic- flatscreen TV	Entertainment at home	All age groups and sexes	5
	Dinner in restaurant	Lovers enjoy their togetherness	Couples between 20 and 30	7
	Meeting in coffee bars	Meet group of friends, be part of a social group	Students	5
	Going to parties and discotheques	Meet friends, have fun	Students, people between 20 and 30	3
	Sports	With friends, health and wellness important for look and beauty	Young people of all ages and sexes except children (often overweight)	8
	Travelling	Can afford to travel, either alone or with friends, see a lot of sights	People of all age groups	10
	Education	People, who can afford extra education such	Wealthy young people between 20 and 30	2

		as: Evening courses, seminars, dance courses,		
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Tab.4 Occurring brands in Bollywood films

4.2.1.3.1. On-set placements and their narrative functions

Very often brands are used to support the portrayal and representation of a certain social group (or class) and a character's identity¹⁰³. In this context, brands function as necessary but interchangeable props and belong to the formerly mentioned category of on-set placements. In the relevant films, many products are used to highlight a character's identity. According to the table, clothes, means of transportation as well as leisure activities are portrayed very often. In fact, they emphasise a character's social background, such as social class, age, sex, education or profession. The middle-class but also other social identities, such as those representing age and transitions between young and old or modernism and tradition are highlighted. This chapter will discuss those mentioned most often and explain their relation to consumer goods.

It immediately stands out that clothes are those branded goods presented most often and most intensively. As fans' responses have indicated already, branded T-shirts and sportswear dominate Bollywood films. Thus, it can be summarised that clothes represent numerous functions. In the analysed films, sportswear highlights a person's membership of a students' group or clique. Thus, Nike and Adidas do not only emphasise characters' sportiness but also their wealth. In *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*, the first song sequence shows all sorts of sportswear in order to present the wealth of students. Thus, not only the main actor but also his background dancers wear branded goods with big and clearly visible writings. Of course, they not only wear these clothes during leisure activities but also when demonstrating their belonging to a certain clique.

Concerning clothes it must be further mentioned that transmitted advertising messages differ in as far as some convey group membership, whereas others stress individualism. Nike, for example, is always shown in connection with group activities, as even supporting actors or background dancers wear sportswear of these brands. In contrast,

¹⁰³ Cf. Fernandes, xviii.

Polo Sport/Ralph Lauren evokes associations of luxury and wealth, as it is usually used by polo players. In the analysed films, Shahrukh Khan is the only person advertising this brand. Most of the time he represents a wealthy and rich character who stands out wearing elegant but sportive clothes, which make him an attractive bachelor. Same applies to the brand DKNY, which also seems to be a brand worn by individualists, not by groups.

Other products that contribute to the shaping of a character's and group's identity are means of transportation, especially with regard to men. Moreover, cars highlight the middle and upper class membership of the characters. In *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham*, the sons of Mr. Raj are wealthy and successful. Rohan (Hrithik Roshan) even plays in the cricket team of his university. Towards the second third of the film, he moves to London to search for his brother. He is immediately accepted by other students and adored by them, after arriving with a Ferrari in front of all colleagues [1:56:27]. Even Pooja, Anjali's sister, is picked up by her friends in a yellow Renault convertible. In the same film Mr. Raichand, Rohan's father, is shown next to his Rolls Royce, whereas Rohan's brother drives a Jaguar [1:54:12]. Moreover, in front of the family's stately home (or even castle) a Range Rover [1:12:25] can be identified. Although there are many more examples in the film, these should suffice to show that the portrayal of cars is relatively dominant in this film.

Even in *Dil Ne Jise Apna Kahaa*, cars express the social class their owners belong to. First of all, the fact that the love couple can afford two cars means that they must be more or less wealthy. This turns out to be true, as Pari, the female protagonist, possesses an Opel Astra [08:06], whereas her husband drives a Mercedes Benz [07:10]. Of course, she, as woman, only needs the Opel to get to the hospital she is working, whereas he requires a luxurious car in order to reach his office. Both work in higher positions and express their wealth by buying a new house and by driving cars¹⁰⁴.

This means that films want to make audiences admire their role models and imitate portrayed characters and their consumption behaviour in order to signify that they are also members of a certain social class¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Hediger, 113.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Fernandes, XVIII who claims that members of lower social classes strive after reaching a higher social class and becoming a recognised member of such by imitating consumption behaviour of members from higher classes.

On the other hand, motorbikes and (red) convertible cars often stand for wealth and freedom¹⁰⁶. In every film motorbikes are occurring, men pretend to be self-conscious and popular. Brands, such as Harley Davidson and Ducati highlight this feeling. In *Kyaa Dil Ne Kahaa*, Rahul (Tusshar Kapoor) most of the time wears Harley Davidson's jackets and boots and drives the same-named motorbike. He acts out the free and independent biker, flirting with women, especially with Esha (Esha Deol) but rejecting to marry her. Armstrong even claims that the main motivation for buying a Harley Davidson is to act out one's inner feelings and wishful lifestyles. Research has shown that these feelings have also become appealing to people whose lifestyles do not correspond at all with the harsh biker image. It is not the image of the Harley Davidson biker, but the one of the brand and its associations, such as freedom, that fascinates people (127-8). Thus, by letting new role models (non-bikers) present Harley Davidson motorbikes, the audience might identify with these actors and develop a need to copy them, or rather their behaviour and portrayed identity.

In all other films that display motorbikes, the feeling of freedom is highlighted. This becomes evident when drivers take women with them whose hair moves in the air and who stretch out their hands in order to demonstrate freedom and the opportunity to move independently from one place to the other. Illouz even argues that private means of transportation can be interpreted as status symbols, with which people demonstrate their financial status that allows them to buy a car and the ability to move independently and spend time without family members, thus enjoying leisure time with one's girl friend. Illouz further argues that cars influenced sexual emancipation because it became possible for people to develop their sexuality when being able to leave a city and spend time with one's lover without being disturbed¹⁰⁷.

Of course, public means of transportation are also shown in Bollywood films. A prominent example of rail traffic is the portrayal of the train "Eurail" in *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge*. Even in *Kal Ho Naa Ho* actors use this type of travelling within Europe. Thus, trains are often portrayed as comfortable and quiet places, where people relax. In contrast to Europe, India lacks conveniences, as presented in *Veer & Zaara*, where trains appear uncomfortable, overcrowded and stifling. It can be claimed that lower or middle class members use this means of transportation rather than flying with

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Hediger, 113-117.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Illouz, *Konsum der Romantik*, 51-57; and Von Thadden in <http://www.zeit.de/2003/42/st-illouz?>

helicopters or airplanes. Increasingly, people also travel by plane, as they often need travel to exotic destinations. Thus, in recent films, the plane has become a symbol of travelling and holidays.

In contrast to means of transportation which stress men's social groups and behaviour, other products, such as toys, emphasise women's identities. As in the majority of films, the female protagonist is portrayed as decent, innocent and honest young lady living at or returning home. Almost always Disney's toys, such as Mickey Mouse, Donald Duck or Winnie the Pooh can be seen in their bedrooms. They cuddle their soft and silent friends when crying and looking for comfort. This should also evoke the image of cute and childish women needing men's protection, in contrast to men who ride motorbikes and drink beer with friends.

However, toys also play an important part in depicting children's identities. If they possess those products presented on television, children can become a part of a social group and are able to share similarities with friends. In other words, children's social behaviour heavily depends on watching television. Moreover, the portrayal of MTV is also associated with children, as in *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*, where an eight-year-old girl watches music channels every day and also imitates the presenter, who seems to be a model for her, as she has no mother figure.

