Mette Gabler

Creating Slogans for Social Change

An Inquiry into Advertising, Gender Imagery and the Politics of Change in Urban India

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Nadja-Christina Schneider

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Cover image: "Exploring Masculinity" organised by activists and volunteers belonging to the Must Bol campaign, Ambedkar University (2013). Photo by M. Gabler.

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Introduction: A Look into the Spectrum of Advertising in India & Gender-Media-Change Dynamics

Hum bhi karen jo chaahe mann
(translation from Hindi: We should also be able to do what our hearts desire).
Why should boys have all the fun?
(Hero Honda Pleasure, FCB-Ulka 2006)

While promoting "Pleasure", a motor scooter produced by Hero Honda, this slogan and its corresponding campaign exemplify possible discussions of gender, media, and change. The visuals, message, and image[1] of the advertisements linked to the campaign present ideas regarding media representation, consumer culture, patterns of class and gender, as well as social change. The campaign was created by the advertising agency FCB-Ulka[2] in 2006 and illustrates choices made by the producers of advertising according to the interplay between the client, a certain brand image, and agency representatives.[3] In this relationship, the producers were employed for their skill-sets and expertise in creating content to influence audiences. As such, they suggested phrasing, design, layout, and representational choices and messages. Addressing potential clients, the agency states: "We believe that changing attitudes can be helpful, but changing behaviour is what we're paid to do and has to be the end goal. We believe that asking what appears to be a simple question makes a remarkable difference. So what behaviour do you want to

1 I use this distinction in order to describe different levels of communication. Visuals include photos, pictures, text, and design, while the message includes the sales argument or point of view. Imageries convey "pictures painted" without specific descriptions and represent a certain world-view present.

2 FCB-Ulka Advertising was founded in India in 1961 and is part of the global marketing communications services company Interpublic Group of Companies (IPG). The agency calls itself "the most local global agency network" and has offices in six cities in India (Campaign India 2014; FCB-Ulka no date).

3 The campaign has been running for over a decade in the form of TV commercials, advertisements in print, and billboards nationwide. Although the setting of the visuals changes, the slogan has been similar throughout the campaign.

change?" (FCB-Ulka no date). The desired behavioural change seen in the Hero Honda Pleasure campaign includes addressing attitudes towards gender-segregated fun and encouraging alternate behaviour. The self-proclaimed role of the agency representatives to "change behaviour" in the form of choosing a certain brand and product alongside these reflections thus sets advertising producers at the centre of creating medialised messages[4] with the intent to influence audiences.

Inspired by the Hero Honda Pleasure campaign and other commercial advertisements seemingly also challenging gender norms that I came across in Delhi in 2008, I became interested in the idea of commercial advertising normalising and promoting gender equality. Critique of commercial advertising reproducing sexist patterns while social messages functioned as representative for actions challenging these issues, seemed to collapse the debate on the role of this sort of media in processes of social change. This campaign hence serves as an entry point to this dissertation in which I present the complex intertwining between different types of advertising and social change.

The scope of advertising in India provides immense diverse expressions of medialised communication. With reference to the definition of advertising as stated by the American Marketing Association (AMA), which is commonly referred to in publications for marketing professionals in India (e.g. Gupta 2005, p. 19), I argue that it is essential to conceive of the field of advertising as including commercial and social campaigns:

> Advertising is the placement of announcements and messages in time or space by business firms, non-profit organisations, government agencies, and individuals who seek to inform and/or persuade members of a particular target market or audience regarding their products, services, organisations or ideas. (American Marketing Association no date)

As outlined in this definition, the diversity of advertising points to various sites that produce advertisements, e.g. advertising agencies and social organisations. The individuals involved in advertising thus represent various production sites of advertising and illustrate an under-theorised diversity. While the role of advertising and its content in processes of social change has been given grave importance in academia as well as public discourses, a study regarding debates, understanding, and achievability of directing change processes through the

4 Medialised messages and medialised communication stand for communication produced in the context of and disseminated by media channels and technologies. These terms are aligned with media theories of medialisation that refer to the processes of increasing the presence of media, and the interplay between media and societal patterns. The medialisation theory is discussed further in chapter two.

experiences, ideas, and perspectives of advertising producers is largely missing. The central question I seek to answer in this project is thus phrased as follows:

What are the ideas, perspectives, and debates regarding the interplay between advertising and change, the strategies of communication to direct change processes, and the gendered imagery and social change processes prominent among producers of social and commercial advertising?

In the context of the advertising business[5] in India, and, in particular, in Delhi and Mumbai, this project hence provides new perspectives on media and social change by paying attention to underrepresented voices and perspectives, and enables new insights to be included in discussions of advertising. Central is the understanding of processes of change through advertising producers' perspectives while discussing the dynamics of gender, media, and change.

Contextualising Production Sites of Advertising through the Pleasure Campaign

The gender, media, and change dynamics contained in the Hero Honda Pleasure campaign illustrate necessary aspects of the empirical setting and contextualisation, including realities of systemic patterns,[6] as well as theoretical conceptualisations to cover the complex dimensions of this inquiry in depth.

The advertisements centre young female-coded[7] persons, initially portrayed by the Indian movie celebrity P. Chopra[8] and suggests a discrepancy

5 I use the term advertising business to refer to all sites of advertising production. The advertising business thus includes not only the advertising industry, largely made up of advertising agencies, but also other advertisement producers, e.g. social organisations.

6 With the term systemic patterns, I refer to institutionalised and socially normalised patterns, e.g. an understanding of gender that is found throughout society, such as political, economic, and social spheres and thus present in bureaucracy, governmental policies, private sector, personal convictions, social connections, structures and norms.

7 I use the term female-coded or male-coded when describing personas in advertisements and other media content. This illustrates medialised messages as a form of communication reflecting a particular understanding of gender. It highlights the choices made in compliance with norms regarding clothing, body, and particular characteristic according to gender.

8 In 2014 Indian movie celebrity A. Bhatt took over as brand ambassador. Throughout this thesis, I abbreviate all first names. This and other language choices concerning gender are explained in the section on positionality.

between 'boys' and 'girls' in their freedom to have fun.[9] Fun is equated with mobility and moving freely and independently in public spaces, while gendered belonging is limiting the mobility of one group of individuals. Accordingly, 'boys' are having all the fun and 'girls' are able to claim fun by investing in the new Hero Honda Pleasure scooter and thereby gaining mobility and freedom. This particular scooter is thus marketed towards young female customers in its product design as well as communicative strategy. With the target group unmistakably thought of as female, it connects to the realisations of "female consumers" as an important target group during liberalisation strategies instated by the late 1980s (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 148).[10] The advertisement thus represents the use of 'gender-marketing' in its production and promotion of products. With the product design accommodating ideas about female customers' needs for a lighter "two-wheeler" through a plastic body and additional "Just4Her showrooms" at sales stores throughout the country with female sales personnel, the aspect of 'gender-marketing' illustrates ideas of gender and specific needs and expectations accordingly adopted into sales and communication strategies (Flocke 2006). The campaign thus illustrates how a specific understanding of gender is utilised in the marketing strategy to reach the target group.[11] It draws on the binary understanding of gender[12] and sexist patterns in the form of differing expectations of needs and mobility as part of discourses regarding gender in India. While it conforms to one, it challenges the other in line with social change debates about empowerment and gender equality.

The visuals, message, and imagery contained in this campaign essentially contribute to a discourse on gender, the concept of women's empowerment, and social change. One could say that this advertisement comments on gender norms in place by challenging specific stereotypical gender roles and gendered divisions.[13] By giving voice to a female-coded character addressing female audiences, the advertisement encourages individuals to demand freedom of mobili-

9 The categories 'woman' and 'man' as well as 'girl' and 'boy' are throughout presented in single quotation marks.

10 The reference to Chaudhuri (2014) without an initial is always a reference to M. Chaudhuri (2014) and not to A. Chaudhuri (2014).

11 The campaign appeals to assorted female audiences through the use of a variety of attire, e.g. the salwaar kameez**,** jeans with a white tank top, or sportswear.

12 The binary understanding of gender sorts the existence of gender in twos, i.e. 'men' and 'women', with socially constructed descriptors of male and female, or femininity and masculinity with each their fixed attributes (Ahuja 2017, p. 248).

13 Stereotypes in advertising are used in order to reduce gender categories and thus display what is thought of as typically female or male. Representation of complex identities is simplified and thus a mode of exclusion (Holtz-Bacha 2008, pp. 9–10).

ty for themselves. At the same time, the imagery connects the brand and product to aspirations of financially able 'middle-class' belonging by pointing out what would be possible concerning mobility, freedom, pleasure, and equality if one bought this particular scooter.[14] It thereby connects to the conceptualisation of target audiences similar to campaigns as part of the governmental agenda re-formulated in the 1980s to link 'modernity', consumerism, and social change (Mankekar 1999, pp. 47–48). As such, the campaign latches onto existing changes in society, targeting young female potential customers and building on debates about gender equality as well as economic growth and social mobility. Embedded in discourses regarding media as well as social change, the campaign thus illustrates the linkages between the private sector producing products and offering services, choices made in producing medialised messages, a consumerist culture and aspiration of such, ideas of gender dynamics, and apparent change processes in society, while contributing to discussions about the potential of 'media cultures[15]' to influence societies.

The campaign not only mirrors the discourses present and sheds light on the contextual setting but also points towards circumstances in which advertising producers exist. Their perspectives, in particular, enable insights into concrete discussions regarding advertising as well as extant discourses. In the following, I introduce the chosen fields, arenas, i.e. particular spaces and circumstances of deliberation and production, and individuals that served as the foundation for this project. I explain why the advertising business in India and its producers are of significance and the position of gender and processes of change therein.

Power and Diversity of Advertising in India

Advertising in India is noteworthy due to the industry's expansive growth since the 1990s alongside the extensive presence of social advertising, especial-

14 The idea of 'middle-classes' contains a range of definitions. Although the financially-abled ideal does not adhere to all belonging to the 'middle-class', it is often connected to groups with growing financial means (compare Ganguly-Scrase 2003). At the same time, it can be used to describe belonging and aspiration in relation to a sense of 'modernity' (Mankekar 1999, p. 9).

15 I borrow the term 'media cultures' to indicate the "complex interactions between particular audiences, their practices of meaning making and use, and specific texts, representations, formats or media [..., that] also refers to the interplay of politics, history and finance in the relationships between media producers and texts, ideologies and social contexts" (Banaji 2010, p. 1).

ly following the Emergency in the mid-1970s. These circumstances led to the current scope of this type of medialised communication and a landscape of highly diverse campaigns. Commercial and social campaigns have since saturated daily life, especially in urban settings. Although the interaction with campaigns might differ, each individual is highly likely to be accompanied by advertisements travelling through public spaces, as well as in their homes and workspaces, either through TV, radio, magazines, newspapers, postal flyers or the internet, hardly leaving any space ad-less.[16] This pervasiveness and omnipresence of advertising campaigns, considered by some as clutter or visual pollution, illustrates the more recent intensification and high level of visibility of these medialised messages.

The diversity of advertising is captured by the AMA definition, as seen above. Central to this definition is the dissemination of information initiated by a broad range of institutions. Among them profit driven and state institutions alongside social organisations, pointing towards the conviction held by various groups of the power of persuasion through medialised messages. Advertisements common in India include 1) official announcements from the government in the form of information on political programs from ministries, promoting rules and regulations as for example, improving private water management and following traffic rules, or inviting political participation, 2) promotion of social causes including messages against risky behaviour spreading HIV/AIDS and promoting condom use, informative billboards concerning polio, malaria, and tuberculosis, family planning advertisements, campaigns against female foeticide and drug use, 3) brands selling products and services, and 4) cultural programs by, for example, informing about current TV-shows or movies. Some campaigns are printed in newspapers or magazines, some for public spaces such as bus shelters and road signs, and others are shown on TV or in cinema halls. All come with a set of visuals, messages, and imageries to seek the attention of and communicate with audiences. Reflecting the AMA definition in the article "Reviewing the Concept of Advertising from the Print Media Perspectives", A. T. Jibril (2017) argues that advertising encompasses commercial and non-commercial types of advertisements. Advertising hence includes medialised communication initiated by individuals, public figures, associations, governmental and non-governmental organisations, each with their agenda. As such, all forms of advertising are not only an essential constituent in 'media

16 Visiting shopping centres, parks, cafes, bookstores, cinema halls, university campuses, markets etc., as well as commuting to and from these locations in traffic, e.g. buses, trains, taxis, bus-stops and changing hubs, besides driving and walking the streets in urban India, one is constantly exposed to advertising.

cultures' but have "become a necessary component of the modern life socially, politically and economically" (Jibril 2017, pp. 1–3). By considering the AMA definition and logic given above, advertising and advertisements will hence throughout refer to medialised messages with a commercial or social objective, but will only be specified if relevant. While this definition enables a broader understanding of advertising, it does not consider the ways these different sectors and objectives can overlap and intertwine. My visits to production sites of advertising in India showed the spectrum of advertising to include complex intersections of production sites. These junctions, for example, create arenas, such as engagement in social activism regarding gender or work for governmental bodies concerned with equality, that contain diverse perspectives based on a variety of backgrounds and affiliations.

The different forms of advertising all contain a strong belief in the media's influential power. Commercial advertising in India, for example, holds an immense financial power: newspapers or magazines are often only commercially viable through commercial advertising, making advertisers themselves the primary customer (Chaudhuri 2001, p. 374).[17] At the same time, the conviction that commercial advertising content is powerful and potentially harmful is persistent and continues to be a focal point. This becomes apparent when looking at different political resolutions concerning the reproduction of stereotypical images and imageries of 'women' in particular. In India, the Indecent Representation of Women Act was passed in 1986 as a response to consumer pressure. It aimed to regulate women's representation in media and advertisements. The incentive to restrict certain female-coded representations, in particular, included voices against female nudity and sexualisation from feminists and the Hindu right alike (Ghosh 1999, p. 236). Due to beliefs about the manipulative power of advertising, commercial advertisements running on the national broadcaster Doordarshan were banned by the female Minister of Information and Broadcasting in April 2001 for being "degrading for women" (Chiochetto 2004, p. 6). At the same time, feminist activists have been strong voices in opposing sexist content in commercial advertising, backed by ethical incentives established by the Advertising Standards Council of India and the India Newspaper Society throughout the 1990s (Pashupati & Sengupta 1996 in Ciochetto 2004, p. 6). For example, an alliance of feminist activists formed a group named the Committee on the Portrayal of Women in Media in 1983, criticising and challenging the

17 The influence of commercial advertising on the production of said publications requires the necessity of sales numbers sufficient to promote products. At the same time, the financial input of selling advertising space makes publications able to keep sales prices low (Jeffrey 2000, p. 51).

portrayal of female-coded individuals in media content, and is described as having a significant influence on politics. This group continuously contested female-coded representation in commercial advertising in various publications, but also by means of protests and blackening out campaigns they considered obscene found in public spaces (Sardana 1984, pp. 1–2). While agendas might differ, the representation of 'women' continues to be a widely discussed topic (see, for example, Gahlaut (2003) on the criticism of advertisements for the whitening cream brand Fair & Lovely alongside other brands). More recently, discussions concerning the representation of stereotypical gender imageries consider the portrayal of 'men' and 'women' (Saxena 2017) alongside possibilities of challenging gender norms through advertising. This perspective is exemplified by the Unstereotype Alliance co-convened by UN Women and Unilever, which "aims to tackle how the industry can affect positive cultural change by using the power of advertising to help shape perceptions that reflect realistic, non-biased portrayals of women and men" (Unilever 2017). The attention given to commercial advertising content has largely remained the same since the 1980s. The dynamic between gender and commercial advertising thus holds a significant position in debates on media's role in society in the form of discussions regarding stereotypes and characteristics as well as gender roles and relations or imageries of gender in commercial advertising as potential role models and opportunities. As sociologist M. Chaudhuri (2001) states in a study on the representation of gender in commercial print advertising in India, "within modern advertising, gender is probably the social resource that is used most" (p. 375). This reflects a debate on media content in general that considers media as an influential component in the construction and normalisation of gender patterns and expectations. Commercial advertisements, in particular, provide what Chaudhuri calls a dominant ideology "appearing as the natural, apolitical state of things" (Chaudhuri 2001, p. 375).