Lastly, technology also plays a crucial role in Bollywood films. This can be observed in scenes where people talk to each other on the telephone. The type and model of a telephone also demonstrates a person's or family's wealth and may also represent India's transition from traditional to modern country. Thus, in *Kyaa Dil Ne Kahaa*, *Albela* and *Tera Jado Chal Gayaa*, often nostalgic telephones are portrayed when people from the Indian countryside (meaning smaller cities, opposites of metropolises) are portrayed in their colourful and big houses. On the contrary, people living in cities are often portrayed with cordless phones at home. Moreover, the furniture as well as television sets also reveal a family's age and degree of modernism. Interestingly, some films like *Ishq Hai Tumse* also depict fridges [05:20] or microwave-ovens in order to demonstrate modernism. In *Ela Cheppanu*, the washing machine is even placed in the middle of the living room's background [45:13] demonstrating the ability to afford such a machine and a certain kind of luxury for housewives.

Notebooks and computers, on the other hand, are integrated in order to demonstrate a character's profession or education. In most cases, the labels Compaq, Apple or Sony Vaio are presented in this connection to stress a character's identity as student or businessman or to demonstrate that institutions or companies use modern technologies. In *Kal Ho Naa Ho* the majority of students in the university's lecture hall sits behind a notebook [15:23], which they even take with them to restaurants during lunch breaks [1:31:54]. Another product mentioned with regard to students is the Apple Ipod, in the same film in [1:51:20] as well as in *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham*, where Mr. Raichand even advertises this brand verbally while looking for a present for his younger son [3:02:00].

Thus, brands are used to portray everyday situations and highlight portrayed characters' identities. It can even be claimed that most products depict the identity of a certain social class, where love is expressed by consumption, which is expressed in Bollywood films by the portrayal of leisure activities of love couples.

In *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* [36:41] the main protagonists bump into each other in front of a Nescafé vending machine and immediately fall in love. Thus, Nescafé transmits the message of bringing people together or of meeting one's ideal partner when drinking coffee. Moreover, it suggests that asking somebody to coffee would create or maintain friendships or interpersonal relationships. In fact, inviting somebody is tied to paying a drink for someone and thus again is part of consumption behaviour.



Fig.6 Nescafé placement in *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* [36:41]

A similar example of a beverage bringing people together can be found in the film *Kal Ho Naa Ho*, when the loving couple meets each other for the first time by bumping into each other [09:50]. She spills all the coffee of her Starbucks cup over him. This is the first time they see each other and fall in love.

Both examples have demonstrated that coffee plays an important part in making people meet or fall in love. Thus, beverage manufacturers try to extend the placement types from on-set placements to creative ones in influential scenes, in order to be identified and remembered better by spectators.

Nokia uses a similar way of bringing people together by extending its advertisements from on-set to creative placements. In *Kal Ho Naa Ho* Aman (Shahrukh Khan) helps Rohit (Saif Ali Khan) to behave correctly and attract a girl friend. The former, possessing a Nokia phone gives instructions to the latter being equipped with a Bluetooth headset of the same mobile phone brand [1:48:24 et seq.]. As this headset is not noticed by anyone, they communicate with each other all day long. Thus, Nokia accompanies Rohit through a large part of the film, helping him to stay in contact with his friend in order to find a girl friend. In fact, Nokia and Aman are successful, bringing together Rohit and Naina. Of course, Nokia is just an example for in-film advertisements of mobile phones. It is said that other mobile phone manufacturers, such as Telus, want to compete against Nokia and also integrate their products into

Bollywood films¹⁰⁸. Moreover, the next chapter shows, that Nokia is even integrated in song and dance sequences.

4.2.1.3.2. Creative placements and their narrative functions

Another possibility of portraying brands impressively is to use them in form of creative placements, transmitting a message that is important for the narration's or character's development. Unlike on-set placements, these advertisements have (or pretend to have) an influence on the story-line of a film. However, it has also been found out that, surprisingly, some of them also are embedded into song and dance sequences, even highlighting these scenes' functions. Therefore, this chapter looks at all types of song and dance sequences occurring in the analysed films and tries to assign specific placement types to them in order to demonstrate that song scenes' functions are stressed by the integration of brands. In this context it is also helpful to divide each film's song scenes into different groups in order to show how these relate to the film's narrative development in order to exert maximal influence on spectators.

Food and beverages as well as communication technology are popular products used very often for this sort of placement. Because the portrayal of beverages usually tends to be short and negligible, manufacturers insist on integrating their products into specific scenes, which are often turning points of story-lines and guarantee a high degree of perception and remembering of the audience.

In addition to the portrayal of product placement in films general, attention should also be paid to product placement in song and dance sequences in particular. As these scenes on their own fulfil specific functions, the combination with portrayed brands is therefore from much more interest. This chapter tries to find out what functions song and dance numbers have in Bollywood films and how these two "attractions" influence the spectators' consumption behaviour. Thus, before looking at brands in song sequences, attention should be primarily paid to song and dance sequences' functions in Bollywood films.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Morton in <http://www.canada.com/vancouver/sun/news/business/story.html?id=1ae12043-6769-4cae-9870-16db916cf3cc>

As already mentioned, a song sequence is portrayed before a film's release. Therefore, it often serves for film promotion. It can be said that it is a song that attracts the audience's attention and increases their interest in a film. In other words, the prosperous promotion of a song is tied to the success of a film.

It is often claimed that in early Indian popular films songs did not expand the plot but were only embroidery of (melo) drama. In the 1950s, songs were rather used to lengthen the speeches and stress the conveyed feelings¹⁰⁹. Songs are important nowadays because film plots are sometimes very similar and can easily be forgotten regarding a film's length of about four hours and the production of several hundred films each year. However, songs and their performances are remembered by people for a longer period of time and are therefore of a great advantage for the film industry¹¹⁰. As often branded goods are incorporated in such scenes, manufacturers that advertise their products, also profit from these arrangements.

In order to be able to depict brands in these sequences, it is important to categorise song sequences in order to be able to assign product placements to them and discuss their functions. In this context, Brockmann should be mentioned, who distinguishes between songs where the couple is alone and sequences when up to seventy or a hundred dancers are shown. He further divides them up according to their themes and locations in 'love/romantic songs', 'college songs', 'night club/disco songs' and 'wedding songs' (57). However, other song categories should be discussed as well with regard to Bollywood films, such as those dealing with themes like dreams, wishes, unreturned love, respect for family and friends, friendship, love for the home country, the problems of ménage-à-trois constellations and conflicts between generations.

Before dealing with the categorisation of song and dance sequences, it should be explained why it is important to extend Brockmann's classification and add new types of sequences. Thus, Gopalan presents an interesting concept describing songs' functions within a film. As the title of one of Gopalan's books suggests, Bollywood is a *Cinema of Interruptions*, claiming that Indian popular films are full of breaks. In other words, songs and the intermission are stops within the film providing recovery (as a film takes approximately 3-4 hours). She further argues that interruption creates some kind of suspense making spectators curious about the plot's development or about what is

¹⁰⁹ Arnold (1991) as cited in Gokulsing & Disanayake 1998, 98.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Gokulsing & Disanayake 1998, 97-98.

hidden or not shown and thus activate their perception for exciting scenes and also advertisements.

Gopalan describes song and dance sequences' function as following:

delaying the development of the plot, distracting us from the other scenes of the narrative through spatial and temporal disjunctions, and bearing an integral link to the plot. (Gopalan, 19)

In other words, song and dance scenes create suspense and arouse spectators' curiosity. They are often used to portray eroticism, which is otherwise avoided at all in Bollywood films. In other words, song and dance sequences are the only places where physical approach is allowed although naked bodies are not portrayed either. Even kisses are avoided. However, it is this suspense and hiding that fascinates the audience.

Moreover, Gokulsing and Dissanayake state that the songs' function in films is

to intensify the emotions associated with a given situation; they serve to underline moral sentiments and they play an important role in generating eroticism where sexual explicitness is forbidden on screen. (Gokulsing & Dissanayake 1998, 98)

In other words, songs are important for conveying the mood of a film. They highlight and stress the melodramatic aspect as well as romantic or passionate scenes. Therefore, one should not classify such scenes solely with regard to occurring locations or themes but one has to bear in mind that it is also important whether one person sings and the sequence refers to the feelings of one character or whether it is just a description of an occasion that concerns more people. All aspects are equally important and should therefore be grouped together.

Although Brockmann¹¹¹ suggests a classification of four groups, in this thesis the songs will be summed up to three big categories, each consisting of smaller ones because here the criteria for distinguishing the scenes are taken over by Brockmann and extended. However, it should be mentioned that song and dance sequence genres are sometimes not easy to classify because some sequences mix up themes or locations that usually occur in other groups as well. Therefore those sequences are used here that are clearly distinguishable, although often categories's features may mix up in certain sequences.

¹¹¹ Cf. Brockmann, 57.

In other words, in this chapter it is of importance whether the song and choreography is performed by several people (group dance), by a pair or a single actor.

Then each category is divided up according to certain locations, common themes and contents. Therefore college songs, wedding songs and religious ceremonies, night club/ disco songs, songs about love for family and the country, as well as romantic/ erotic and dream sequences are being discussed.

1. Group songs

Song sequences that are discussed in this chapter are performed by several people. However, it is difficult to define how many actors are involved in such scenes, as up to one hundred dancers might be participating in big films. Therefore, here the term group refers to sequences with more than two performers.

1.1. College songs

Sometimes the characters of a film are students attending universities or colleges. It can be assumed that they have wealthy parents who can afford to send them to Europe or America studying. In some cases the students return home and continue their education at Indian institutions, where they meet or make friends and sing happily about their friendships and school life. Furthermore it can be said that often these sequences are interwoven in the narration, as there is often a school ball, theatre performance or poetry competition, which is opened or closed by a song performed by the protagonists being supported by the rest of their schoolmates and teachers. In other words, the sequences are part of the story world, such as it is usually the case in Hollywood's film musicals.

A typical college song sequence is very colourful with regard to costumes and props. In addition, everybody moves happily to the rhythm of the music. In the film *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* for example, Rahul and Anjali are best friends who do not admit or even know officially that they are actually in love with each other. Therefore they behave as fellows and tease one another all the time. In the first college song of this film, they sing about their friendship and about how the other one is crazy and always does nonsense. Interestingly the text that each of them sings is the same, which means that they think

the same of each other and are quite similar from their behaviour. The whole college dances and arranges itself behind the lip moving protagonists. Women support Anjali, whereas men dance behind Rahul, which would indicate that the protagonists' song represent the way of thinking of all present women and men.

Some minutes later all dancers gather inside the school to open a school ball with a concert (the next college song sequence). Naturally, Anjali and Rahul are the leading dancers, supported by their friend Tina. They now sing about love at first sight and about having butterflies in their stomachs. However, at this point of time in the film, one does not exactly know at whom this first love or feeling of sympathy is directed, as all three are singing about love and friendship. The *ménage-a-trois* constellation complicates the narration, as the male protagonist is torn between two women but in fact loves only one. Again, the main characters are supported by the majority of students and even teachers, who all participate in singing and dancing.

With regard to the sequence's function and its influence on the narrative structure of the film it can be said that the first sequence only describes the relationship of the actors in more detail and therefore delays the development of the film by concentrating on the characters' feelings. However, this is important, as friendship in Bollywood films takes always priority to love. Often these scenes are also used to introduce the setting and environment of the characters and give an overview of the situation. Therefore, themes of such songs are very general and based on gender differences where mostly men and women divide up behind the protagonists and dance synchronically.

In contrast, the second song and dance sequence does change the development of the plot because Anjali realises that Rahul devotes his song to Tina. Their friendship breaks as Anjali cannot bear that her beloved one does not return her love.

In another group sequence, a beverage is responsible for changing the development of the narration. Pepsi occurs most often in films Shahrukh Khan is featuring and hinders Coca Cola from being advertised in such films. Interestingly, these two rivalling brands have similar images and attract same target groups. However, characters shown in films containing beverages are in most cases young and enjoy their leisure time in groups. Drinking Coke transmits the impression of being able to enjoy life and leisure time with friends. Characters appearing in the proximity of Coca Cola signs are always happy and

love each other. Of course, such product placements also have an impact on the narration, as they mostly change a sad situation into a happy one.

In *Hum Tum*, Rhea, the sad female protagonist grieves for her departed husband and always wears dark clothes. Suddenly Karan (Saif Ali Khan), who is full of life and energy visits Rhea in her shop and takes her for a walk in the park. At the beginning of the sequence, she seems annoyed, almost uninterested. However, she soon likes his funny jumping and encouraging singing. Exactly at the moment when in the background blurred Coca Cola sunshades appear [1:11:23], she begins smiling. The sunshades are then shown once again three seconds later [1:11:26] in the background.

The following pictures show these moments in more detail.



Fig.7 At first Rhea is sad in *Hum Tum* [1:11:23]



Fig.8 Rhea smiles again in *Hum Tum* [1:11:26]

After Karan has completed his part of the song, Rhea resumes and turns into a happy and joyful young woman playing with children and colourful balloons. Here the label Coca Cola appears in a song about enjoying life, forgetting sorrows and being optimistic because life is beautiful. In fact this is exactly what Coca Cola and its commercials usually suggest, forgetting problems and enjoying life¹¹². By quickly being shown the brand even twice, spectators might be influenced to think that Coca Cola is the drink that makes you enjoy life.

1.2. Wedding songs, religious ceremonies

Another type of song and dance sequence is the wedding scene. In almost every romantic film the aim is a wedding, either a happy and voluntary or an arranged one. In other words, people have to marry in order to seal and consolidate their love for each other because illegitimate relationships are not accepted by the Indian society, no matter what religion people belong to¹¹³.

¹¹² Cf. Kaul in <http://www.financialexpress.com/old/fe/daily/20000826/fco26048.html>

¹¹³ Weddings of different religions are shown in Bollywood films whereas the attitude towards religions is very neutral as to avoid conflicts that happen often enough in India.

No matter what film, wedding scenes stand out by the dazzling diversity of colours, the variety of actors and dancers as well as the big houses where such sequences take place. Even though the spectator has the impression that the wedding takes place at a family's house, obviously no family would possess such a huge building where hundreds of dancers would have place to perform the complex and complicated long lasting sequences. Thus, such sequences are shot in studios or rented houses.

The main idea and moral lesson that is taught in these sequences is that marriage must always be preceded by friendship, not by love. Love develops after friendship has been established. In the end there is always a happy end where a happy couple lives happily ever after and gets many children.