Besides this immense focus on representation in commercial advertising, campaigns with social objectives equally reflect the assumed dominance of media content as influential and are persistently used as a prevalent strategy. Especially during the 1970s, social marketing[18] was increasingly utilised for spreading governmental messages (Rajagopal 2011b, p. 1015). The state-led pedagogic objective to educate audiences in India through television, initiated in 1959 as part of the post-independence nation-building project, exemplifies the foundational convic-

18 Social marketing refers to the utilisation of marketing strategies in campaigns with social objectives. As advertising functions as one aspect of marketing, medialised messages linked to social marketing are thus termed social advertising. This is explained more thoroughly in chapter one.

tion of 'media cultures' as a useful tool for influencing audiences. Initially promoting specific social ideologies and gradually highlighting consumerist cultures as beneficial in the 1980s and 1990s, advertisements with either commercial or political objectives became almost indistinguishable through representing similar ideas of national identities (Schneider 2006, pp. 823–824). Since the intense spread of social organisations from the 1980s onward, NGOs also consistently contributed with social advertisements as part of their strategies. Hence, social campaigns now take up significant space in the realm of advertising and have increasingly gained attention, for example as part of advertising festivals that reward particular creative strategies alongside commercial advertising.

The pervasiveness and assumed power of advertising in India are mirrored in ongoing debates worldwide. Representation of gender in commercial advertising is not only a popular field of study within the Social Sciences but also subject to an ongoing global debate. Acts passed in India to curtail the sexist influence of commercial advertising correspond to resolutions passed by the Council of Europe in 2007 (Holtz-Bacha 2008, p. 5) and other bans imposed on sexist and discriminatory advertising in European cities such as London and Geneva, some of the most recent being March 2017 in Paris and a ban of gender stereotypical commercial advertisements across the United Kingdom in 2019 (Dearden 2017; Hall 2017; Magra 2017; BBC 2019; Safronova 2019). The significance of globalisation and transnational networks as part of existing change processes is captured by anthropologist W. Mazzarella (2003a), who describes the advertising industry as a "particularly compelling point of mediation between the local and the global, between culture and capital" (p. 3). My empirical inquiry in this specific regional context provides a complex picture of these transnational connections integrated into a specific social and cultural context, and historically produced conditions.

Embedded in the circumstances of the historical context, including reform politics during colonial rule, establishing development strategies after independence, as well as the long tradition of the Women's Movement and other activist groups in India, contribute to the very fabric of the advertising business in India. The post-independence nation-building project, governmental neo-liberal politics, and international development networks connect debates on media's power in India with discourses of global democratisation and networks based on shared values. The involvement of the Indian state, international organisation as the UN and its different sections, as well as regional and transnational NGOs and other social organisations in development programs and projects, not only reflects the range of experiences present but also illustrates a plethora of insights into dealing with or attempting to direct social change. As such, these arenas have established long-lived expertise in engaging with social inequalities and directing change processes. The involvement of the advertising

industry in social advertising, for example through the advertising industry's role in the governmental nation-building project initiated post-independence, as well as its expertise in influencing audiences, contribute to these discourses.

Advertising in India encapsulates societal development regarding economic growth alongside attempts to rectify grave financial and social disparities. The messages contained in advertising thus cover a wide range of objectives that can be seen as contradictory but can also overlap and fuel each other in the form of extensive intertwining. These interlinkages provide a complex environment of debates on the role of media in change processes. This points to current advertising as a complex field of study that prompts concerns for both commercial content and connections to social initiatives for development.

As exemplified by the Hero Honda Pleasure campaign, advertising stands as a concise and strong expression of debates on the role of media in society. The Indian context provides an exceptionally knowledgeable and complex environment for discussing social change and the role of media in change processes. The strong ties between the sectors that regularly engage with each other through areas of overlap and intertwining, including networks in initiative, production and implementation, utilisation of diverse approaches and communication strategies, give way to an interesting field. These relationships and complexities between the sectors are detailed in the following chapters.

Gender as a Fundamental Component in Marketing, Development, and Social Structures

As mentioned, the Hero Honda Pleasure campaign illustrates the importance of gender in sales strategies, for example in the form of 'gender-marketing'. 'Gender-marketing' or gender-based marketing has been utilised with products that stereotypically have been considered for female consumers or male consumers, e.g. cosmetics or so-called sanitary products vs construction tools or aftershave, alongside other products that have been marketed neutrally. While still following a binary understanding of gender, gender-based marketing has found its way to promote more products and services, e.g. razors, shampoo, tea, pens, fitness centres etc., aligning itself with the idea that "women have a different set of demands [than men] and they desire different qualities and features in the products that they buy" (Sekhar, Dash, & Singh 2012, p. 2).[19] This illustrates how 'gender-marketing' has gained ground

19 See for example this list of gendered products in "12 Products Marketed to One Gender for No Good Reason" (Tuttle 2016).

among commercial marketing strategies. Similarly, gender is a prime focus in development strategies. Marketing has long been incorporated in social initiatives through social marketing while 'Gender-mainstreaming' is a concept adopted to support the promotion of gender equality following the discussions held at the Beijing Platform for Action from the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 (UN 2002, p. 1).[20] This concept builds on ideas that gender equality is essential to development in general and stands at the foundation for a range of social and economic objectives such as economic growth (UN 2002, p. 10). The strategy seeks to consider the inequalities experienced according to gender and subsequently adjusts policy and program implementation with these in mind. Gender hence figures as a central topic in the implementation and success of projects and strategies for social change. The importance given to gender as an element in commercial marketing and developmental practices illustrates how gender is considered fundamental and central in the actions and choices made.

In the present study, gender provides the inquiry with a level of concreteness: that is, a visual expression of existing dynamics in different types of advertising, which is also relevant in lived realities. With an understanding of gender as a cultural construct and fundamental social structure, gender represents a category intrinsically linked to debates on the role of media in society (Lünenborg & Maier 2013, p. 26). While representational politics have played a major part in these debates, the role of gender as a fundamental social structure means that the gendered experiences of daily life are highly relevant to the production of advertisements in terms of participation and opportunities. All in all, gender constructions and roles represent an essential component of existing discourses of 'modernity', development and changing social structure. The debates on the role of media in society and media's significance for gendered patterns, in particular, led to gender perspectives functioning as an element and exemplification of social change. Media and gender, therefore, entail a noteworthy juxtaposition (Lünenborg & Maier 2013, pp. 26–35). I consider this juxtaposition through the debates on advertising and social change in India and through the understanding and ideas held by producers of advertising about change processes.

20 As described in the UN publication "Gender Mainstreaming: An Overview", this concept situates gender equality at the centre of analyses and policy decisions. Thereby, relevant gender perspectives are given explicit and systematic attention as part of project planning, programme budgets, and institutional structures and processes (UN, Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women 2002).

Contributions and Limits of the Academic Debate on the Power of Media's Influence

The influential power connected to media is discussed rigorously in academia, in many cases, with a focus on advertising and social change. A wide range of studies from Social Sciences, including Sociology, Social and Cultural Anthropology, Media and Communication Studies, and Development Studies alongside Marketing, produce numerous analyses of content and/or reception studies. Essentially, a wide range of authors and institutions in India are concerned with the question of what media can and cannot do and how media content influences audiences. Most often, these debates either identify change brought forth by advertisements or are concerned with the obstruction of change due to advertising (Sundaram 2013, pp. 10–11). The impulse to centre effects and impact is consistent (compare Schneider & Gräf 2011, p. 18).

The existing academic debates on advertising in India present a scope of research leaving out important aspects. Firstly, commercial advertising and campaigns in the social sectors are discussed separately, limiting the understanding of advertising, the diversity at hand, and its arenas. The interwoven relations between these sectors are often overlooked, despite acknowledged connections. Secondly, a strong focus on media content, especially in connection with commercial advertising, and on measuring the success of strategies to influence audiences, alongside reception studies as found in research on social advertising, means that scholars rarely consider the production of advertising. The perspectives of the individuals involved, such as employees of advertising agencies or social activists creating campaigns, are, for the most part, omitted from debates on the influence of media content. Publications discussing the role of advertising in society mostly describe its producers as a homogenous group concerning their particular knowledge and responsibility. Thirdly, the change that media brings and/or seeks to bring – and in the case of advertising, determining the effect and impact of advertising campaigns – is at the centre of the debates. A conversation on the understanding of change processes and media practices needs to be included in the field of studying advertising. Researchers' continuous prioritisation of identifying and describing current changes in relation to advertising hence collapses the debate. In light of these trends, I highlight the intertwining of social and commercial arenas of advertising in this project. This, in turn, provides the opportunity to focus on change with diverse perspectives and insights from advertising producers. This group must be considered multi-dimensional and diverse. They are part of societies' changing institutional, cultural, and social patterns as much as the target group and other audiences. A focus on the producers' understanding of change processes and the role of advertising in social change enabled a detailed inquiry into the

extensive experiences and expertise in the production of commercial as well as social advertising, leading to a potent debate on advertising and social change.

Exploring the Perspectives of Diverse Advertising through Producers in Urban Networks

By including academic studies from various disciplines, such as the perspectives of business management and marketing professionals, debates among voices in Social Sciences, as well as perspectives from theories and practices in Development Studies, this study considers the various arenas and discussions relevant to production processes. The contextualisation in India's booming advertising industry and ongoing individual, organisational, and state engagement with social issues in Indian society enriches the debate on media and change with an extensive scope. Urbanities in India and Delhi, in particular, provide the opportunity of an all-encompassing field, reflecting existing change processes and current debates. The city provides political, economic, and – due to urbanisation processes – demographic diversity in close vicinity. It represents a hub of social activism in the form of NGOs, international and other social organisations existing alongside the growing advertising industry found for example in the city of Gurgaon, Haryana, which is connected to Delhi through the Delhi Metro line and resembles a suburb of Delhi, where multiple advertising agencies have sprung up since the 1990s. As such, Delhi, in particular, provides sites of advertisement production that are entrenched in a web of diverse interlinkages between commercial and social incentives.

Besides contributing with rarely-discussed perspectives as mentioned, I chose to engage with individuals involved in the production of advertising campaigns, either social or commercial, in order to accommodate the diverse arenas and debates present in the discussions of advertising and social change. This group represents individuals with special knowledge regarding the production sites of medialised communication that aims to influence audiences and thus enable insights into the processes and circumstances of campaign production. They are in charge and part of the deliberation and choices made, hence embedded in the sphere of discursive politics that develop the exact message and imagery expected to generate change. I hence delve into producers' attitudes and perceptions concerning the processes behind the advertisements and the strategies used. The chosen respondents represent arenas that constitute a multi-sited field providing diverse insights into strategies, approaches, and advertising expression and its relevance to social change. Advertisements with either commercial or social objectives are often created by advertising agency employees in collaboration with the different initiators. These include a range of clients: besides initiators from the pri-

vate sector, there are also NGOs, UN bodies, or governmental institutions such as the Ministry of Health or Ministry of Women and Child Development. While governmental-initiated campaigns are often the responsibility of the nodal agency Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity (DAVP), which undertakes "multimedia advertising and publicity for various Ministries and Departments of Government of India" (DAVP no date), the DAVP generally allocates the production of governmental advertisements to advertising agencies. As many social organisations produce their campaigns in-house, activists engaging from this perspective are included in the group of individuals considered relevant for this study. With the visuals, messages, and imageries of advertising are results of ideas, ideologies, and logic, the production sites of advertising serve as sites from which to examine debates of discursive truths. The individuals involved in creating advertisements are at the centre of intersections of discourses. Thereby, producers of advertising provide key insights into 'discourses of change'.

'Discourses of Change' as Framework for Understanding Advertising and its Production

I use the term 'discourses of change' to describe an understanding of change processes, including discursive knowledge and debates on how change processes occur while reflecting the complex intertwining at hand. "Discourse is a form of social action that plays a part in producing the social world – including knowledge, identities and social relations – and thereby in maintaining specific social patterns" (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p. 5). I hence frame media's role in relation to social patterns through a lens of discourse that entails a process that creates normative frameworks and align myself with medialisation theories in that media content, channels, and technologies are thought of as essential elements in society's fabric.

Based on the thought of discourses being particular sets of knowledge and particular structures of talking about this knowledge that, in the end, "shape how the world is understood and how things are done" (Rose 2012, p. 136), I argue that the production sites of advertising carry a certain kind of sphere of discourse behind the scenes of any campaign. The assumed power of media and particularly advertising, as part of socialisation processes and reproducing or challenging existing knowledge, establishes media as a strong player in the production of discursive truth. This led me to conceptualise production sites as spheres of knowledge production. The advertising sphere encompasses institutional practices, existing technologies, and servicing logic and is influenced by social and cultural structures. These elements in combination form the foundation for the end product. The imagery, slogans and medialised communication,

all in all, are thus founded in existing discourses and their context, including influences from economic, institutional, cultural and social discursive truths, and function as a visual result of deliberation.

In India, the medialised communication in question mirrors societal changes, the continuous engagement with discrepancies, and the discourses present. While the commercial industry might illustrate and represent economic growth, social advertisements communicate desired behaviour in regard to social change. Advertisements become colourful, creative, and expressive illustrations of existing change and desired change. Framing the collected material and the debates on advertising and change through an in-depth discussion of ‘discourses of change’ thus encompasses the entanglements present. This entails a discussion beyond what works, what does not, and what the effect is, but rather gains insight into convictions about the interplay between media and change and the understanding of change (Schneider & Gräf 2011, p. 13). Discursive change is seen as social change in that “different social understandings of the world lead to different social actions and therefore the social construction of knowledge and truth has social consequences” (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p. 5). This theoretical frame provides an understanding of processes and strategies, including possibilities representing discursive struggles and power relations that create normative frameworks. Instead of collapsing the debate on the power of commercial advertising and social change through a focus on its role in reproducing the status quo – as for example sexist patterns – a consideration of the different ways that advertising engages with social change diversifies the perspectives and possibilities of media. The role of the advertising industry in the development agenda as well as the use of advertising in development communication, further highlights considerable entanglements.[21] Just as the advertising industry’s role in social change agendas is rarely central in debates regarding social change processes, the content of social marketing campaigns is rarely considered for their role in socialisation processes and solely as a provider of useful information. However, the profound presence of and importance given to social advertising, as well as the involvement of the advertising industry therein, begs for a more nuanced discussion. While considering extant debates and criticism, I therefore focus on the ideas of how advertising engages with social change, including perspectives

21 Development communication generally describes development work that uses communicative strategies such as information dissemination or educational settings in their initiatives (Hastings & Saren 2003; Waisbord 2001, pp. 29–30). These strategies are, by some, considered the replacement of what was labelled “mass media in modernisation” (Shah 2011, p. 6). This approach will be detailed further in chapter one.

and understanding of processes of change. Change becomes a pliable concept, adjusting to the debate it is embedded in: marketing and consumer interests look towards a change of mind in purchasing decisions, whereas other discussions focus on societal change and/or more specifically, social change. Moreover, this perspective encapsulates the various perspectives that represent the debate on advertising and change and enriches this debate with the existing complexities described above. As the dynamics between consumer cultures, media, and development have become a tight-knit knot, and advertising is central to each aspect, advertising provides diverse levels and perspectives, as well as complex networks in the discussions of the role of media in society. I here thus contribute to fields of media and change by encouraging more attention towards debates on the processes, levels, and arenas of change. The gender perspective therein provides a particularly potent exemplification of social change through considerations for the role of advertising in the normalisation of systemic patterns of gender and efforts to challenge these.

In order to understand the conceptions of change, I analyse ideas, understandings, meanings, perceptions, and realities of the producers of advertising through an interpretive study founded in Cultural and Social Anthropology. I argue that understanding perceptions and attitudes within the advertising industry and social organisations point towards the discursive realities in place. Debates surrounding the creation processes that lie at the basis of creating the medialised messages contain discursive knowledge uncovered through producers' perspectives. An anthropological investigation using semi-structured interviews as well as participant and non-participant observations serves as a tool for examining discussions of change.

On the Necessity of Self-Reflexivity and Positionality

In academic work, and particularly in Regional Studies and Anthropology, constant self-reflexivity is necessary due to the history of anthropological studies being utilised by colonial powers. Self-reflexiveness serves as a tool for critical thinking and enables the questioning of preset ideas. In my own studies, self-reflexivity has played a mandatory role in order to consider power relations between researcher and respondents as well as reflection on my own identity and hence bias (Parameswaran 2001, pp. 69–71).[22] As a white researcher born and raised in northern Europe myself, mostly presenting and identified as

22 In the context of the conversations, I refer to interview partners as respondents to highlight the power relations existing during conversations. While meetings were con-

female, these considerations are essential to question seemingly neutral relationships and avoid the reproduction of power relations or stereotypical representation. As noted in the article "Feminist Media Ethnography in India: Exploring Power, Gender, and Culture in the Field" by R. Parameswaran (2001), the necessity of self-reflexivity in the course of a research project is fundamental. While normalising critical thought towards my own persona is an ongoing project, each project with its particular theme, focus, and individuals involved requires consideration for particular power relations and self-reflexivity. I here hence outline some fundamental aspects of my necessary self-reflection and positionality.

The Importance of Post-Colonial Perspectives

Fundamental in the process of self-reflexivity stand post-colonial perspectives that have challenged the relations between the so-called 'West' and the so-called 'Orient' since E. Said's (1978) discussion in the publication "Orientalism". Therein Said thoroughly critiques the colonial reproduction of stereotypical representation of the "passive Oriental" (Parameswaran 2001, p. 73). This oppressive rhetoric, which was part of legitimising colonial power, carried power relations that are to this day contained in social and political structures, as illustrated by the distinction between the 'developed' and the 'under-developed' or 'developing' countries. Consideration for post-colonial perspectives and critique is hence essential as a student of Regional Studies, and the importance of these debates cannot be overstated. Throughout my academic education, attending universities and engaging with activists in India, but also social bonding while living in Delhi and Varanasi, enabled insights for ongoing learning processes and reconsideration of theoretical systemic structures of power and naturalised images of India and its population in the forms of homogenisations, generalisations, and 'othering' (Mohanty 1988). Realisations of my own privileges continuously spur awareness of shortcomings and remind me that undertaking self-reflexivity must be a continuous journey.[23]

versational in style and contained commonalities and personal interactions, they were still framed as interviews where I prepared questions, and my counterpart reacted to the input given.

23 My background in Indology (Bachelor of Arts), focussing on India's history and philosophy, introduced me to the writing of Said. It solidified the importance of dealing with my position within this field of study. Studies in International Development and Management (Master of Science) drew on imageries of the poor, disabled, voiceless, and oppressed, equivalent to the naturalised imageries of rural "women with problems" (Par-

In this project, my chosen interest area and focus led to relevant respondents with whom I shared certain commonalities. Individuals I contacted for meetings and interviews primarily belonged to the financially-abled and had a high level of education, such as individuals employed by advertising agencies or engaging with social organisations. This choice was certainly made out of academic relevance, but it also had a practical element in that almost all were educated in English. Apart from language, life experiences and interests, e.g. regarding activism, art, gender, or media content, established a common ground. These commonalities and similar life experiences served as conversation starters. They enabled establishing a relationship with a level of trust but also complicated my reflection on the power dynamic between the researcher and the respondents. My personal background and upbringing exclude the possibility of claiming an "insider" status despite commonalities, and I had to recognise my responsibilities in acknowledging interviews as "hierarchical social interaction" (Lal 1996, p. 186 in Parameswaran 2001, p. 72). The dynamic of commonalities and power relations present demanded my approach of centring conversations as learning opportunities and giving great attention to adjustment according to the needs and interests of respondents. This is discussed in more detail when I address methodology.

Positions and Choices Regarding Gender: Gender as a Spectrum

Similar to how post-colonial perspectives deconstruct Eurocentric notions and divisions along colonial boundaries, critical thinkers in post-modern theories established the perspectives on gender consolidated in this project. My viewpoint is based on the discussions of queer feminism and gender theories laid out by J. Butler (1988).[24] In an essay titled "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenomenology and Feminist Theory", Butler argues for the discursiveness of gender and the power of this discourse:

> Regardless of the pervasive character of patriarchy and the prevalence of sexual difference as an operative cultural distinction, there is nothing about a binary gender system that is given. […] Gender is what is put on, invaria-

ameswaran 2001, pp. 73–79). Personal experiences in India throughout continuously challenged preconceived ideas.

24 Butler contributed with initial ideas of queer feminist perspectives. While criticised for the heavy theoretical position in contrast to perspectives from social activism (Nussbaum 1999), the ideas concerning heteronormativity and the social construct of binaries are indispensable in regard to gender-related topics.

> bly, under constraint, daily and incessantly, with anxiety and pleasure, but if this continuous act is mistaken for a natural or linguistic given, power is relinquished to expand the cultural field bodily through subversive performances of various kinds (Butler 1988, p. 531).

Following the theorisation of Butler, gender in all its aspects is performative: bodies, gendered expression, and sexuality are all based on this distinction of binary oppositions of male and female. Gender is thus conceptualised as a discursive category that reproduces an understanding of the normative framework of gendered realities in terms of binary oppositions, i.e. 'man'-'women', male-female, masculinity-femininity, as well as heterosexual-homosexual (Ahuja 2017, p. 248). This binary opposition is ultimately established as natural and true through the repetitiveness of performative actions (Butler 1988, p. 526). Consequently, normative codes are used to perform, identify and represent individuals accordingly, connecting specific markers to other codes. What constitutes 'womanhood' and 'manhood' are connected to individual anatomy with specific functions and characteristics.

In the context of a region like India, marked by the presence of colonial powers, the understanding of gender links the binary-centric discourse with the hegemonic power structures of colonialism. As pointed out by N. Ahuja (2017), the dominance of the binary understanding of gender is a colonially imposed structure and "by proposing a binary gender system as the natural basis for dividing men's public, paid labour from women's private, unpaid labour, this system helped define economic pursuits as masculine as opposed to spiritual pursuits and domestic labour, which were seen as feminine" (p. 242). Referring to the article "When the (Hindu) Nation Exiles Its Queers" by P. Bachetta (1999), Ahuja describes how the forced binary affected regions with an alternate understanding of gender:

> it often masked the complexity of different gender formations and figured indigenous polygamy, homosexuality, and public nudity as sites of moral failure that required reform. Thus, non-binary gender systems (for example, those that include third genders like the Indian hijra) often faced intensified discrimination under colonial rule, and British and other colonial powers established colonial laws to prohibit homosexuality across their empires (see Bacchetta 1999, p. 159) (Ahuja 2017, p. 248).

My own position regarding gender is aligned with this understanding of the dynamics of gender. Essentially, the discursive truth of the binary understanding of gender undermines the idea of gender existing on a spectrum and excludes various possibilities of trans-identities and individuals situated outside the binary. Discourse on gender as binary has thus eliminated a gendered spectrum, including bodies and gendered expressions that do not fit into this under-

standing. As pointed out in the study "No Outlaws in the Gender Galaxy" (Shah, Merchant, Mahajan, & Nevatia 2015) that dives into the experiences of transgender persons in India, "such a binary understanding of gender further acts in conjunction with structures related to race, class, caste and ability to create hierarchies of privilege, giving people unequal access and opportunity to education, livelihood and public spaces" (Shah et al. 2015, p. xxiv).[25] In the context of advertising, the idea of gender existing as a binary opposition is particularly visible. Stereotypical gender imageries are prominent in both commercial advertising and social campaigns. The persistent use of stereotypical representation of gender is paralleled by depictions addressing sexist patterns and, for the large part, reproduces the binary.

In this project, I have adopted particular language choices and details in style to highlight and challenge the reproduction of a binary understanding of gender that makes trans- and non-binary individuals invisible. 1) I use single quotation marks when using terms such as 'girl', 'boy', 'women', and 'man' – except in direct quotes and proper nouns – as a reminder that these terms are regularly used within a binary understanding of gender and are thus understood mainly as synonymous with cis-identities. This excludes trans-, non-binary, and other non-conforming and queer individuals and experiences such as gender-fluidity. The terms female and male, femininity and masculinity are descriptors that belong to the ideas of 'woman' and 'man', 'girl' and 'boy'. They are used as such, excluding other descriptors, e.g. trans-feminine or femme, and trans-masculine that are connected to gender identities beyond the binary. With advertising as a form of communication reflecting behavioural patterns and systems of understanding, and choices made in the creation processes in compliance with stereotypically identified markers and norms of gender, I use the term female- or male-coded when describing bodies and individuals in advertisements. 2) Respondents have been grouped according to specific commonalities, not dependent on gender, so each group comprises multiple respondents. Each group is prescribed a gender-neutral name, and each respondent is thus referred to by the personal pronoun singular 'they' in order to distance myself from gendered signifiers.[26] Chapter three will describe this when introducing the respondents in more detail. 3) Similarly, the first names

25 The book acknowledges difficulties "in the hegemonic conflation of 'transgender' with the socially visible class of hijras, [where] these other trans* persons and their lived realities are becoming further invisibilised" (Shah et al. 2015, p. xx).

26 Singular 'they' prioritises a gender-neutral language. As conversations with respondents did not include discussing each person's gender belonging, this is a way to eliminate speculations. Similarly, gender-neutral names remove the possibility of assum-

of referenced authors and other individuals are abbreviated throughout, and personal pronouns are omitted to minimise gender assumptions. This highlights my critical position towards the binary understanding of gender and my strong chosen position for understanding gender as a spectrum. In the chapter on methodology, I will discuss these choices further.

Overview and Chapters

Chapter one overviews the historical context, including ideas about media's influential power and usefulness in change processes and the evolving advertising business in India. This secures the understanding of advertising based on the aforementioned definition and the vital role of the advertising business in processes of change in India. A detailed review of the academic debate on advertising and change in India in chapter two follows this. In this chapter, I pay special attention to discussions regarding the advertising business's engagement with social change and the dynamics between advertising and social structures. Based on the trends of extant studies, perspectives, and discussions within the academic debate, identifying particular gaps and shortcomings led to my rationale and research questions. Chapter three encompasses the theoretical framework, and methodological approaches utilised with a specific focus on introducing the chosen respondents. The framework highlights the diversity and interrelations between commercial and social aspects of advertising that are captured through 'discourses of change', i.e. understanding of processes of change. As detailed in chapter four, my analysis and interpretations are divided into three parts. Initially, I outline the intertwining of the social sector and commercial advertising production following the respondents' insights. I present this entanglement along a division between the individual, institutional, and communicative levels. Therein I highlight the individuals' heterogeneity and point towards the diverse skillsets and interests shared across perceived boundaries. Institutional collaborations are not limited to bringing together representatives of these sectors. The institutional network contains individual circumstances of diverse people as well as convergences of different arenas, and thus deliberation processes that led to educational settings and self-reflexivity. These circumstances influence advertising strategies and thus become visible in the chosen content. These interlinkages are present throughout the second part of my analysis, which focuses on the per-

ing gender and stand in opposition to these assumptions. In no capacity was the intent to minimise the importance for each individual to use and be addressed with their appropriate pronouns.

spectives of respondents. In this part, I interpret these perspectives with consideration for the understanding of change processes, the role of advertising in social change, and the respondents' self-identified role as part of these processes. Conversations regarding what strategies work or the 'politics of change' represent the extant 'discourses of change' in the form of concrete approaches and led to insights of ideas, understanding, and debates of the interplay between advertising and change. Perspectives regarding respondents' background and involvement in advertising, the role of the institutions as part of diverse arenas, as well as the role of media content in processes of change, provide the foundation for discussing 'discourses of change'. Moreover, discourses include reflection on respondents' position in producing medialised messages as powerful while situated within 'media cultures' as opportunities for diverse participation and networks as well as communicative strategies of negotiation of solidarity and power relations. Finally, in the third part, I discuss the ideas and perspectives shared with consideration for the dynamic of gender, media, and change. In conclusion, change processes are portrayed as ongoing processes in which contradictions and negotiations are essential. 'Media cultures' and especially 'new media' in the form of online channels and technologies connect users to the internet and build on extant practices while normalising particular debates on gender and change.

My focus on individuals in the production of media content challenges an understanding of individuals in media as an abstract group of people who are distinct from the rest of the population. By discussing insights and perceptions from these individuals, I disrupt the current tendency to divide commercial sites of advertising from the social sector. Through the respondents' insights and understanding, I contribute to debates on the role of media in societies as well as change processes, and expand on existing ideas about how to influence behaviour. Employees of advertising agencies, as well as staff, volunteers, and activists connected to social organisations, are as much producers of medialised messages as consumers. The specifics of change processes, as understood by the respondents, are in this project fundamental to deconstructing preset notions of what advertising entails and give insights into the complexities of production sites and their people.

1 Setting the Stage – The Significance of Advertising in Debates on Media & Change in India

The regional contextualisation of my study demonstrates a diverse scope of media culture and the advertising business in particular. The commercial advertising industry, governmental institutions, and social organisations present are all involved in creating campaigns and providing compounded arenas of production sites. The diversity of this type of medialised communication and related arenas in India thus plays a significant role in the understanding of advertising. Post-independence particularities bring insights into the perspectives regarding and use of media and advertising in India and point towards the intertwining of the social sector and the advertising industry. The apparent entanglements thus lead to exceptional junctions of stakeholders and decision-making processes.