In the film *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham*, the main focus of the family life is on the celebrations of religious feasts. Therefore not only for weddings but also for other important traditional celebrations, the house is decorated and many relatives, friends as well as neighbours gather to celebrate the Diwali ceremony. Mostly women are seen in this sequence while the mother of the protagonist is singing. The spectator also discovers statues of the worshipped Goddess Lakshmi¹¹⁴. After a cut, immediately a beautiful woman is seen in long shot establishing a connection between the beauty and personal characteristics of the woman and those of the Goddess. However, this is not the first time a woman is compared to a Goddess; in the sequence of the title song of *Ishq Hai Tumse*, the female protagonist is being picked up by her friend on a motorbike. She is shown in long shot and from the frog's perspective. In the next shot the mountain is portrayed. Mountains are, as generally known from Indian mythology, the domicile of the Gods and are highly worshipped and holy places by Hindus. Therefore religion is something that is omnipresent in Indian people's lives and therefore it occurs in films too.

In the wedding sequence of the film *Dil Ne Jise Apna Kahaa*, the singer refers to a blooming mango tree which also functions as decoration of the bride's headgear. He sings about a person who has stolen his heart. Subsequently Dhani adds that she has blossomed and is in love with the protagonist. In other words she is being compared to mango blossoms. Even though the two who will fall in love during this sequence are not

¹¹⁴ Cf. Best of Bollywood, Vol 1, 14.

marrying, the bridal couple is not at the centre of attention. The bride and Dhani are dancing next to each other but somehow the bride often vanishes in the crowd, so that Dhani and her love to Rishabh are highlighted.

It can therefore be said that wedding sequences are used to bring loving couples together and to make lovers realise that they are made for each other. Such sequences do not develop the plot further but focus on certain characters and their relationships. As marriage is perceived as climax of a romantic relationship, it is treated as something holy in films and leads to a complete avoidance of advertisements. Moreover, the fact that such moments are always overcrowded leads to the conclusion that in wedding scenes advertisements are avoided.

On the contrary, religious themes (except weddings) are sometimes also used to stress the image of an actor. In the case of this thesis, the image one of Shahrukh Khan is highlighted very often. In the following example of *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*, a beverage placement appears at a turning point. Here, Tina (Rani Mukherjee) sings a religious song in front of her male colleagues in order to demonstrate that she has not forgotten Indian traditions although having lived abroad for a longer period of time. In this scene she is presented in close-ups dedicating her song to Rahul (Shahrukh Khan), who is depicted in reverse shot. In addition, in her blurred background a Pepsi vending machine can be observed.



Fig.9 Pepsi placed in a song sequence of *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* [42:45]

Thus, the impression is conveyed that by mentioning God in her song, she either means Pepsi or Rahul. As Shahrukh Khan is more or less treated as God in the Indian film world and society, a product placed in vicinity of him might profit from his image and values as well. After this scene, Rahul accepts her as new colleague at college.

1.3. Songs about Love for Family or Mother India

These sequences deal with the protagonists' feelings for relatives or for their mother country. Sometimes actors are surrounded by an ensemble which functions only for decoration and support. The main purpose of such a song is to portray the Indian's love to their mother country, also known as "Mother India". Often men sing about their respect and the beauty of their daughters whereas young men's love songs are about their respect for their mothers or grandmothers.

For example, in the film *Kabhi Khushi Kabhie Gham*, Rohan returns from India to England and sings about his love for India and for his mother. Herewith he compares India to her, which is not very uncommon, as women are more often associated with the country because they are the ones who give birth to life and who care and support their families. This becomes obvious in the sequence, when Rohan walks through London and sings about India. Interestingly he sings about his mother country although he is

thousands of kilometres away from it, which surely is a way of commenting on NRI's living abroad and their feelings of homesickness and sense of belonging.

Furthermore the film stresses the theme of Indian identity by referring to the colours of the Indian flag, which are orange, green and white. Rohan is surrounded by a group of young girls wearing traditional white elegant saris and orange and green shawls. As they run towards him and continue further on, they are seen from behind with Rohan wearing black leather clothes coming out of the crowd. As the image of the girls blurs gradually, one sees only white, green and orange spots vanishing in the background. Some seconds later, he meets Indian street performers and is later surrounded by many more girls than in the seconds before when passing Westminster Bridge. This time the girls in the foreground are stereotypical Europeans with light skin, blond or reddish hair and dressed with extremely short dresses in the colours green and orange. In other words, they also represent the colours of the Indian flag but wear completely different types of clothes than the girls before or the ones who walk behind them. It can be said that the girls in the front portray Indians in Europe whereas the traditionally dressed girls in the back represent native Indian women. Rohan, on the other hand, represents an NRI who lives out his 'Western' identity which is in fact a mixture between English and Indian, whereas his background or roots are always tied to feelings of belonging to India and to its traditions.

However, according to the lyrics, Mother India has plenty of fruit, water and cooling winds from the South. At the same time the spectator sees toddlers in baby buggies with yellow flowers in the background. In the next scene Rohan smiles at old women who enjoy their ice creams on a bench- the ice cream being a symbol for the cooling winds. Then he walks through a crowd of people and looks for his brother Rahul, at the same time the lyrics appear that Mother India is filled with earnings of the harvest and that he bows in front of Mother India. In other words the crowd of people around Rohan can also be seen as earnings of the harvest. It could mean that India has a diversity and richness of people.

With regard to advertisements, it can be added that this scene is full of product placements. Firstly, London is chosen as location and many sights, such as The Big Ben, The Westminster Bridge, Tower Bridge, London Eye and Piccadilly Circus are shown. Moreover, fashion boutique's signs and logos, such as Dolce & Gabbana,

Gianni Versace, Giorgio Armani and Yves Saint Laurent are presented. In addition, Rohan also walks past a Burger King restaurant and a Starbucks Coffee shop. Thus, he sings about Mother India but walks through London. Obviously, location placement dominates this song.

This sequence does not develop the plot further. It is only used to introduce London (and its sights) to the film's spectators and to stress the fact that even if NRI's originate from a country like India, they feel comfortable in European or American cities as both are their homes, but their heart stays always tied to India. On the other hand, this placement may also evoke feelings of travelling and visiting European cities.

However, it should be claimed that

2. Pair sequences

In pair sequences, two actors are cut off from the rest of the world of narration. As they often appear at strange and exotic places, these scenes tend to be perfect location placements. Spectators excitedly watch a romantic Bollywood film in order to see whether a couple kisses or has sex and at the same time observes beautiful and idyllic landscapes inviting them to come and experience love themselves.

Romantic and erotic sequences

Basically, most of the song and dance sequences deal with the theme of love. Nevertheless, this section deals with sequences where the focus is on the lovers and their isolation from the rest of the diegetic world.

In the film *Dil Ne Jise Apna Kahaa* there is a romantic song sequence when the lovers, who are already married to each other, enter their house, feed one another with fruit, enjoy the sunset or lie together in the hammock. Later they also take a walk on the beach or make fun at the rocks nearby the sea. Interestingly they are surrounded by the sea and huge rocks and beautiful nature, although these places do not seem to be in the vicinity of the house.

Pair sequences often take place at exotic and beautiful locations that sometimes have no connection or link to the rest of the film. The couple is alone in the nature, sometimes also in wilderness and is surrounded by high mountains, waterfalls or lakes. The picture

of such scenes is very idyllic and romantic and resembles the biblical Garden of Eden scene.

Romantic scenes differ from the wedding or disco sequence type in so far, as in the former the focus is only on the lovers and presents them in isolation from the rest of the world in order to be able to express their real feelings and erotic allusions without being observed by the rest of the characters in the film.