Central to the foundation of the contemporary advertising business are state-led development strategies, including the initial step towards liberalising economic policies and a heavy focus on economic growth. These approaches for developing the nation set the stage for the current medialised communication. The growing consumerist cultures of neo-liberal politics and related communication thereby exist alongside continuous ideas of media as a valuable tool in social change processes among development initiatives and programmes. The intertwining of these fields produces an exceptionally complex discourse in the space of communication that is shared by governmental bodies, social organisations as well as corporate companies of the private sector. This space is further nourished by vibrant globalisation, urbanisation, and medialisation processes. Ultimately, commercial and social messages function as 'background noise' to day-to-day living. But, more importantly, these medialised messages and the production of advertisements exist with the diversity in advertising at its core and thus contain noteworthy interlinkages of commercial and social aesthetics and interests. The intertwining of commercial and social content in advertisements hence exemplifies the omnipresence of the connectedness of different arenas at deeper levels. This connectedness creates a complex foundation of sectors often perceived as distinct from each other or merely collaborating. This chapter outlines the stage of medialised communication for influenc-

ing audiences in India. It introduces the belief in media's influential power and usefulness in change processes embedded in transnational discourses. I then provide a historical overview of the evolving advertising business in India. This highlights key events, stakeholders, and themes present in these developments and leads to an understanding of advertising and its role in change processes.

1.1 Media and Power, a Contextualisation of Development, Modernisation Strategies, and Economic Growth

The firm belief in media's power found among practitioners, scholars, and state officials alike include convictions of news and entertainment media as influential as well as media as an overtly powerful tool for social change. India's nation-building project initiated after gaining independence exemplifies this conviction. In this part, I therefore focus on how state representatives chose media channels and content explicitly to influence audiences. Following this part, I present the major developments in India that underlie today's advertising business.

Studies discussing the power of media and its content in relation to social change highlight media as part of development practices in India: On one hand, the mere presence of media institutions and technologies is a factor in potential development and progress opportunities, and on the other, utilisation of media channels to spread information for development is thought of as highly effective. Institutions of media and the free press, in particular, are described as a vital part of democratic performances and social equality (Sen 2001, pp. 180–181, 281). Sometimes through the imagery of a "watch dog" (Zehle 2004, p. 37) or with the stamp as the "fourth estate of democracy" (Chaudhuri 2006, p. 199). Press and media in India have, for example, been attributed with a critical role in the movement against colonial rule (Jeffrey 2013, pp. 103–105) and in providing platforms to challenge the state, as seen during the national state of emergency (Rajagopal 2011a, pp. 1017–1018).[27] The role of media and media technologies are thus discussed as a "means for overall development in society" (Bel et al. 2006, p. 35); for example, as part of information and communication technologies (ICT) and associated programs giving voices to the less privileged as a

27 The state of emergency in place from 1975–1977, was instituted by Prime Minister I. Gandhi due to prevailing "internal disturbance". Effectively, this allowed the government to suspend elections, curb civil liberties, and impose censorship on the press. With the intent to "head off anti-India protests and attacks by rebels", the Indian government similarly limited media and internet access in Kashmir in the last decade (Hussain 2020).

bottom-up approach of democratisation (Sinha 2006; Pyati 2010, p. 407; Seneviratne 2012). In the publication "Communication for Development and Social Change", J. Servaes (2008) describes ICTs such as computers and telecommunication technology, and especially the internet as a way to "bridge the information and knowledge divide between the haves and the have-nots" (Servaes 2008, p. 206). While extant power relations restricting access and opportunities are not discussed, media channels in the form of educational tools are widely considered powerful instruments to be used for influencing audiences and, in some cases, in defining and propagating the function of the nation-state (Rajagopal 2011a; Dasgupta, Sinha, & Chakravarti 2012, p. 35).[28] At the same time, commercial marketing practices figure as an essential factor in relation to social change through discussions regarding representation. The assumed power of medialised communication as a medium through which "culture is produced, disseminated, received, talked about and consumed" (Moeran 2001, p. 6) centres media content and is viewed as influencing "how people perceive themselves" (Mankekar 1999, p. 8). In the following, I present the state-initiated development agenda in which the use of media as an instrument for social change was central, thereby centring the focal point of this project.

Nehru's Vision of Modernisation and Building a Nation of Knowledge through Television

The role of media in social change processes is illustrated in the Indian state-led nation-building project and the incorporation of media, in particular television, as the main driver directing change processes. First formulated in the first Five-Year Plan of 1951 publicising the state's development agenda, the nation-building project incorporated efforts to change the Indian economy and society, and pointed towards each citizen as duty-bound to support the nation as a whole (Mankekar, 1999, p. 59). A significant element therein was the establishment of the state-run television broadcaster Doordarshan (DD) in 1959 "as an experiment in social and national(ist) education" (Mankekar 1999, p. 54) and part of the belief in "radio and television as pedagogic institutions" (Sundaram 2013, p. 2). Initially part of All India Radio, DD was comprised of

28 Rajagopal's assessment of the Emergency as an important factor in the development of the new Indian 'middle-class' points to the increase of government expenditure on propaganda. One tool used was messages in the form of advertising that were created with the intent to get audiences to agree with the government. Exaggerated statistical data to underline the government's development efforts was another (2011a).

two programs in its starting phases, each one hour, broadcast each week through 21 television sets found in community viewing centres in rural areas around Delhi. The project's outreach grew bit by bit in the number of TVs and hours of transmission. As detailed by P. Mankekar (1999), educational messages targeted two different groups of audiences. By placing television sets in schools, the programming provided school subjects, e.g. physics, chemistry, Hindi, English, current affairs, and geography in support of formal education. At the same time, Doordarshan production centres produced educational programs to disseminate "scientific" information covering topics on health and agriculture, and guidelines for behaviour in line with what was considered "modern knowledge". In the article "Thinking About the New Indian Middle Class. Gender, Advertising and Politics in an Age of Globalisation", Rajagopal (1999a) describes how television, in particular, is a powerful medium with the capacity to shift "loosely sedimented attachments and feelings and mobilising them in new directions" (pp. 58–59). In the context of the governmental development agendas of India of the 1950s, television became the prime medium expected to influence audiences (Mankekar 1999, pp. 54–57). The programming was consciously framed as an antidote to "superstition" and "dogma" following the sentiment of Prime Minister J. Nehru, serving from 1947 to 1964 to socially and economically 'modernise' the population through promoting a "scientific temper" and thus expecting changes in attitudes and practices (Mankekar 1999, pp. 57–58). Therein lies the understanding of development based on 'backwards' living or "cultural traits" and an uneducated population, problems that could be rectified by providing knowledge (Dutta 2011, p. 36). This reflects a distinction between the 'developed' and 'underdeveloped' present in the post-colonial era. It follows the sentiment contained in United States' President H. S. Truman's inauguration speech in January 1949, in which Truman described the "southern hemisphere" and, to a large degree, previously colonised nations as "underdeveloped areas" (Sachs 2000 [1992], p. 2). This division became a potent signifier for nations worldwide during the USA's foreign policy. The policies promoted "making benefits of […] scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas" (Truman in Esteva 2000 [1992], p. 9). As part of "a political campaign on a global scale", the dominant position of the USA was hence solidified in a global hegemonic structure (Esteva 2000 [1992], pp. 8–9).

The Nehruvian plan for Indian development reflects the same conviction of knowledge as the solution for 'underdevelopment', illustrating how the understanding of a developmental division and the need for 'underdeveloped' nations to be changed into 'developed' nations played a significant part in the understanding of progress and thus change processes in India. The importance given to particular media channels contained in the nation-building project

shows congruity with the ideas discussed by USA-based D. Lerner, who authored the publication "The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernising the Middle East" in 1958. This book was developed on a state-funded reception study to determine the influence of the radio channel Voice of America on audiences in the Middle East. Based on the idea that certain nations lacked knowledge and hence suffered from 'backward' attitudes and behaviour, Lerner saw potential in utilising media to 'modernise' other nations (Shah 2011, pp. 2–3).[29] Modernisation theory – the transformation from 'traditional systems' to 'modern nations' – became increasingly popular at the time, thus laying out the basis for the governmental development agenda and the nation-building project by embracing Lerner's ideas. However, the "explanations of human difference rooted in ideas of mutable cultural characteristics rather than immutable racial ones" (Shah 2011, p. 4) reproduced ideas of power relations between the nations considered 'backward' and the superiority of the so-called 'West',[30] building on the ideas for hegemonic systems of colonialism. Previously colonised nations were now "underdeveloped" without acknowledging the poverty and structural challenges that colonialism had created by extracting and exploiting natural resources and human labour, as well as imposing power relations (Ahuja 2017, p. 239). Priorities of nationalism and capitalism set in motion by colonialism continued the legacy of colonial rule and proceeded "to create power imbalances that favoured the economies and militaries of historic colonial powers" (Ahuja 2017, p. 241). Not only were significant portions of colonial law incorporated into India's constitution, thus building on the colonial past (Washbrook 1998, p. 37), but social structures had been forcefully imposed and reproduced. The dominance of the binary understanding of gender is one of these colonial-imposed structures (Ahuja 2017, p. 237).[31] Through the continuity of power relations embedded in modernisation theories, 'Western' former colonisers were again set in positions of defini-

29 This 'modernisation' consisted of disseminating 'Western' values through 'Western' media to democratise the Middle East (Shah 2011, p. 2).

30 The term 'West' is used to indicate Western European, North American and other anglophone belonging. This term builds on the orientalist discourse describing a dichotomy between the progressive and rational 'West' in opposition to the non-progressive and irrational 'East' or the 'Orient' utilised to legitimise colonial power (Shands 2008, p. 6). As this distinction is still used widely, I choose to use the term in discussions that draw on this problematic division that homogenises both the 'West' and the non-'West'. Through this dichotomy, I wish to highlight the continuous use of hegemonic ideas.

31 For more on the intersections of gender, race, and colonialism, as well as the coloniality of power as framed by A. Quijano see "The Coloniality of Gender" by

tion and knowledge (Esteva 2000 [1992], p. 15). Correspondingly, the nation-building project contained similar ideas.

The prevalence of global democratisation objectives and strategies provided by the USA's foreign policy and inherent in India's development agenda points towards connections to a global discourse of media and change. The belief in media's power and usefulness is situated in this greater discourse of development and hegemonic structuring of knowledge and decision-making, not only on a global scale but also within India. Essentially, Nehru's vision of a 'modern' nation and utilisation of media channels in the nation-building project reflects the conviction of specific entities and individuals in a position to direct attitudes and behaviour according to information deemed useful: that is, to inform the uninformed and 'backward'. One group hence held power to define what was useful information to broadcast and who the intended audiences were, which illustrates discursive power relations. In order to evolve into a 'modern' state after independence, citizens had to be educated and given directions on how to think, act and behave. From the aspiration to provide information to its viewers through television, the Indian nation-building project was simultaneously utilised to inspire "a national subject whose understanding of his/her role was congruent with national goals" (Mankekar 1999, p. 59). The development business thus grew from notions of progress and development that continuously reproduced extant power relations. In accordance with these fundamental principles of defining knowledge, state affairs of 'modernisation' through information dissemination were embedded within the social justice program of change (Mankekar 1999, p. 57). This increasingly led to an expansion of the institutions of media technologies and the promotion of consumerist behaviour that became a key component within the nation-building project and hence part of the development agenda.

The Expansion of Media and Utilisation of Media Representation to Inspire Change

While Doordarshan split from radio in 1977 and became its own department, the Indian government had also initiated collaborations with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, facilitating the ability to communicate with audiences India-wide through satellites. Throughout the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, television gradually expanded and reached more states, increasing tele-

M. Lugones (2016). Lugones discusses these intersections by centring "the colonial/modern gender system" and the instrumentality of this system (Lugones 2016, p. 1).

vision viewing by 68 % from 1978 to 1983 (Mankekar 1999, pp. 6, 55).[32] This laid the ground for nationwide television and the intensification of measures to construct and promote a pan-Indian national culture with consumerism at its core (Mankekar 1993, p. 546).[33] The national programming was inaugurated on August 15th 1982 – India's Independence Day – and included programs produced in Delhi and Mumbai (for more details, see Mankekar 1999, pp. 54–57), as well as live broadcasting of, for example, the 9th Asia Games held in Delhi (Ghosh 2013, p. 71). The numbers and the reach of TV thus increased dramatically through the Indian National Satellite program (INSAT 1B). However, it was the production of family-oriented entertainment that gave a significant push to a growing television culture and TV-viewing audiences (Schneider 2014).

The onset of satellite TV and increased international investments further influenced the expansion of media institutions and channels. This resulted in an explosion of medialised messages and imageries as are visible in contemporary India. While Doordarshan first introduced a second channel, the increase of satellite TV and media deregulation through liberalisation strategies initiated in the 1980s ultimately led DD to give up the state monopoly on programming and hence gave way to increased diversity.[34] A range of multinational and foreign channels were introduced in 1991 with R. Murdoch first establishing STAR TV broadcasting in India from Hong Kong. However, this was quickly followed by growing regional channels India-wide, spearheaded by the private Hindi channel Zee TV (Schneider 2014). The expansion of media reach, which had acquired much political and cultural significance from 1982 onwards, drew on ideas of 'modernity' in creating a national identity (Mankekar 1999, p. 5). Therein, an "Indianized" form of 'modernity' was solidified, constituting a pan-Indian understanding of gender, class, and nation. The 'modernity' carried through Nehru's

32 While the number of TV sets sold during the time of national state-led TV monopoly grew from 2 million to 5 million between 1980 to 1985 (Schneider 2014) and further to 11 million in 1988 and 35 million in 1991 (Mankekar 1999, pp. 57–60), the number of people reached by medialised communication is estimated to be much higher. Between 1979 and 1988, approximations state a rise from 156 million to 500 million viewers (Mankekar 1999, p. 56). In 2017 the numbers given by the Broadcast Audience Research Council (BARC) of India estimated the audience size to have reached 780 million viewers (Laghate 2017).

33 Efforts to establish this pan-Indian culture were based on finding unity in diversity by, for example, showcasing regional and ethnic diversity during the broadcasting of the Republic Day parade. At the same time, the language set-up of programming showed a Hindi and English heavy focus, which led to criticism of central-government media control (Mankekar 1999, pp. 61–67).

34 More details on the governmental liberalisation strategies will be outlined in the section on the role of liberalisation in the development of the advertising business.

vision and development programs in the early years after independence, favouring "rationality" and eliminating "superstition". This shows the solid continuous association with the ideas of modernisation theory. However, after the mid-1980s, 'modernity' became increasingly associated with consumerism and TV as a symbol of this 'modernity' (Mankekar 1999, pp. 47–48).

A significant element for the immense rise in television set numbers from the early 1980s can be attributed to the instalment of family-oriented TV serials (Schneider 2014). Inspired by Latin America, TV serials as edutainment were included in the nation-building project from 1984 onwards. Edutainment refers to utilising entertainment formats as powerful tools for disseminating messages for social change, and in the case of the TV serials in India, "particularly those concerning gender issues" (Fazal 2008, pp. 41, 44).[35] Based on the idea that media content could inspire change, TV serials included debates on family planning, national integration, adult literacy and women's rights into the narrative and lives of characters (Mankekar 1999, p. 71; Fazal 2008, p. 44). As an example, Fazal mentions the young female-coded character Badki from the serial Hum Log (translation from Hindi: We the People) launched in mid-1984, centring on the lives of a 'middle-class' Hindu family.[36] Badki, by "seeking professional work outside the home and choosing her own husband", challenges stereotypical gender roles (Fazal 2008, p. 45). Additionally, each episode included an endnote given by a film celebrity addressing the story's moral and responding to viewers' letters (Mankekar 1999, p. 72). Until 1987 Doordarshan produced 40 different serials (Schneider 2005, p. 34). The importance of the linkages between media utilisation, the expanding institution of media, and modernisation theory's conviction of rectifying 'underdevelopment' by providing information and thereby promoting change cannot be overstated.

Economic Growth and Consumerism as Part of Modernity and Development

In addition to the importance of these media cultures, the heavy focus on economic growth as prime in development due to theories of the 'trickle-down effect' led to strategies favouring expansion of market powers (Cypher & Dietz

35 Servaes describes edutainment as the "use of mass media and particularly television series and radio drama for educational purposes" (Servaes 2008, p. 328).

36 Hum Log was directed by P. K. Vasudev and scripted by M. S. Joshi and consisted of 156 episodes. In the 17 months this serial aired, the audience was calculated to be around 50 million viewers per episode (Ghosh 2013, p. 71; Schneider 2005, p. 34).

2008, p. 59). A major component within the plan for change hence became the promotion of consumer culture. The governmental focus under the authority of I. Gandhi shifted from heavy industry towards producing consumer goods, a change initiated by I. Gandhi's child and succeeding prime minister R. Gandhi in the early 1980s (Mankekar 1999, p. 75). Accordingly, the idea of consumerism as a national duty became a major part of the development agenda. The nation-building project was subsequently utilised to introduce this to the audiences through edutainment as well as advertising. The telenovela Hum Log was the first commercially sponsored serial (Fazal 2008, p. 44). The Commercial Sponsorship Scheme introduced in 1983 enabled sponsorship of these serials and gave way to the broadcasting of commercial television advertisements. The series thus fused the inclusion of social messages with the promotion of consumerist cultures for the betterment of the nation (Mankekar 1999; Schneider 2006, p. 820).[37] As this space had previously been free from commercial advertising, it was a significant move towards normalising consumerist culture. These strategies did their part to "facilitate a critical shift from a capital goods to a consumer economy by creating and encouraging consumerist desires" (Mankekar 1999, pp. 6, 69), making commercial advertising part of daily life (Schneider 2006, pp. 820–812). While the reach and presence of TV were expanded through the nation-building project, it also became a way to reach growing markets and audiences (Mankekar 1999, p. 60). Looking at the sales of Maggi 2-minute noodles that rose significantly after Hum Log was aired with Maggi's sponsorship, the promotion of products through advertising on TV was considered very successful (Mankekar 1999, p. 81; Fazal 2008, p. 45). In fusing the state-led development project with the evolving neo-liberal market, the government plans to support economic development fed the idea of consumerist cultures being equated with, and a path to, 'modernity' and progress (Schneider 2005, pp. 31–32).

Intertwining of Media Cultures, Consumerism, and Social Change

The description of the nation-building project illustrates how the growth of media institutions was deeply connected to measures of social change in the state-driven 'modernity' project. The connection of the nation-building plan

37 The fusion of this developmental strategy with consumerist cultures as national duty and understanding of 'modernity', the "viewing family" came to reflect the ideal consumer unit (Mankekar 1999, p. 101), enabling the targeting of different target groups simultaneously (Mankekar 2008). The conceptualisation of the "viewing family" throughout the 1980s and 1990s led to an idealisation of a "national family" (Mankekar 1999, pp. 47–48).

with ideas for liberalisation as a strategy for economic growth and media expansion became apparent on two levels: on the institutional level, in that regulations and industries catered to expanding the consumer market, and on the individual level through the promotion of consumerism. Through the discourse of creating duty-bound citizens as part of the nation-building project, the idea of creating a 'developed' nation and promoting change was a responsibility shared by all citizens. Advancing media technologies for state utilisation in connection with strategies of privatisation and economic growth were fundamental factors in fertilising medialisation processes and hence processes of change regarding media cultures. The current media culture in India is not only a reflection of economic growth and the politics of liberalisation but also illuminates the investment and conviction in the importance of media channels (such as TV, print, or radio), as well as content in the processes of change. Further, the nation-building project illustrates the deep intertwining of social endeavours and commercial objectives, including entanglements of state, audiences and civil society, and private corporate companies, fundamental to the current media culture of India. The following part of this chapter builds on this connectedness. I will initially give an outline of the development of the advertising business, which details the involvement of advertising in change processes and thereafter introduce the significance of diversity among producers and production sites.

1.2 Outlining the Making of the Advertising Business in India from Pre-independence to beyond Liberalisation

This section will give an overview of how the advertising business in India evolved. Key events, stakeholders and major themes such as nationalism and transnational dynamics are highlighted through contextualisation in specific periods in time and the interplay between national and global flows. The following walk-through thus provides insights into how the advertising business developed and which contextual events and discourses my understanding of advertising is based on, thereby pointing out the relevance of advertising in public discourses and change processes. Each political or historical event is significant in ongoing societal change. At the same time, interlinkages between the role of advertising and social change point to the scope of how advertisements, the advertising business and the individuals involved are contextualised. In this section, I hence outline three time periods and transitional phases and thereby illustrate the origins of the contemporary advertising context. The division is held along significant societal changes: the first being the pre-independence period, in which I set the advertising business in the context of colonial rule and

its part in discourses of the Independence movements. Following the struggle for independence is the second period, post-independence, from 1947 onwards. The Emergency spanning from 1975–1977 is a significant time frame leading to the first steps of a neo-liberal market initiated in the 1980s. This is followed by the third period, post-liberalisation, which saw the increase of consumerist culture and a rise in public craving for information and products after years of deprivation due to censorship and limited investment in consumer goods.

1.2.1 The Advertising Industry and Social Campaigning between Colonial Rule and the Independence Movement

Under colonial rule, the business of advertising was not only strongly tied to foreign powers but was heavily linked to a growing consciousness of the cultural context, extant nationalist debates, and social change processes. Through academic articles discussing different aspects of the advertising industry in India before independence, perspectives published and authored by professionals from the industry, and publications connecting overviews of social campaigning with handbook-style content, I highlight particular circumstances to illustrate the linkages present and the foundation the advertising business evolved from.[38]

Professionalisation and the Importance of Cultural Context in the Advertising Industry

The very first commercial advertisements distributed in India were printed in Hicky's Bengal Gazette, also titled the Calcutta General Advertiser. Mentioned as India's first newspaper, it was established in 1780 in Kolkata by J. A. Hicky and initially carried messages with trade offers, employment, as well as legal notices. Advertisements generally reflected governmental support and were a crucial factor in the economic health of most newspapers, even if they were only marginally connected to the East India Company (EIC), as was the case

38 D. Haynes (2010, 2012, 2017), for example, focuses on the advertising industry between the World Wars and in the context of independence, while R. Jeffrey (1997) analyses the advertising industry's role in the context of India's print media history. A. Chaudhuri (2007), with over 30 years of experience in advertising, details examples of commercial advertisements in their historical context alongside A. Halve and A. Sarkar (2011), while the book by J. Jethwaney (2016) deals with the practices and strategies of social sector communication in India.

with Hicky's Gazette (Jeffrey 1997, p. 64; Chaudhuri, A. 2007, p. 1; Saeed 2011, p. 4). The linkages to British companies only intensified with the development of the modern advertising industry in the early 20th century following the formal establishment of British India and the EIC dissolving in 1858. In a detailed analysis of commercial advertisements selling tonics and soaps in English or Indian languages from 1900–1945 in the Bombay Chronicle and Times of India, D. Haynes (2012) describes how commercial advertising was initially dominated by "bazaar products". These goods were advertised by product makers or sellers and mainly sold to people in the nearby areas (pp. 793–794).[39] The first advertising agency was established in Bombay in 1905 and was named B. Dattaram and Co. (Mazzarella 2003, p. 12; Halve & Sarkar 2011, p. 36). This "Indian-run" agency and the end of the First World War changed the scope of commercial advertising. Global corporations entered the Indian marketplace to gain from what was deemed an immense market opportunity and thus connected this regional market with the international economy. In connection with establishing a growing network of advertising agencies, these companies ushered a demand for soaps and tonics produced outside India among the urban 'middle-class' thus marginalising "bazaar products" (Haynes 2012, pp. 806–810). Describing the market of daily goods held by local shopkeepers prior to these changes, Haynes argues that the approach of using informative text to sell these goods was gradually replaced by a focus on brand names and catchy phrases initially directed at European consumers in particular (Haynes 2010, pp. 188–189). This new type of commercial advertisement led to new professional standards of commercial advertising (Haynes 2017, pp. 75–77).

The conception of an Indian market and the accompanied commercial advertising throughout the early 20th century primarily catered to foreign administrators and citizens alongside a minority of the Indian elite. Until multinational companies and agencies emerged, commercial advertisements were usually produced in Europe or the United States of America and imported into India. Products imported from Europe, alongside travel opportunities and luxury items, took up a major part of the market. Thus, advertisers paid little attention to promoting products to non-English speakers (Mazzarella 2003a, p. 12). Advertisements for use in "vernacular papers" only played a minimal role in advertising and were direct translations of the English versions by for example teachers (Haynes 2012, p. 805). In the early years of the advertising industry in India, many of the commercial advertisements hence resembled their counter-

39 For a detailed discussion on the differentiation between English and Indian language media, see Schneider (2005, pp. 131–138).

parts in the United Kingdom and were mainly published with English-language readers in mind (Saeed 2011, pp. 3–4).[40]

The 1920s and 1930s were marked by a surge of newly formed offices connected to agencies from both USA and Britain that influenced the landscape of advertising immensely, such as L.A. Stronach and Co. in 1926, the British trading company D. J. Keymer[41] that set up offices in India in 1928, and J. Walter Thompson (JWT) from the USA a year later (Mazzarella 2003, p. 12; Chaudhuri 2007, p. 210). These and many others were responsible for creating a major part of commercial advertising in India at that time. According to A. Chaudhuri, major newspapers like The Times of India in Bombay had, in the first decade of the 20th century, set up their studios where commercial advertising was created, and early advertising professionals were trained (Chaudhuri 2007, pp. 151–152). With the establishment of multinational agencies in India's larger cities, commercial advertising was increasingly produced in these branches by advertising employees in distribution companies or by in-house specialists with training in commercial advertising outside India. Besides the European target group, the Indian "middle class consumers" were now factored in as an important audience to consider, while marketing towards the poorer urban and rural populations – despite some exceptions – was at the time mostly disregarded (Haynes 2017, pp. 74–78). Haynes calls the 1930s "the advent of professional advertising in India" (Haynes 2012, p. 805) and describes how advertisers were increasingly concerned with the cultural context of commercial advertisements. European professionals often still dominated the industry by priding themselves on knowing and understanding "Indians and their markets" (Haynes 2010, p. 189). This might indicate why these commercial advertisements often contained visuals and imageries reflecting oriental prejudice. Even though "Indian specialists" that had been schooled in commercial art were hired, "religious deities, Indian aristocracy, icons of magical or conjuring acts, and a lot of rather eccentric or exotic symbols (such as a fakir sleeping on a bed of thorns) that they associated with India" found its way into advertising (Saeed 2011, pp. 7–8; Haynes 2012, p. 805). Additionally, advertisements targeted financially abled groups with the label of the so-called Indian 'middle-class' and thus promoted an idea of

40 In these years, commercial advertising consisted of print in the form of dailies, magazines, handbills, leaflets and outdoor advertising. In the 1920s, radio broadcasting was born, but the first radio advertisement was not broadcast until the 1950s alongside audio-visual advertisements (Chaudhuri 2007, pp. 182, 97, 233–235).

41 D. J. Keymer, with its office in Kolkata, was later renamed Bomas Ltd. and situated in Bombay. Offices in Kolkata closed, but employees established Clarion Advertising Services Ltd. The office in Bombay later became Ogilvy & Mather, which to this day, is one of India's most significant earners (Chaudhuri 2007, p. 210).

belonging according to lifestyles, consumption, and appearing 'modern' and displayed the homogenising of the "Indian consumer". The importance of cultural knowledge continued to grow, and Indian firms gradually became more assertive in getting their share with the onset of early market research. From the late 1930s and throughout the 1940s onward, the need to include Indian-educated individuals grew in order to represent the so-called local buyer (Haynes 2010, pp. 189–191; Haynes 2017, p. 77). The onset of the professionalisation of the advertising industry in India, as described by Haynes, shows how this time was crucial in the development of this industry.

Communicating Social Reform and Framing Gender through Nationalist Discourse

Medialised communication regarding social change was particularly present in debates concerning social reforms and the independence movement. Themes in current social advertising often are reminiscent of the 19th century social reform movement in India. Many social reformers were, for example, dedicated to promoting equality regarding gender, including 'women's' education and the remarriage of widows, alongside abolishing caste discrimination. However, visual and audio-visual campaigning was not as popular a strategy until social advertising following independence (Jethwaney 2016, p. 56). The debates on gender contained in social reform initiatives were strongly tied to rhetoric of nationalist and colonial discourse. For instance, the concerns regarding the 'westernisation' of 'women' was, according to Chatterjee, particularly present regarding Bengali 'women' and often illustrated in oral and visual communication such as essays, novels, skits, jingles, and paintings (Chatterjee 1989, pp. 622–625). According to the article "Colonialism, Nationalism, and Colonialised Women: The Contest in India" by P. Chatterjee (1989), the status of 'women' in social reform initiatives was framed by reactions to the colonial discourse. This discourse created an imagery of the Indian population and their social customs as barbaric and thus was part of the legitimisation of colonial rule. The debates concerning gender, for example, in the form of abolishing the practice of sati[42], enabled a logic that put 'the Indian woman' at the centre, suffering due to Indian tradition and culture in the form of Hindu texts and philosophy, who could thus only be saved by the British empire. Social reformers then entered a debate to counter the colonial administration by displaying efforts to address

42 This practice, declared illegal in 1829, entails widows sacrificing themselves by burning with their husbands on their funeral pyres.

systemic gender inequalities through a frame of 'modernity', presenting their efforts of eradicating inequalities as 'modern'. While social reformers during the first half of the 19th century would argue that social issues should be addressed through the state, in the second half, this rationale had changed with growing nationalist concern and discourse against 'westernisation'. Social reform then became more about 'women's' education separate from colonial rule and, to a greater extent, focussed on a 'modern' form of femininity that encapsulated essential values of womanhood. Reform and debates on femininity hence changed depending on discourse in regard to nationalist ideas.