Often the lovers are portrayed as having fun or playing tag or hide- and- seek. Not infrequently they also frolic through meadows, green parks or snowy hills and cavort or roll on the floor. The tension of the spectator rises, as their bodies are quite near and even touch one another. Often the male actor even lies on his beloved.

Such and similar performances are often sexually very explicit and symbolise pure eroticism and passion, although naked female bodies and kisses are never shown. However, eroticism is created through body gestures, body shapes, movements and the choice of costumes.

In most of the romantic sequences, where eroticism is being portrayed, the beloved couple is undisturbed and surrounded by nature. Nevertheless the nature's loneliness does not allow the couple to become sexually active. This is a phenomenon Gopalan calls 'coitus interruptus [-] the withdrawal- of- the- camera technique' and is described by her as such:

The camera withdraws just before a steamy love scene ensues, and the film replaces it with extra-diegetic shots of waterfalls, flowers, thunder, lightning and tropical storms. (Gopalan, 21).

It is very interesting to observe that overt eroticism is avoided and censored although India is the country of Kamasutra's origin. According to Scheinert, the society of India changed and became more and more conservative due to the impact of the British occupier. As the portrayal of love in public is not accepted and is even seen as indecent in private life of married couples, people are very interested of how love is portrayed on the screen of cinemas. Maybe this is also tied to their curiosity about how Western cultures deal with sexuality and love. Nevertheless, in comparison to Western actors,

Indian stars do not even remotely show as much nakedness and sex appeal, but are still adored and idolised and have a very great influence on the spectators¹¹⁵.

Such scenes are almost always extra-diegetic (to use Gopalan's term), which means that the story does not take place at locations or periods of time appearing in the film before. Erotic love sequences are thus illusionary scenes surprising spectators by their unheralded appearance. The incorporation of very colourful landscapes as well as costumes stresses the expressed feelings of passion¹¹⁶.

Moreover, these sequences highlight the protagonist's feelings for each other and let them live out their passion. In most of the cases after such scenes the couple is not as shy and cautious as it has been before. Furthermore, the further development of the narration does hardly ever surprise the spectators, as it can be foreseen that a couple behaves closer to each other after an erotic sequence (even if it sometimes only remains a dream).

In almost all analysed films romantic scenes are shot at exotic locations, such as deserts, mountains, waterfalls, beaches or European cities, which seem to be exotic tourist destinations for Indians. Moreover, they are always represented as colourful and peaceful places, which invite a love couple to enjoy its togetherness and spend time together. As already mentioned, Tyrol has also become an exotic location providing idyllic landscapes for Bollywood sceneries.

Thus, it can be claimed that pair sequences, especially romantic ones are combined with location placements because this form of advertising does not disturb or destroy a scene's excitement or suspense. As spectators' eyes are fixed on the characters' approaching to each other, location placement is a mild form of advertising, not distracting too much from the scene's action. However, as only romantic films can be added to the section of pair sequences, it shall now be proceeded to single actor sequences, which do not at all portray locations but rather technological products.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Scheinert, 44.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Kakar (1986), 93-103; who demonstrates that colourful and vivid representations of love scenes can be traced back to mythological and traditional epics.

3. Single actor sequences about dreams and loneliness

Although films in general and song and dance numbers in particular are themselves some kind of dreams, some of them explicitly portray dreams, unfulfilled desires and wishes. Sometimes it is hardly specifiable whether a flashback, wish or dream is being portrayed¹¹⁷, therefore films containing these themes are all incorporated in this category.

For example, in the dream sequence of the film *Dil Ne Jise Apna Kahaa*, the director makes use of certain techniques in order to express the feelings of unfulfilled love and loneliness. In other words, colours, lighting and setting influence the spectator's perception of the actress's feelings.

The film is about Rishabh, whose wife, Pari, dies in a car accident. At her request her heart is donated to a sick woman against the will of her husband. Surprisingly this woman falls in love with him whereas he does not return her love because he still bemoans the loss of his wife. So she expresses her frustration (caused by unreturned love) by performing the title song of the film.

At first, the scene starts at Dhani's workplace where she elegantly sits down on an office chair and looks dreamily towards the ceiling, which is shown from the bird's eye view. She also runs elegantly through the office, touching all the places where Rishabh has been before and singing about how her beloved has taken her heart away. She also claims that 'the earth and the skies know the truth'¹¹⁸ [00:46]. In other words, the director uses elements of the nature, such as earth and sky to reflect the actress's thoughts. These elements appear in the landscape and are also represented by the colours of Dhani's costume. She wears a red Sari and later a turquoise and yellow one (resembling the colours of earth and sky). Afterwards she wears red clothes and dances with children under the sprinkler, becoming completely wet. Rain sequences in Bollywood films often stand for either eroticism or sadness. As she is alone with children in this scene the theme of eroticism obviously does not fit in here. Therefore the moistness of her body can be applied to her sadness linked to tears.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Halpern, 86.

¹¹⁸ Agnihotri, Atul. *Dil Ne Jise Apna Kahaa*.DVD. (song 5, chapter 16). 2004. India

She is also portrayed in the nature next to cliffs and the sea. Untouched wilderness here serves to stress her feelings. Her orange Sari catches the spectator's eye as it resembles the bunch of flowers she is holding in the following shot. In other words, she can be interpreted as being like a beautiful flower, growing alone in the wilderness and waiting to be picked. She even changes her Sari and runs down the hill, resembling the waves of the sea that can be seen in the background.

At night she is back at home and sings about her love and compares her feelings with the night and the moon by claiming that 'the night blossoms in company of the moon' [02:47]. Later on she wears a white sari- resembling an angel, ghost or even the moon and runs through widely opened doors being aired by the wind. Not only the curtains of windows and doors, but also her sari is moved by the wind. The dark atmosphere of this sequence not only stresses the darkness of the night but also the dreamy state of her mind. Windows and doors that are widely open refer to the dreamer's consciousness and their hopes, as is described:

To see windows in your dream [,] [sic] signifies bright hopes, vast possibilities and insight. To dream that you are looking out of the window [,] [sic] signifies your outlook on life, your consciousness, point of view, awareness, and intuition.
119

In other words, the scene could be interpreted as her hope to receive love from Rishabh too. Therefore this song is meant to be an illusionary dream scene.

The dreamy atmosphere is further stressed by lighting techniques¹²⁰ and the use of colours inside the house, as key light is illuminating her and the protagonist, whereas the rest of the house is left in darkness. Moreover, the colours blue and white remind of night and dreams¹²¹. As her clothing has the same colour as the furniture and the walls, it seems as if she is a part of the interior of the house. Furthermore the windows could represent the eyes through which she looks out to the world. It seems as if she directly sings at the camera/ the spectator from the inside of the house¹²², which means that she is part of it. The camera does not enter the house but rather films her through opened windows and zooms in. However, she does not feel irritated and dances alone through

¹¹⁹ Cf. <http://www.dreammoods.com/dreamdictionary/w3.htm>

¹²⁰ Lighting techniques are often used in films to stress hallucinations or unreal happenings. Cf. Halpern, 5.

¹²¹ Cf. Halpern, 155.

¹²² This refers to the concept of 'cinema of attractions'

the room with arms spread apart. As she turns around, suddenly Rishabh appears in front of her. He grins at her and dances with her (the spectator of course knows that this cannot be true as Rishabh still loves his wife). Suddenly Dhani sings 'however, the earth and the skies know the truth' (03:40), the light is turned on as if the sun rises again. This is a clear indication that the sequence has just been an imagination.

After a cut, a mirror is shown portraying two people. The two portrayed persons are inside a house, which differs from the one before. However, one quickly realises that the scene takes place at the protagonist's house where he jokes with his wife.