The medialised communication present illustrated a propagation of specific ideas on gender and 'women' in particular. The "woman question became a site for redefining what constitutes India's tradition and culture [… and] a specifically upper-caste gender norm was imposed as the 'Indian' norm" (Chaudhuri 2001, p. 379). The idea of the ideal 'Indian woman' contained expectations and responsibilities as "the cultural emblem of the national" (Chaudhuri 2001, p. 379). At the same time, realities and the existence of gender beyond the binary were undermined, and no such attempts were made for 'the Indian man'. Discourses present gave way to male identities encapsulating various personas: the patriarch, the rational social reformer, the scientific nationalist, or cultural revivalist, alongside "the effeminate babu, the groveling native or a loyal soldier" from the colonial rulers' perspective, with each their distinct purpose (Chaudhuri 2001, p. 379). This persona got assigned responsibility and agency through the focus on 'women' as the bearers of tradition and culture. This persona was illustrated through the cultivation of an imagery of 'the Indian women' or 'Bharat Mata' (translation from Hindi: Mother India) containing themes of patriotism and self-sacrifice, using adulations of 'women' as goddesses or mothers (Chatterjee 1989, p. 630). While representation in commercial advertising often illustrated female-coded bodies fronting modest and conservative values, the image of 'Bharat Mata' depicted in calendar art is described as "a brave, strong woman who is breaking her chains of slavery – a reference to the young independent India" (Saeed 2011, p. 11). This description illustrates the connection to the ideal 'Indian woman' who is simultaneously sacrificing herself and worshipped for it. This idealisation alongside reform politics centring 'women' installed especially 'women' as representatives of matters regarding gender. This found its way into the commercial advertisements in the 1990s by constructing an Idea of "the new Indian woman" containing existing norms of femininity alongside opportunities for challenging sexist patterns in relation to 'modernity' and tradition (Munshi 1998).[43]

43 I detail the article and argument brought forth by Munshi in chapter two.

Linkages of Commercial Advertising, Colonial Discourses, Independence Movement, and the Press

With the changes concerning consumer goods and marketing strategies and thus a new focus on brand names and slogans, intangible values were increasingly centred (Haynes 2010, p. 189). This new approach of selling goods was evident in campaigns for daily products like soap and cigarettes and shows how the visual image and social values became intrinsic to commercial advertising (Jain 2017, p. 51). Thereby, linkages between representation in commercial advertising and current discourses played a central role in chosen marketing strategies. J. Jain's (2017) analysis of soap and cigarette advertising in colonial India, for example, points out the connections between market, religion, caste, and politics present. It illustrates the change in discourse at the time through the imagery of commercial advertising in which gender, and in particular female-coded personas, figured as a marker through which commercial advertising encapsulated ideas of class, gender, and 'modernity' (Jain 2017, pp. 53–59). While products were marketed to Indian and foreign consumers, differences in representation strategies reflected ongoing stereotypical notions during the years leading up to India's independence. This is exemplified by commercial advertisements promoting Rexona soap to different audiences that, on the one hand, were similar in their message to cater to skin needs but, on the other, showed trends of differentiation. The female-coded figures seen as European were displayed as sporty, outgoing, and adventurous, while Indian 'women' were presented in traditional roles and in need of protection by 'men' (Saeed 2011, p. 13). Alongside the distinctions of 'Indian' and non-'Indian', the depiction of gender continued to draw on stereotypical representation according to the established binary understanding of gender. Female-coded personas were thus depicted with a focus on kitchen expertise and beautification in contrast to male-coded personas holding "more daring and progressive roles" (Saeed 2011, p. 21). The representation of female-coded personas in commercial advertising following the surge of multinational agencies established from the 1920s onward thus entailed the reproduction of colonial discourses of legitimisation and patterns of gender. In accordance with the social reform politics of British rule, the idea of the Indian 'woman' in danger due to barbaric customs had set foreign powers in a position of providing protection. This dynamic was thus captured in the patterns of commercial advertising. At the same time, the Indian Women's Movement established itself as a strong voice as well as a significant catalyst for the Independence Movement by opposing the colonial discourses of the oppressed Indian 'woman' as well as becoming more active in politics (Sen 2000, pp. 13–19). While commercial advertising at the time still adhered to gender dynamics depicting patterns of extant power relations, the discourses

and campaigns of the social reform and Women's Movement provided opportunities that later would be depicted through diverse imageries.

With the growing concern for the cultural context in commercial advertising during a resonant Independence Movement, themes of 'modernity' and nationalistic discourse became more prominent. Ideas of 'modernity' were connected to a consuming 'middle-class' that was pictured as high-caste Hindus excluding other groups, e.g. Muslims or "members of the working class" (Haynes 2010, p. 190). Chaudhuri describes the emergence of this 'middle-class' as "region-specific histories of middle-class growth and region-specific responses of this class to articulate a modern normative" (Chaudhuri 2001, p. 375). The linkages of 'modernity' and aspiration of 'middle-class' belonging were visible in the representation in commercial advertising by including specific hairstyles, the clothes worn, and the furniture depicted as "markers of modernity" (Haynes 2012, p. 818). A national figure of the 'Indian consumer' was hence targeted, and a nationalistic discourse became more prominent in sale strategies by promoting the support of locally produced goods through slogans such as "buy local" for particular brand names and products, for example among locally produced soap (Jain 2017, p. 53).

The role of print media in the Independence Movement cannot be overstated. The call to buy only local products rather than imported goods was generally part of these publications in the form of essays and newspaper articles. Growing numbers of regional language newspapers in India played a significant role in challenging the colonial power by promoting the nationalist cause and influencing political arenas (Jeffrey 1997, p. 61). Although many commercial advertisements contained these nationalist sentiments, commercial advertisements were often excluded from publications. According to Jeffrey, M. K. Gandhi was influential regarding the extent commercial advertising was included in print media. Gandhi had declared that "the sole aim of journalism should be service", and thus Indian-owned newspapers with connection to the Independence Movement in English and Indian languages omitted commercial advertisements from their content and illustrated the contempt for this type of medialised communication during the years before independence. Despite the importance of commercial advertising in sustaining the press, newspapers and dailies connected to the Independence Movement often rejected these advertisements. Besides, a consensus among the small community of advertisers and advertising agencies developed that only English-language newspapers had readers with significant purchasing power. Commercial advertising was hence largely confined to British-owned English-language newspapers, while many of the other newspapers were published at a financial loss (Jeffrey 1997, pp. 64–65). At the same time, the 1930s saw new opportunities for advertising agencies to work with governmental institutions to produce awareness campaigns. The

four major agencies JWT, L. A. Stronach, D. J. Keymers, and Adart, worked with the government authorities to create campaigns with slogans such as avoiding food waste or supporting the Indian army (Halve & Sarkar 2011, p. 35). While these agencies were still connected to foreign powers, by the end of the Second World War and with the increasing awareness of the Independence Movement, agencies distinct from foreign owners started to establish themselves to a greater extent, such as Dattaram, National, and Sista in Mumbai, along with Tom & Bay in Pune (Saeed 2011, p. 8). The change processes were hence framed through linkages between the evolving print media, the growing nationalist discourses and the Independence Movement, the Women's Movement building on the social reforms of the 19th century that had gained traction from the 1920s onward, and the reproduction of the imposed binary understanding of gender. These processes were not only visible in representation and medialised communication but were a significant part of the professionalisation of the advertising industry in India and of how the current advertising business evolved. The linkages present illustrate a dynamic struggle between politics of social reform and consumer cultures and are depicted in gendered imageries as well as the conditions of production. At the same time, these linkages were carried further and intensified after independence.

1.2.2 Recognising the Power of Advertising Post-Independence

While the independence movement was highly critical of commercial advertising, governmental institutions latched on to the perceived power of this type of medialised communication. After gaining independence, the Indian government set up a range of governmental departments and ministries to develop the advertising business. While the advertising industry was grappling with insecurities concerning its position in a globalised media culture, social advertising gained in popularity.

Insecurities and Confidence of the Advertising Industry during the License Raj

At a time when the Indian government controlled the development of private corporate investment and private sector growth through licensing, commonly referred to as the License Raj, the post-independence advertising industry continued the colonial tendencies of anglophone commercial advertising (Rajagopal 2011b, p. 221). Commercial advertising contracts throughout the 1950s continued to go "overwhelmingly to English-language newspapers" (Jeffrey 1997,

pp. 64–65). A balancing act between local and global associations marked the following years. New institutions of Indian-led professionalism of commercial advertising, such as the Advertising Club in Kolkata in 1952 and the Indian Society of Advertisers in 1953, were established, and the production of local products grew in comparison to imported goods (Saeed 2011, p. 11; Chaudhuri 2014, p. 182). From the mid-1960s onwards, governmental restrictions on trans/multinational agencies further disrupted the one-sided arrangement between the advertising industry and the English-language press. The Foreign Exchange Restriction Act of 1974 entailed increased regulations regarding influences from outside India. Foreign-led agencies that had established themselves during colonial rule had to either leave the country or "Indianize" themselves (Mazzarella 2003a, p. 12).[44] However, the echo of cultural inferiority present during colonial rule continued to play its part in medialised communication. Individuals in the advertising industry consequently found role models in anglophone networks and, through association with ideas of 'modernity', saw their work as 'modernising' without engaging in the debate on Ghandian moralism or Nehruvian developmentalist ideas (Rajagopal 2011b, pp. 220–221).

Governmental Use of Advertising and Growing Presence of Social Marketing

As part of the growing professionalisation of advertising agencies, India's national and regional state governments were noted as the countries' largest advertisers in the 1950s, initiating educational campaigns in particular (Jeffrey 1997, p. 61). Building on the connections between advertising agencies and governmental bodies in the 1930s, the nodal agency Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity (DAVP) was established in early 1942 to coordinate social campaigns. This agency was founded as the advertising branch of the Department of Information & Broadcasting and, after independence, set up as the Ministry of Information & Broadcasting.[45] This institute ensured that governmental institutions had

44 For example, J. Walter Thompson was renamed Hindustan Thompson Associates besides limiting foreign equity, i.e. assets owned outside India (Mazzarella 2003a, p. 12).

45 The DAVP was founded following the creation of the "Advertising Consultant" post under the Chief Press Advisor in 1941. Under the newly established government after 1947, the DAVP was reinstated, and in 1955 declared an attached office to the Ministry of Information & Broadcasting. It obtained its financial and administrative powers in 1959 (DAVP no date). In 2017 the Directorate of Advertising and Visual Publicity, Directorate of Field Publicity, and Song & Drama Division was integrated into the Bureau of Outreach and Communication (BOC no date).

access to print publications that were considered particularly influential. With an eye on the 'modernisation' of the nation according to Nehru's plans, social campaigns became a popular strategy to address public health issues after independence. Ideas of social marketing as a strategy to influence attitudes and behaviour were first discussed in the 1950s in the United States of America when the psychologist G. D. Wiebe raised the question, "Why can't you sell brotherhood like you sell soap" (Kotler & Zaltman 1971, p. 3). Marketing professionals P. Kotler and G. Zaltman (1971), in their article "Social Marketing: An Approach to Planned Social Change", developed social marketing as a concept and coined the term (Andreasen 1994, p. 108; Jethwaney 2016, p. 36). Social marketing essentially reflects the conviction of the power of marketing. Marketing strategies were developed as a branch of applied economics and subsequently incorporated into campaigns with social objectives as an additional tool in development communication. Advertising functions as one specific aspect or sub-area of marketing and campaigning. Other sub-areas include marketing research and sales management (Waisbord 2001, p. 6; Shaw & Jones 2005, p. 241). Social marketing campaigns hence often include social advertising. Meanwhile, social marketing was first used in India in the form of the governmental nationwide contraceptive programme. The Nirodh condom project (translation from Sanskrit: control), initiated in 1967, advertised for condom use and distributed condoms for free or at very low cost from September 1968 onwards (Mazzarella 2003a, p. 95).[46] Although such campaigns have been criticised for their top-down approach limited to information dissemination (Maid, Padalghare, & Poitevin 2006, p. 372), social marketing is considered a useful and cost-efficient tool in development communication and is a popular strategy utilised by both governmental and non-governmental initiatives (Basch 1999, p. 160; Andreasen 2002, p. 7; Meekers & Rahaim 2005, p. 2). By the 1970s, the strategy of marketing promoting social change was used in many parts of the world, including India, especially through public health and family planning projects (Waisbord 2001, p. 8).

Establishing What Works, Connecting Reception Studies and Market Research

Parallel to the expansion of the advertising industry in India and the growing presence of social marketing, the post-independence era saw the growth of more systematic and widespread market research. Market research increasingly

46 For more information on the Nirodh condom campaign, see Jain, A. K. (1973) "Marketing Research in the Nirodh Program".

became an essential part of commercial marketing alongside research conducted to assess social campaign effectiveness. According to R. Sundaram (2013), these efforts led to the emergence of Media studies in India, that from the 1960s to the 1980s was dominated by ideas of determining the effectiveness of the nation-building projects strategies of development communication and connections to ideological traditions of the 'West' (pp. 3–4).[47] The onset of institutionalised market research formed through the consumer goods company Hindustan Levers[48] that in the 1950s facilitated the oldest and most extensive market research section of any organisation in India (Rajagopal 1998, p. 19). Concurrently, the Audit Bureau of Circulations (ABC), established in 1948, was central in determining which newspapers were profitable for advertising. As mentioned, publications often relied on advertising revenue as income. The ABC provided opportunities to estimate which publications were most valuable to advertisers based on the number of copies sold. Newspapers that previously had been part of a nationalist discourse thus became profitable businesses or failed (Jeffrey 1997, p. 65; Jeffrey 2013, pp. 104–110). Further, the ABC introduced Television Rating Points (TRPs) in the 1990s, linking TV programming directly to revenue from commercial advertising (Ghosh 2013, p. 74). Despite this position of pointing out which print and TV channels were profitable for advertisers, the circulation numbers were not considered sufficiently helpful. Surveys, in contrast, were believed to give "reliable data on readers and would analyse readers by various social and economic criteria" and led advertisers from the 1960s onward to call for elaborate market research and, in particular, a national readership survey (Jeffrey 1997, p. 65). Haynes describes in detail the first steps taken towards extensive market research in connection with commercial advertising in the form of National Readership Surveys (NRS) (Haynes 2010, p. 66).[49] Additionally, the link between early Media and Communication Studies in India and development initiatives seeking to answer the question of the effect and impact of media illustrates the connection of market research to social marketing in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s (Sundaram 2013, pp. 3–4; Das 2006, pp. 40–49). The emergence of market research in the context of newly

47 I discuss the de-westernisation of Media Studies in chapter two.

48 Established in 1933 as Lever Brother and renamed in 1956 and 2007, Hindustan Unilever now provides extensive experience producing consumer goods and creating brands (Rajagopal 1998, p. 20; Hindustan Unilever Limited no date).

49 The first National Readership Survey (NRS-I) was carried out in 1970 by the Operations Research Group (ORG) and financed by the Indian Society of Advertisers and the Advertising Agencies Association of India but was not supported by the ABC nor the Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society (IENS).

established disciplines was thus dependent on the importance of development projects alongside professionalising media producers and researchers of commercial advertising. The aforementioned nation-building project stands as an exemplification of this connection and, according to Mankekar, was doing its part in training media professionals in order to cater to the development of media technology and content (Mankekar 1999, p. 59). The utilisation of media channels in development strategies and the growing commercial advertising industry represented interrelations of changing media cultures and contained intensifications of media practices as well as market research. The juxtaposition between these arenas thus led to extensive institutionalised professionalism in both fields from the early 1980s onwards.

Transitioning from Socialist Politics to Market Oriented Desires through the Emergency

A significant event in the development of the advertising business was the State of Emergency instated in 1975 by I. Gandhi. Heavy censorship and limitations interrupted the foundation of an increasingly vibrant advertising industry alongside the growing presence of medialised communication concerning social causes. At the same time, it served as a transitional period leading to extensive liberalisation processes in the 1980s. The circumstances of this event influenced the transformation of public discourse and the role of advertising (Rajagopal 2011a). On the one hand, it ushered in a "depression in the advertising industry" that, according to professionals in commercial advertising, had its onset in 1974 and continued until the end of the Emergency in January 1977 (Jeffrey 1997, p. 67). On the other, the use of social advertising by the state to influence the audiences increased intensively during the Emergency (Rajagopal 2011a, p. 1007). As detailed by Jeffrey, the imposed censorship and control over publications stretched over the years, leading to dissatisfaction among journalists. The limited availability of reliable information and goods resulted in frustration with medialised communication and governmental policies. The knowledge of what was possible due to prosperity following the Punjab green-revolution of the late 1970s and connections with 'non-resident Indians' (NRI) led to a bitterness towards socialism and a desire for the products and conveniences of 'middle-classes' elsewhere in India and the world.[50] Though the money and the

50 The green revolution led to "better roads in rural areas, more children in schools and colleges and more comfort and leisure for larger numbers of rural people" (Jeffrey 1997, p. 70).

demand for new goods existed, awareness of this fact came slowly to manufacturers, advertising agencies, marketing groups and newspaper owners. Nevertheless, eventually, with the end of the Emergency, the onset of a new focus and new possibilities became central. New technologies enabled the printing of Indian-language publications to increase their circulation and the desire for goods and information and were paralleled with immense growth in advertising expenditure. Consequently, the spending on press advertising between 1976 and 1981 more than trebled, and just the beginning of immense growth in the advertising industry. The Indian-language press became an important factor in the further development of commercial advertising with the increasing presence of the Indian-language press and the onset of marketing towards 'rural India' that at that time went mostly overlooked by the English newspapers (Jeffrey 1997, pp. 58–70). The imposed censorship limitations were thus followed by an era of explosion in newspaper circulation, especially in Hindi dailies (Jeffrey 2013, p. 111).

The social sector in India following the Emergency equally saw grave changes rooted in a feeling of "intense disillusionment with the conventional institutions of planning, politics, and development" (Sheth & Sethi 1991, p. 63). Difficulties due to famine, inflation, staggering unemployment rates and the lack of promised poverty reduction had led to unrest and dissatisfaction towards the government within India's population between the 1960s and 1980s. Alongside this frustration, the existing discourses included excitement for new issues and movements finding ground for engagement. The incentive to engage with social issues rather than counting on governmental initiatives hence led to the establishment of a multitude of welfare and charity groups. The 1980s hence saw a mushrooming of NGOs addressing social inequality and other topics relevant to sustainable development. These organisations have been described as providing goods and services more efficiently and with less corruption (Sheth & Sethi 1991, pp. 53–63). While during the 1960s, governmental institutions and NGOs primarily functioned in collaboration, by the 1980s, NGOs were often appointed to mediate between the government and the population (Sato 2002, p. 59). Eventually, they became part of governmental decentralisation strategies of development.[51] The effect of the Emergency on

51 The governmental incentive of decentralisation included giving more decision-making power to local bodies, e.g. 'panchayati raj' institutions, throughout the 1990s in particular (Iyer 2010, p. 307). These institutions were established based on the belief that decentralisation would enable increasing political participation of people belonging to 'scheduled castes' and 'women', often facing extensive discrimination (Rath 2010, pp. 149–150). While some noted these strategies as successful, critics argue that power relations stayed in place (Suresh 2009, p. 203).

print media, commercial advertising, and social campaigning reflects the further direction of the advertising business and attitudes towards the state and its politics. While the advertising industry flourished, civil society set up grounds for extensive social campaigns following the end of the Emergency. In the 1980s, the expansive course of the advertising business continued with the first steps towards neo-liberal politics.

1.2.3 The Significance of Liberalisation and Dynamics of Globalisation and Regionalisation Processes

Among the studies on advertising and social change, the liberalisation strategies initiated by the Indian government in the 1980s are often referred to as a key component in the change processes present. Among authors discussing development communication, focusing on economic growth is seen as beneficial in eradicating poverty and inequalities. At the same time, publications regarding commercial advertising include economic growth as part and parcel of the explosion of the advertising industry witnessed. With disappointing results regarding social equality, the development of the advertising business in the 1990s was characterised by diverse producers of advertising.

Establishing the Advertising Business through Dynamics of Neo-liberal Politics and Social Inequalities

The Indian government and then Prime Minister R. Gandhi took significant steps towards a neo-liberal market in the mid-1980s. They favoured investments in private companies by deregulating the economy while promoting institutions and channels of media and international trade. After the assassination of R. Gandhi in May 1991, successor N. Rao and the newly appointed finance minister M. Singh continued this course. The government's implementation of institutional changes was based on putting forth trust in market forces and belief in the free market and economic growth to contain solutions for eradicating inequalities. The subsequent economic growth is considered a direct result of these economic reforms. Deregulation and privatisation strategies led to a neo-liberal market economy that eliminated the existing License Raj and aligned itself with globalising processes (Ganguly-Scrase & Scrase 2009, pp. 4–5). Thereby, the market was once again opened up to foreign investors. The growing presence of foreign investments, in turn, fuelled media intensification. This is evident in the form of the thriving cable and satellite television networks, engagement of foreign investors, creation of multinational corporations

active in India, and the rise in the number of TV sets in households as well as the growing variety of channels from the 1990s onwards (Schneider 2014). The economic growth catalysed through economic and corporate policies was linked to how commercial advertising and the advertising industry developed since the 1990s. S. Ghosh describes the scope of televised commercial advertisements in the 1990s as "an entire matrix of communicative utterances that, like a trampoline, catapulted the imagined spectator into a world of speed, mobility, and hyper-consumption" (Ghosh 2013, p. 82). This quote illustrates the presence of advertising at that time, often referred to as when the advertising industry "expanded enormously" (Rajagopal 1999, p. 78). Despite a small dip during the financial crisis 2009, this growth continued to grow throughout the 2010s and successive years. Consequently, this was followed by an expansion of the market of advertising agencies and an increase in the presence of campaigns as well as national and transnational networks (Jeffrey 1997, p. 67). The reforms and economic growth spurred not only India's corporate sector but also led to great societal transformations, which included the possibility of upward mobility alongside the increasing and thriving consumer cultures among growing financially-abled population groups. This illustrates how changes in political strategies materialised for many since the 1990s and onwards (Das 2002 [2000], p. xiv; Muppidi 2012, p. 228). In an account of development communication in India, J. V. Vilanilam (2009) describes "the ideas of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation of the 21st century […as] not entirely the same as the ruthless capitalism, unbridled corporate machinations and national aggrandisement of the 19th century" (47–48). This optimistic point of view included seeing benefits in these processes – globalisation in particular – "leading to world-wide economic activity, open markets, competitive and free flow of goods, services, technology, knowledge and even personnel" (53). Vilanilam argues that for any development in society, economic development and growth is a precursor for "human development". In this light, economic growth is considered significant for development communication with an objective of social change alongside a focus on utilising ICT and media cultures for social change (Vilanilam 2009, pp. 36–39, 53, 96). The belief in economic growth in India as the solution to "generate the resources to invest in its people and reduce poverty" (Pilkington 2007, p. 341) is aligned with trust in neo-liberal politics. However, the economic progress expected to benefit people nationwide was unmet. The liberalisation strategies did, for example, not consider "people working in the informal sector" (Pilkington 2007, p. 330). And not only did the economic growth and gain of many not include a great part of the population, but many also continued to struggle despite increasing incomes due to inflation, including rising rents and prices (Ganguly-Scrase & Scrase 2009). The years following the governmental push of neo-liberal financial politics were a testament to critical stances on

neo-liberal politics that foresaw the reproduction and exacerbation of socio-economic inequalities. The sentiment of neo-liberal thought overlooked existing power relations and thereby associated disproportionate accessibility, excluding many from participating in any growth (Ganguly-Scrase & Scrase 2009, p. 7). Social equalities and participation depend on socio-economic belonging stratified according to classes, castes, gender, and other minority statuses. For instance, the dynamics of gender equality and ensuring 'women's' rights illustrate how objectives of directing social change often contrast with many's lived realities.

The idea that liberalisation has gender-based benefits exists in the belief that newly established service and information industries give particularly 'women' many more opportunities (Vilanilam 2009). This imagery is visible in commercial advertisements through the female CEO (Chaudhuri 2001, pp. 375–376). Chaudhuri describes this persona as a "typical corporate executive and upwardly mobile professional who travels, works hard and unwinds at weekend and holidays" (2001, pp. 375–376).[52] However, harmful gender dynamics and examples of misogyny in India persist, e.g. dowry deaths, sexualised harassment and assaults[53] exist across socio-economic belonging. Although the achievements of the Women's Movement in India are noted to have been a vital contribution to the direction of social changes, the possibilities of gaining from opportunities are continuously limited by power relations and accessibility. Many examples of great disparities appear throughout India and remain a critical issue in governmental and civil debates. Particularly the population of urban India illustrates how individuals belonging to groups found at the far ends of the socio-economic spectrum and a range of realities live in close proximities to each other. Governmental institutions, NGOs, and other social organisations persistently engage in the production of schemes and projects to rectify various forms of inequalities, un-freedoms, and other social issues. Many of these efforts to direct change are accompanied by elaborate communication strategies for development. The expansion of the advertising industry alongside the growing diversity of initiators in social campaigning has established an immensely diverse scene of development institutions and hence social change agents. Ultimately, the scene of medialised communication for influencing audi-

52 While this persona entails both men and women reflecting perceived equality, Chaudhuri acknowledges that "the images of a traditional woman homemaker coexist with adverts of female high achievers" (Chaudhuri 2001, pp. 375–376).

53 I use the term 'sexualised' harassment and violence to highlight acts of rape and assault as expressions of power and violence that have been sexualised rather than sexual encounters.

ences thus contains various stakeholders with differing perspectives and discourses. Furthermore, the dynamics between nationalist discourse, transnational networks, and regionalisation strategies and processes intensify the complexities to consider.

Moving between Transnational Flows and Regionalisation

Connected to the strong presence of liberalisation as a catalyser for change, a profound part of change processes are transnational flows. Liberalisation strategies in India included the opening of the market to foreign industries, brands, and companies, leading to the increase of multinational agencies and are thus identified as one of the significant changes that followed (Rajagopal 1998, p. 19; Rajagopal 1999a, pp. 60–61; Chaudhuri 2001, p. 373; Ciochetto 2009, p. 192, 196). Therein, the growth of the advertising industry post-liberalisation is stated to play a defining role in promoting values of transnational realities and globalisation (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 146). While regulations for foreign investments and involvement were revisited, transnational flows remained. News media, for example, were expected to be majority owned by national partner companies in order to air in India, and by 2013 the shares owned in media institutions by foreign investors increased to 49 % (Schneider 2014). Consequently, the landscape of the advertising industry evolving since liberalisation is signified by agencies that are regional offices of multi/transnational companies and networks. For some, this development centres on a privileged class with "a proto-universal culture that has consumerism at its core" (Srikandath 1991, p. 175). However, others illustrate how the media cultures have not developed towards homogenisation but have experienced increasing diversification, especially due to the growing transnational flows (Sundaram 2013, p. 9). In an article on the development of print media in India since the 1980s, N.-C. Schneider (2013) shows how the historical division of the print sector into English-language, Indian-language or regional newspapers is highly inaccurate. Schneider states that "especially the post-liberalisation dynamics of a strong newspaper expansion into smaller urban and rural areas have blurred and continue to blur some of the old imaginary and existing boundaries between these linguistically defined categories" (Schneider 2013, p. 4). This debate highlights how the post-liberalisation age was marked by a growing trend of regionalisation and localisation, where local and regional geographies also gained importance (Schneider 2013, pp. 2–3). Many sectors experienced examples of regionalisation parallel to multinational networks and programming. Jeffrey points to the increasing growth of regional press in the form of daily newspapers in local languages

(Jeffrey 2000, p. 111), while Schneider describes the presence of a growing number of regional TV channels and commercial advertising (Schneider 2013, pp. 2–3). Similarly, Rajagopal discusses the interplay between transnational flows and regional products and argues that local manufacturers, such as low-cost laundry detergent and connected advertisements, challenged the emergence of multinational companies post-liberalisation. At the same time, Rajagopal argues that globalisation existed as a continuing rather than a new phenomenon in Indian advertising (Rajagopal 1998, pp. 18, 26). Despite the apparent changes following liberalisation entailing regionalisation processes, the contextualisation of a colonial past shows the flows between transnational networks and regionalisation to pre-exist the strategies of neo-liberal economics.

Regionalisation equally plays a significant role in producing social campaigns and advertisements. As exemplified in a study by D. Meekers and S. Rahaim (2005) on the importance of socio-economic context for the effectiveness of social marketing, programmes and medialised communication initiated by international organisations were created with local context in mind. International organisations thus considered collaborations with local organisations highly relevant for effectiveness. At the same time, Meekers and Rahaim point to international social marketing organisations supporting local organisations when it comes to technical assistance. Similarly, publications regarding social change initiatives debate the "underdevelopment and poverty in India" with the incentive to deal with societal issues, e.g. A. Sen (1998): "Development as Freedom", and highlight publications by the WHO and the World Bank "extremely valuable sources of updated information on the current socio-economic environment in India" (Pilkington 2007, p. 331). This point of view exemplifies the high regard for international organisations' expertise and sets these transnational institutions in a powerful position of defining discourses. Meekers and Rahaim, and Pilkington thus reproduce a belief regarding international organisations with specialised knowledge that local organisations are missing, a dynamic reminiscent of the incentives of the USA's foreign policy (Meekers & Rahaim 2005, p. 3). Considering the context of rural India regarding social attitudes and access to health and education services, Pilkington similarly refers to the benefits of public and private institutions as "a subtle dialectic between local development initiatives and global integration" (Pilkington 2007). Social advertising has come to exist within the greater context of development communication and interventions for social change. Therein, international involvement in humanitarian causes and social change can be seen in the presence of a long list of international organisations, for example, the various branches of the United Nations such as UNFPA (The United Nations Population Fund), UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization)

and so on or WHO, Oxfam, and transnational NGOs.[54] Though India has transitioned towards becoming one of the so-called new emerging donors (Mosse & Lewis 2005, p. 29), international organisations represent a constant presence of transnational relationships through which funds as well as ideologies flow. At the same time, local participation and ownership have gained importance since formulating the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2001). While participation as an important approach in development communication had its beginnings in the late 1940s (Colle 2008 [2003], p. 126), the discourses of international development communities intensified these aspects at the beginning of 2000 in an attempt to adjust power relations contained in international development strategies. Highlighting local participation as well as ownership thus again became central in development initiatives (OECD 2005). Discourses within networks of development organisations thus mirror the dynamic within the advertising industry in India. However, these discourses set national governmental regulations as central to decisions regarding transnational flows and processes of regionalisation as part of commercial advertising. At the same time, they illustrate an international community to influence these dynamics within objectives to direct change processes. Despite these differences, the interplay between transnational networks and regional institutions shows parallels in the relationship between the advertising industry and the social sector.

The Role of National Identities and Gender in Processes of Growth and Development

In the wake of foreign brands', investors', companies', and networks' increasing presence, imagery relating to national and regional identities became more prominent as part of commercial advertising in order to make products relevant within cultural and social contextual settings.[55] Connections made between products and an Indian identity were regarded as an effective sales strategy and used by foreign brands, international advertising agencies and local businesses alike (Mazzarella 2003a, pp. 14–23). Campaigns initiated by the government during the Emergency carried the sentiment of supporting the nation through consumerism with the slogans "Be Indian, Buy Indian" or "Develop greater

54 A range of social organisations have offices in other countries or are funded by organisations based in the United States of America or Europe.