In his memories, which are shown, she still lives and jokes with him or laughs happily. Unfortunately, even this deception is being revealed by the lighting, as the light comes from a single spot above illuminating the couple (with key light) and leaving the rest of the house in darkness.

Then suddenly one sees the protagonist sitting in his pyjama on the floor and gazing with teary eyes in the direction where he has been joking before on the piano with his wife. At the same time he sings 'I looked for you, everywhere I could [...] my eyes were disappointed' (04:21- 04:27) and closes them. Now his wife appears very close to him which is represented by a close-up shot. He observes her vanishing through a dark hallway into a very light room. Sometimes this also symbolises dying, when people move towards a source of light.

Subsequently, he sings almost the same lyrics as Dhani before 'She is the one who took my heart' (04:59). An interesting fact is that both sing similar lyrics but Rishabh does not mean Dhani. Each of them loves another person and suffers from lovesickness. He expresses his pain with the words 'so lonely are the earth and the skies' (05:11) which is far more pessimistic than the mood that was expressed by Dhani's song. He is then filmed alone at places where he and his wife have been shown in the film (at the altar, in the hammock, joking at the office...).

The sequence ends with a kiss through the glass door of his office. After the cut, a female voice saying 'Good morning' is heard and the office is shown from above, as if Rishabh is observing the employees from his workplace. The camera zooms in a little bit and one sees Dhani coming in and greeting everybody. She has stopped his dream by

waking him up with the words ‘Good morning’ which can be seen as clear signal for the sequence to be interpreted as a dream sequence.

According to Halpern it is the situation of awakening that indicates an important moment in the film. It emphasises that the preceding scene was only an unreal dream¹²³. Signifiers are also certain props such as a book in the film *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*, when Tina after the song sequence holds a book with the title ‘Dreams’ in her hand. As there is no evident hint to dreams neither in the plot nor in any of the lyrics, it has to be assumed that the book serves as indicator for a dream sequence.

This description of a single actor sequence demonstrates that a song sequence sometimes delays the plot in order to present an insight into a character’s feelings and mood. In some films, such emotional scenes are even used to incorporate branded goods and achieve a better perception and acceptance by the audience.

Thus, communication technology uses feelings such as sadness in order to demonstrate that communication makes lonely hearts happy or content again. The slogan ‘Nokia-connecting people’ applies to all of the following examples. In *Ela Cheppanu*, for instance, Priya calls her boy friend on his Nokia phone [17:12] because she feels lonely and misses him much. Thus, Nokia helps her to feel better again. However, all of a sudden, he experiences a fatal accident, by being run down by a car.

¹²³ Cf. Halpern, 58-59.



Fig.10 Aman's Nokia mobile phone in *Ela Cheppanu* [17:12]

Of course, this is presented in a very melodramatic way, but in fact the mobile phone is the last thing that is closest to him before dying. It is even closer than his girl friend is. On the other hand, it can be interpreted as the only thing bringing his girl friend's voice nearer and even establishing contact with her until the death. The human being died, but the mobile phone still remained turned on. In other words, Nokia connects people until the very end of their lives.

Some scenes later, she mourns for her partner by lying at night in bed and crying for him. Of course, she takes her Nokia mobile phone to look at his picture [57:21]. Although she does not turn happy, she feels better by being able to look at her lover's picture. Without Nokia and the mobile phone's integrated camera she would not have been able to see her lover again. Thus, Nokia immortalises him, letting him live on in the mobile phone.



Fig.11 Priya's Nokia mobile phone in *Ela Cheppanu* [57:21]

Interestingly, this even represents the beginning of a song. As the mobile phone is the only branded good portrayed in this special sequence, its importance and recognition are increased dramatically. Moreover, to see the picture of her boy friend on the display causes Priya to think and even dream of him. At the end of this dream the mobile phone and dark reality are shown again in order to highlight the fact that she is still alive and that not the boyfriend but the mobile phone has survived. This implies that Nokia has survived the accident and is indestructible, whereas human life is fading.

This scene shows that brands and scenes influence each other and emphasise each other's functions in films. In this case, Nokia stressed her sad mood by showing her the picture of her lover and remembering her of the time they spent together. On the other hand, the scene helped Nokia to be at the centre of spectators' attention. To conclude, it can be said that this again is a successful product placement as it does not disturb or annoy the audience.

4.2.2. Conclusion of film analysis

To summarise this chapter, it should be stressed again that its aim is to prove respondents' answers and to demonstrate whether results from questionnaire and film analysis match. In fact, it has been found out, that in general, outcomes are very similar. The analysis has further demonstrated that in romantic Bollywood films location placement is the type of advertising being used most often. Of course, it can be assumed that it is the most expensive, most effective and most tolerated one.

As Bollywood has also been identified as 'cinema of interruptions', it can be claimed that its breaks delay the development of the plot in order to create spaces for advertisements. Thus, it seems as if song and dance sequences are creative alternatives to usual commercials and avoid distracting or disturbing the audience. This is achieved by the integration of branded goods in form of props.

The division into different categories has revealed that advertisements occur in different types of scenes and fulfil different functions. On-set and creative placements are the ones being most often used in the analysed Bollywood films. On-set placements contribute to the representation of characters' identities. They portray more or less the lifestyle of India's new middle class that is marked more or less by their outstanding consumption activities. In this context, it should also be mentioned that consumption appears in romantic Bollywood films because in reality romance and consumption cannot be separated from each other and is determined by postmodern culture.

Creative placements, on the other hand, affect the development of the narration and use these breaks within films in order to contribute to the change of plot development. Mostly beverages and technological products, such as mobile phones, are used in such scenes.

To sum up, it can be claimed that not only the intermission is used to enforce consumption, but that song and dance scenes, breaks within films, also try to influence a spectator's buying and consumption behaviour but are integrated in such a careful way that it is perceived as entertainment rather than advertisement, which increase the audience's degree of brand acceptance.

5. Conclusion

The Bollywood film industry has been extending its degree of recognition in order to reach European and American fans as well. Since German private television channels, such as RTL 2, have been broadcasting shortened versions of Bollywood blockbusters, the media hype around these films cannot be stopped. Thus, even Europeans have fallen in love with Shahrukh Khan and his colleagues.

Of course, there are also many other reasons why the Indian film industry has become known to European countries. One important and influential reason for Bollywood's international fame is the shooting on exotic locations. This has made Indians very popular. Even in Austria and the Alpine region of Tyrol, Bollywood is known. Indian film teams have been coming for many years to Tyrol.

Another reason for Bollywood's international popularity is that many NRIs all over the world enjoy watching films stemming from their home country's film industry. NRIs have become a significant target (and consumption) audience for Indian film producers. This explains why Bollywood not only imports goods from international companies, but itself becomes an active participant in globalisation.

Bollywood films reflect India's profits from globalisation. Although India has often been described as poor developing country, it has never resigned but has fought for its independence and international recognition. However, by shifting manufacturing bases to India and creating new jobs in technology and service sectors, people begin to realise that India's economy grows steadily¹²⁴. This change becomes visible when observing middle class and its lifestyle. Increasing willingness and economic opportunities lead to a growing consumption culture, being visible in media, such as films. Furthermore, it can also be claimed that product placements reflect the cultural phenomenon of consumption in Post modernism¹²⁵.

Thus, it can be said that Bollywood films reflect India's economic development by portraying films in which people travel, shop, play basketball, study abroad, buy new cars, houses and mobile phones. Even love affairs are characterised by consumption goods and activities, such as buying jewellery, dining out or travelling on holidays. The

¹²⁴ Cf. Jaffer, 64-65.

¹²⁵ Cf. Berger, 157-158, 160.

latter activity is even highlighted by the portrayal of song and dance numbers in films. As has been found out, these often depict special locations or comprise on-set or creative placements, saving time and space in films for advertisements and at the same time depicting characters' lifestyles and identities. Moreover, song and dance sequences shot on certain foreign location, advertise this place and stimulate its tourism. This again, is a type of advertisement. On the other hand, such sequences are also shot in order to promote a film on TV before its release in cinemas. Thus, they are even used as advertisements for the film itself.

Moreover, this thesis has shown that these sequences have already been shot in Austria as well. More precisely, Tyrol functioned as location for several of these films. The interview with Mr. Köck has revealed that globalisation has also to do with intercultural communication. He, as coordinator of Indian film producers' shootings in Austria, has explained that Indians are fascinated about Europe and its mountains, which also causes them to do trips all over this continent in order to see as many of the sights presented in Bollywood films. Of course, the Tyrolean tourism profits from this trend as well. The Swarovski Crystal worlds have even created an exhibition with the theme of "India" in January 2008 in order to react to the new tourism trends.

Furthermore, this thesis has demonstrated that Bollywood fans from the internet also realise product placements. In contrast to some claims¹²⁶, they do not feel disturbed or annoyed by them. This is confirmed by the outcome of the questionnaire. Moreover, the survey also illustrates that brands, such as Nike, Adidas and Tommy Hilfiger dominate Bollywood films and are detected by the majority of fans. However, the most outstanding result was achieved with the question after the most popular and most often presented advertising actor. All informants answered that Shahrukh Khan is the person advertising most brands in Indian popular films. The film analysis has confirmed this claim. On the contrary, the statement that Aishwarya Rai presents most brands could not at all be approved. In this context, it shall also be mentioned that the oldest people thought branded goods are embedded in films because India's economic development shall be demonstrated. Youngest informants and those being fans for a less than one year, claim that advertisements are embedded because they are used as props

¹²⁶ Cf. Rao in <http://worldroom.tamu.edu/Presentations/India/Bollywood/The%20Globalization%20of%20Bollywood....pdf>

representing real life. Moreover, they think that advertisements are omnipresent in people's lives, thus cannot even be omitted in Bollywood films, as these reflect reality.

The film analysis has shown that fans' answers are also reflected by different types of product placements being integrated in films in order to demonstrate characters' middle-class membership or to advertise brands and present them in action. Thus, predominantly on-set and creative placements are used to advertise brands' benefits. Sometimes advertisements are even integrated into exciting and entertaining song and dance sequences in order to make use of spectator's increased degree of perception. Brands, such as Nokia and Nescafé have been embedded into films in order to transmit messages that evoke associations with love and communication. Thus, it can be said that both brands bring people together in the relevant sequences, such as in commercials.

To conclude, it has to be said that this thesis tries to contribute to a better understanding of different cultures, as portrayed in films. One should avoid restricting Bollywood films to kitschy and colourful productions churned out for mass entertainment. Although producers deliberately create fictitious worlds, into which people escape, it should be argued that they still portray reality, by portraying that India participates not only passively but also actively in globalisation.

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Dil to Pagal Hai. Screenplay by T. Chandra et. al. Dir. Yash Chopra. DVD. YashRaj Films, 2007.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Bollywood forums in the World Wide Web

Following forums have been used for the spread of the questionnaire:

www.bollywhat-forum.com
<http://bollywoodhollywood.forencity.de>
www.onlybollywood.com
www.bollywood4you.de
www.realbollywood.com/forum
www.merabollywood.com/bollywood-masala-board/
www.bollywoodheaven.com/forums
www.bollywoodscene.com
www.bollycircle.de
<http://best-of-bollywood.forumieren.de/index.htm>
<http://bollywoodforum.forencity.de>
www.apnicommunity.com/bollywood-forum
www.bollywoodsbest.de
www.talkbollywood.com
www.bollywood-forum.de
www.bollywoodforum.ch
www.bolly-wood.de/community
www.bollywood.de/links.htm
www.indien-netzwerk.de
www.bollywood-fans.de
www.bollywood-palace.de

Appendix II: QUESTIONNAIRE-
Advertisements in Bollywood films

Eva-Marie Hirsch
Schüttaustraße 1-39/5/4
1220 Vienna, Austria
eve_mail@gmx.net

Dear respondents,

My name is Eva-Marie Hirsch, I am 25 years old and I study English and Slavonic languages at the University of Vienna, in Austria. Currently, I am working on my diploma thesis which is called *Nike, Nokia and the Tyrolean Alps. Product Placement and Bollywood Cinema* and is supervised by Ao. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Monika Seidl.

The thesis deals with Indian popular films predominantly shot in Mumbai, New Delhi and Hyderabad. Of great interest for me is the incorporation of advertisements in these films as well as in song and dance numbers. Moreover, I am also interested in song scenes because their function is not only an entertaining but also an advertising one. They portray social phenomena and taboo topics but also people's identities.

The aim of this questionnaire is to find out the reasons for brand integration in Bollywood films. Respondents' opinions will be compared to a film analysis of seventeen Indian films. Furthermore, it will be investigated why and how male or female actors present these products and how this is emphasised by film makers.

I would be very thankful and glad if you could spend some minutes answering this questionnaire. Finally, I want to reassure you that neither your answers nor your personal data or email addresses will be delivered to other people. The information you provide is only used for personal needs and serves only for research and this diploma thesis. It should also be mentioned that there are no wrong answers and that every response is of great help to me. After completing, please send it to me by clicking on the "Send by e-mail" button at the end. It would be very nice of you to return your questionnaires at the latest until the end of May, 2008. If you have any questions or advice, please feel free to contact me by e-mail.

Thank you very much in advance for your participation and collaboration!

Yours Eva-Marie

1. In almost every Bollywood film brand products and luxury items are advertised. Mark the circle that corresponds with your opinion.

☐ I fully agree ☐ ☐ ☐ I completely disagree

2. Following consumer goods are presented most often:

Tick the boxes of those groups of products you think are advertised most often (more answers possible).

- | | |
|--|---|
| ☐ clothes | ☐ leisure & entertainment products |
| ☐ food & beverages | ☐ communication technology |
| ☐ means of transportation | ☐ clothes |

3. Following labels of clothes are shown in Bollywood films most often: (more answers possible)

- | | | |
|--|------------------------------------|--|
| ☐ Adidas | ☐ Fubu | ☐ Prada |
| ☐ Armani | ☐ GAP | ☐ Puma |
| ☐ Chanel | ☐ Gucci | ☐ Reebok |
| ☐ DKNY | ☐ Hugo Boss | ☐ Ralph Lauren/Polo Sport |
| ☐ Dolce Gabbana | ☐ Kappa | ☐ Speedo |
| ☐ Fila | ☐ Lacoste | ☐ Tommy Hilfiger |
| ☐ Fruit of the Loom | ☐ Nike | ☐ Others |

4. Please identify those products of the clothing brands you think are advertised most clearly in Bollywood films: (more answers possible)

- | | |
|--|--|
| ☐ T-shirts | ☐ Suits, dinner jackets |
| ☐ Sweatshirts | ☐ Sportswear |
| ☐ Trousers, jeans | ☐ Underwear |
| ☐ Dresses, skirts | ☐ Others |

5. Are more male or female actors advertising labelled goods?

☐ More male actors ☐ More female actors

6. Choose the most popular male advertiser in Bollywood films

- | | |
|---|--|
| ☐ Amitabh Bachchan | ☐ Shahrukh Khan |
| ☐ Saif Ali Khan | ☐ Dino Morea |
| ☐ Salman Khan | |

7. Choose the most popular female advertiser in Bollywood films

- ☐ Priyanka Chopra ☐ Aishwarya Rai
☐ Kareena Kapoor ☐ Preity Zinta
☐ Rani Mukherjee

8. Branded goods are portrayed in Bollywood films because... *(Select those answers which complete this statement best in your opinion- more answers possible).*

- ☐ spectators should be influenced and tempted to buy those advertised products.
☐ India's economic progress, middle and upper class wealth should be demonstrated.
☐ designers want to increase and spread their degree of international familiarity.
☐ fashion designers and other manufacturers that function as sponsors are presented.
☐ advertisements are a fixed ingredient of media in general and cannot be avoided as they also form a part of everyday life. There is no specific function of advertisements in films.

9. The portrayal of branded goods in Bollywood films is disturbing.

Mark the answer that represents your opinion.

- ☐ I fully agree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ I completely disagree

10. Is your buying behaviour influenced by the portrayal of advertisements in Bollywood films?

- ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ I don't know

11. Song and dance numbers increase an advertised label's effect on the spectators.

- ☐ I fully agree ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐ I completely disagree

12. Personal data *(this data is required for analysis and is not delivered to any third persons or institutions)*

Your age:

- ☐ 0- 18 years
☐ 19-30 years
☐ 31-45 years
☐ 46-60 years
☐ 61+ years

Period of time being Bollywood fan:

- ☐ less than 1 year
☐ 1- 5 years
☐ 6-10 years
☐ more than 10 years

Thank you for your participation and collaboration! ☺

Send by e-mail

Zusammenfassung

Diese Diplomarbeit, mit dem Titel *Nike, Nokia and the Tyrolean Alps. Product placement and Bollywood Cinema* handelt von Product Placement in Bollywoodfilmen. Nachdem bereits in vielen Arbeiten Hollywood unter die Lupe genommen wurde, soll hier gezeigt werden, dass auch die indische Filmindustrie diese Werbestrategie verwendet. Um dies zu beweisen, wurde ein Fragebogen für Bollywoodfans aus Internetforen entwickelt und dann mit einer Analyse von 17 Filmen verglichen.

Zuerst wird der Begriff „Bollywood“, wie er in dieser Arbeit verwendet wird, erklärt und mit Tom Gunnings Konzept des „Cinema of attractions“ verglichen. Eine dieser Attraktionen und zugleich Art der Filmfinanzierung ist Product Placement. Dabei werden Markenartikel so ins Geschehen einer Filmhandlung eingebunden, dass sich der Zuschauer durch die Werbung nicht beeinflusst oder gestört vorkommt. Dies geschieht durch genau geplante Platzierung der Produkte in die Filmhandlung, wo sie als Requisiten wahrgenommen werden. Dadurch erscheint die Platzierung nicht allzu störend. Product Placement bringt wichtige Vorteile mit sich, weil Markenartikel länger und öfter gezeigt werden oder weil man Produktkonkurrenten vermeiden kann und das Produkt optimal zeigen kann, was in normaler Fernsehwerbung nicht immer möglich ist.

Der Fragebogen zeigt, dass Bollywoodfans auch in indischen Filmen Werbung wahrnehmen. Es wird besonderes Augenmerk darauf gelegt, sie nach Markenartikeln zu befragen ohne vorher einen bestimmten Film gezeigt zu haben. Dadurch wird erzielt, dass Fans spontan antworten und sich an jene Kleidungsmarken erinnern können, die sie in ihrem Langzeitgedächtnis gespeichert haben. Das heißt, dass diese Produkte am erfolgreichsten eingesetzt wurden. Die Auswertung des Fragebogens beinhaltet zwei verschiedene Analysen. In der einen werden Fans nach ihrem Alter unterteilt, in der anderen werden sie nach der Dauer ihrer Bollywood- Erfahrung begutachtet. Beide Untersuchungen zeigen interessante Resultate, die dann mit einer Filmanalyse verglichen werden.

Beim Vergleich mit den Filmen bestätigt sich die Meinung der Fans, dass Shahrukh Khan jener Werbeträger ist, der am öftesten Markenprodukte präsentiert. Sein hoher Bekanntheitsgrad und seine Glaubwürdigkeit erlauben es ihm viele Produkte zu vermarkten. Außerdem kann das Resultat des Fragebogens in Bezug auf

Kleidungsmarken bestätigt werden. Nike, Adidas, Tommy Hilfiger und Polo Sport werden am häufigsten präsentiert. Auch Mobiltelefone und andere Kommunikationsprodukte, wie Notebooks, werden besonders oft gezeigt. Manche Quellen behaupten sogar, dass Indien damit seinen Wohlstand und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung der gesellschaftlichen Mittelklasse hervorheben will.

Es wird außerdem noch untersucht an welchen Stellen im Film am häufigsten geworben wird. Interessanterweise werden Werbungen nicht in den spannendsten Momenten eingesetzt, um zu verhindern, dass melodramatische Stimmung zerstört wird. Ein weiterer wichtiger Aspekt ist, dass vorwiegend Onset- Placements und Creative Placements in Bollywoodfilmen eingesetzt werden. Aus diesen Gründen werden die Filme auch in Hinblick auf Song and Dance- Sequenzen betrachtet. Es soll herausgefunden werden welche Funktion ein beworbenes Produkt für den Handlungsablauf eines Filmes hat.

Ein weiterer wichtiger Aspekt dieser Diplomarbeit ist Location Placement, die Präsentation eines bestimmten Ortes in einem Film, welche häufig in den Song and Dance- Szenen zu erkennen ist. Meistens werden Landschaften dann beworben, wenn die Dramatik und Spannung oder Leidenschaft einer Szene nicht durch Markenartikel gestört werden darf. Dann kann es passieren, dass Schauspieler ohne vorherige Ankündigung plötzlich an exotischen Orten auftauchen, die keinen oder einen sehr geringen Bezug zur eigentlichen Filmhandlung haben. Auch Österreich ist Schauplatz solch exotischer Szenen. Nachdem die Schweiz als Drehort mehr oder weniger ausgedient hat, interessieren sich indische Filmemacher für neue und billigere Gegenden, wie Österreich, Deutschland, Neuseeland und Australien. Besonders die Alpen ziehen sie an, weshalb der Leiter von Cinetirol, Herr Köck, interviewt wurde. Im Namen der Tirolwerbung sind er und seine Mitarbeiter zuständig, Tirol als Filmdrehort bekannt zu machen und indische Filmteams nach Österreich zu locken.

Diese Diplomarbeit zeigt auf, dass die Bollywood- Filmindustrie auch am Kreislauf der Globalisierung teilnimmt, indem sie immer mehr Fans aus Europa und Amerika auch anspricht. Als Kino der Attraktionen verhilft sie Menschen in eine Traumwelt. Werbung ist somit nicht nur ein Teil der Filmfinanzierung, sondern auch ein wichtiger Bestandteil der Attraktionen eines Bollywoodfilmes.

Lebenslauf

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Bildungsgang

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Windows XP, Windows Vista
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Adobe Web Premium CS 3
Führerschein B

Sprachkenntnisse:

Deutsch
Englisch
Bosnisch/ Kroatisch/ Serbisch

Grundkenntnisse: Französisch, Italienisch, Tschechisch, Ungarisch