55 For example, in the form of language choices as an important factor in considering regional realities in commercial and social advertising alike (see, for example, Jeffrey 1997).

pride in Indian products and Indian skills". According to Rajagopal, these messages offered "good advice framed in such a way that one was expected to agree and, perhaps, pass the word on" (Rajagopal 2011a, pp. 1026–1029). Eventually, campaigns promoting products alongside ideologies and ideas were noted to incorporate symbolism and slogans adhering to ideas of nationalism. Advertisements combined the political discussions on liberalisation strategies as means for development with consumerist objectives and aspirations for 'modernity' (Schneider 2006, pp. 823–824). The 1980s and 1990s thus incorporated ideas of national pride into its communicative strategies, building on the focus on brands and intangible values. According to Chaudhuri (2014), the growing advertisement industry's influence on the media was not only a mirror of the existing debates and changes but "the driving force in publicising the new rhetoric of globalisation" (146). Similarly, a study on advertising production in the early 2000s and its linkage to globalisation and Indian identity acknowledges the power of advertising imageries and its producers. Therein J. Cayla and M. Elson (2012) see advertising professionals and other cultural brokers as active parts in reinforcing a cultural divide between a transnational elite and a "vernacular class of Indians". Discussing how practitioners envision the existing target audiences, they highlight the importance of language as a marker of social distinction (pp. 300–305). Focussing on brand managers creating regional Asian brands, Cayla and Eckhardt (2008) point to new webs of interconnectedness through the construction of an imagined transnational Asian world signified as urban, modern, and multicultural. Cayla and Eckhardt argue that "unlike national brands claiming to be 'sons of the soil', regional brands claim no territorial attachment. This deterritorialisation helps them appear both globalising and Asian" (Cayla & Eckhardt 2008, p. 223). While the imageries of 'modern' global Indians took up great space within much of the current marketing, national belonging, as depicted in advertising, was thus equally important. This dynamic gave way to differentiations between a transnational image of the Indian consumer in opposition to national rhetoric addressing non-English speaking Indians. In the context of the Asian market, national belonging played a more significant role when marketing for national brands and led to positioning in relation to the Asian region. Accordingly, the prominent image and use of the global Indian as a symbol for 'modernity', as Mazzarella (2003b) describes in the examination of the predicament of an Indian consumer-electronics corporation that saw the sudden influx of foreign brands after 1991, led to products being marked as "Indian". Rajagopal refers to the previous seclusion from the global market as a determinant for this. A distinction as Indian was thematically unnecessary before, while after liberalisation, "indianess" was increasingly focussed on as a distinct feature (Rajagopal 2011b). The conceptualisation of shifting identities from transnational towards

national is exemplified through the inclusion of 'non-resident Indians' (NRI) by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), that in the 1990s, grew to be the largest single party. NRIs, previously seen as 'Westernised' now, were increasingly described as "global Indians". Schneider points to this strategy as part of a national objective to attract investments and cash flow. The integration of Indians living abroad into the "national family" and hence the global Indian became an important symbol in the evolving advertising industry (Schneider 2006, p. 829). The dynamics of the national and the global thus emerged from globalisation processes and liberalisation strategies, making messages of marketing and advertising a constant deliberation between the local and the global, culture and consumerism, as well as the abstract and the concrete (Mazzarella 2003, pp. 3, 17–18). These imageries were utilised heavily in advertising, especially commercial advertising.

Debates connecting nationalism and gender build upon discourses regarding gender during colonialism and thus continuously centre 'women' in discussions of gender. As a prominent exemplification in commercial advertising stands the image of 'the new Indian woman' that emerges as a figure combining ideas of femininity and nationalism. In the publication "Wife/mother/daughter-in-law: multiple avatars of homemaker in 1990s Indian advertising", S. Munshi (1998) presents connections between gender and national identities as part of the existing power relations of gendered patterns (Munshi 2001, p. 11). Within post-economic reform, responsibility is directed at the 'woman' to save the modernisation project without 'westernisation' (Munshi 1998, p. 585; Srivatsan 2000, p. 97). In a study on commercial advertisements and gender images in the English print media in India, Chaudhuri (2001) discusses "shifts in the Indian state's economic policy in favour of globalisation" accompanied by "a shift in public discourse as evidenced in the media". Chaudhuri argues that characteristics of the Indian female identity were created through the dominant discourse of social reform, nationalism and independent India's state policies and deemed authentically Indian (Chaudhuri 2001, p. 379). Even though liberalisation did its part in "redefining ideas about dominant representations of Indian masculinity", the continued reproduction of icons of femininity contained many of the already existing imageries alongside new ideas of the "modern Indian woman" (Chaudhuri 2001, pp. 379, 382). Accordingly, the "female consumer" as a target group became a major focus of the growing market research strategies (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 148). At the same time, the Women's Movement played a significant part in how dynamics between gender, media, and popular culture have formed. Alongside the "radical break from a long period of state-initiated development based on import substitution, and a focus on equity rather than growth", the influence of the Women's Movement in India – the second phase situated in the 1970s in particular – continued "the

deployment of gender as a key icon of public discourse" (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 145).[56] Economic growth, the expansion of media institutions and technologies, and the presence of foreign media institutions constitute a threefold manifestation of change in India. Media cultures have thus gained in importance and mingled an increase in the visibility of social issues concerning 'women's' rights with "the logic of a culture in which self-representation, image construction, brand building and communication are extremely important" (Chaudhuri 2014, pp. 145–146). The significance of these discourses concerning the dynamics of media and social change can hence not be overstated. The connections of nationalist debates and social change discourses, particularly in regard to gender, not only play out in advertising but are a fundamental part of efforts to direct change processes. As much as advertising content reflects networks and present discourses, consideration of the context of the advertising business, production sites, and the role of advertising in change processes is of utmost importance.

1.3 The Role of Advertising and its Producers in Directing Social Change – Conditions of the Historical Context of Social Initiatives and Marketing

To recap, since its development as a modern industry from its initial phase in the late 18th century, producers of commercial advertising became a vital part of producing media content for social change endeavours in India. This was the case, especially in the form of governmental development initiatives and through the utilisation of marketing from the 1950s. At the same time, development efforts and reform politics pre-independence were re-conceptualised as social marketing with various production sites, i.e. non-governmental and governmental, as part of regional, national, and international networks. The current scope of medialised communication for influencing audiences is hence built upon the contextual circumstances that intensified pre-existing foundations besides liberalisation strategies, the intertwining of neo-liberal consumerism with state-led incentives for social change, and a growing presence of non-governmental organisations. Therein, the dynamics of the advertising industry and social change initiatives show extensive connectedness, interlinkages, and overlaps of commercial and social arenas. Social change hence came to be an

56 This phase saw an increase in the media coverage and public debate on dowry, rape and the legal rights of women and was a prelude to the increase in visibility of the gender discourse as well as feminism from the 1990s (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 146).

integral part of commercial advertising and its production sites alongside efforts of development communities. The advertising arenas and production sites can therefore be described as highly diverse and consist of a complex network of individuals engaging in the production of advertising.

Directing Change Processes through Medialised Communication – Differentiation, Diversity, and Intertwining

The position of advertising as a potent dimension of medialised communication secures marketing strategies as harnessing specific knowledge of how to influence audiences. In the assumption that marketing strategies of commercial advertising have an influence on people's behaviour and encourage people to buy or use one specific brand or service (Das 2007, p. 1), this type of medialised communication is trusted in its persuasive function in social initiatives (Waisbord 2001, p. 6). Through the use of marketing, the interplay between development communication and methods of selling products and services are highlighted. Social marketing adopted several strategies into the field of development communication that overlap with commercial marketing. Among them, "consumer research, pretesting, targeting, audience segmentation, and campaign evaluation" (Morris 2003, p. 229). The four key elements – or "4 Ps" – of the marketing mix to be considered include 1) product, 2) price, 3) place, 4) promotion (Wei et al. 2011). In accounts of commercial advertising with social aspects such as "green marketing"[57] or as part of social change initiatives in the form of social marketing, the "4 Ps" can either be expanded by an additional "4 Ps": 1) publics, 2) partnerships, 3) policy, 4) purse strings (Sharma 2014) or translated into the "4 As": 1) acceptability, 2) affordability, 3) accessibility, 4) availability (Das 2016). Although the incorporation of marketing into development communication as part of directing social change separates it from commercial marketing, advertising, as defined by the AMA, makes no distinction of this type. While the term advertising is usually connected to commercial advertising and a sub-area within marketing (Shaw & Jones 2005, p. 241), the objective to influence audiences is common ground between commercial and social campaigns.

57 The idea of "Green marketing", for example, refers to advertising that, according to Singh and Khan "highlights the environmental benefits of a product or service" (Singh & Khan 2015, p. 156). This approach saw its beginning in the 1970s and, in the last ten years, found footing in accordance with discourses of ecological and social realities (Sharma 2014).

On the streets of India, awareness campaigns regarding public health – many initiated by governmental bodies – are widespread and are visible alongside their commercial counterparts. At the same time, topics regarding social change regularly become central in other parts of media cultures. News platforms airing on New Delhi Television Limited (NDTV), operating since 1988, or entertainment talk shows like Satyamev Jayate[58] centre discussions on social issues as part of their programming. Similarly, in the article "Good Times, Brought to You by Brand Modi", R. Kaur (2015) describes how the current ruling party, the BJP drew on marketing logic and brand promotion and used social media networks in the political campaign in 2014. N. Modi's continuous use of medialised communication and the use of the hashtag #achhedin as branding of Modi's political campaign was based on the election slogan "achhe din aane waale hain" (translation from Hindi: good days are coming) and the conceptualisation of "brand Modi" that was created to promise reforms and radical change.[59] The importance given to advertising as a tool in political marketing is further eminent in Prime Minister Modi's involvement in social marketing campaigns. For example, the government supported the campaign Selfie with Daughter initiated in 2015, addressing son-preference based on the census report 2011 that revealed large discrepancies between male and female children born. During the 2019 campaign, the BJP continued its use of social media platforms in the national election (Kuchay 2019) and included the slogan "Main bhi chowkidar" (translation from Hindi: I too am a watchman), which illustrates a reaction to critical voices pointing out exclusionary politics (Mukhopadhyay 2019). All in all, the government's continuous conviction of the media's influential power and the utilisation of marketing and advertising are evident (Bhandare 2015). Media cultures continuously serve as channels and as part of strategies for discussing social issues, play a central role in communicating change and continuity, promoting and directing change processes, providing platforms for critical discussions, voicing resistance, and encouraging debate. Moreover, the advances in media technologies have enabled new channels and connections in the form of online activism or hashtag activism, e.g. #metoo, and created spaces for debates on social issues that are regionally specific and globally

58 This TV show, which premiered in 2012, is described as "a TV show that discusses and provides possible solutions to address social issues in India" (Star Plus no date), with film celebrity and director A. Khan hosting individuals who engaged with social issues in their region, thus documenting these efforts.

59 Due to the realisation that change did not occur as promised, the hashtag was retweeted on media platforms, and social media in particular, to display growing dissatisfaction (Kaur 2015).

connected. Thereby, 'discourses of change' are interlinked across regions and contain transnational perspectives, while individuals have increased opportunities to contribute to and initiate debates through media campaigns.

Looking at the Indian context, the various attempts to direct social change processes through media cultures and noteworthy connections between the advertising industry and social change outweighs their differences. Its diversity and intertwining signified the current stage of medialised messages in India. I, therefore, do not consider social marketing "selling" ideas, ideologies, and behavioural patterns merely as marketing strategies utilised for "the common good" (Waisbord 2001, p. 6) but seek to highlight the commonalities and intertwining of sectors often seen as separate. Due to this position, I use the term advertising for any medialised communication with the intent to influence audiences, whether the objective is social or commercial. While diversity is visible in commercial advertising, social advertising, and political and official announcements, its significance is found in its connectedness that contains not only overlaps and collaboration but highly complex intertwining found in content, networks, and production. In particular, the production sites become the centre of this project. This focus enables insights into various arenas, perspectives, and processes.

Arenas of Production and Diversity of Advertising Producers

The diversity of production sites of advertising in India naturally entails an equally diverse set of advertising producers. Once more, the national-building project exemplifies the involvement of the advertising industry in this social change initiative and illustrates the intertwining of the advertising industry and the social sector on several levels. On a financial level, the advertising industry was given an important role, making the production of edutainment serials possible. Professionals in the advertising industry took over, as state bodies did not find any production companies in the Hindi film industry to engage in the creation of the shows (Mankekar 1999, pp. 69, 72). In exchange for a fee and covering the production costs, companies or advertising agencies were given 90 seconds of airtime for promoting products in connection with the aired serial (Mankekar 1999, p. 69). This situated advertising and its agencies amid the nation-building project and social change initiatives while providing "advertisers with a huge captive audience of middle-class families with the discretionary income to buy new products" (Mankekar 1999, p. 72). Considering the popularity of TV serials, the spread of commercial advertising as part of people's daily lives was ensured. At the same time, intersections of consumerism, social change, and Indian 'modernity' became the pillars of governmental

attempts to direct change processes. The provision of funds and skills in producing the family-centred telenovelas parallel to campaigns in support of the governmental plans for 'modernisation' through consumerism placed the advertising industry in a crucial role in directing social change processes. As stated in the five-year plans of 1976 and 1979, advertising was considered beneficial and was launched "to inform and educate the people on matters of immediate and long-term interest" (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting 1976, p. 138). The communication strategies initiated by the DAVP were thus strongly tied to the growing advertising industry and the promotion of consumerism. The advertising professionals were hence not merely an outcome of economic growth expanding areas of expertise but were also significant players in social change processes initiated through the governmental agenda. Advertising industry professionals and their networks in India must therefore be considered an essential part of media production.

The drastic insurgence of civil society activism in the form of newly founded NGOs during the 1980s established another meaningful production site for social advertising. Many NGOs create their own visual campaigns for directing change processes and, as such, increasingly contribute to the campaigns present. At the same time, NGOs, international organisations, and governmental bodies continuously draw on the expertise of advertising agencies and marketing experts to produce and implement campaigns. NGOs, for example, become pro-bono clients and thereby engage advertising agencies in the process of creating social campaigns. Similarly, governmental bodies function as clients of advertising agencies which specialise in governmental advertising, despite often being associated with regulating advertising or supporting existing campaigns, as seen in various campaigns initiated by NGOs. These areas of production hence give way to complexities between media production, the individuals involved, and social change. Development workers become clients alongside their own role as educators and advertising producers. Ultimately, the presence of different players in social campaign production becomes increasingly evident with the assignment of education given to employees of advertising agencies, considered to have power and skills to encourage change and thus taking over the pedagogical project (Rajagopal 1998, pp. 28–29). Liberalisation strategies transferred the role of economic development to the corporate sector, and the advertising industry was not only continuously involved in communicating governmental incentives but also took over as an institution to educate alongside NGOs. The space of medialised communication produced to influence audiences and direct social change is shared by the commercial advertising industry with private companies, governmental institutions, international development organisations, NGOs and other social organisations as their clients alongside in-house produced campaigns by social organisations with simi-

lar experience and expertise. Producers of advertising are hence 1) employees, activists, and volunteers connected to NGOs, international development and other social organisations and 2) staff and marketing professionals of the advertising industry.

With this highly diverse and complex media production arena, the individuals producing advertisements and the content in question become equally diverse, as detailed in chapters three and four. Structures of transnational, international, and national institutions and organisations all contribute with various perspectives, including the role of media in the discourses of development and progress. This complex network in the field of producing medialised messages for social change and diversity of advertising entails the intertwining of political, commercial, and social engagement. India's regional and contextual setting provides the foundation for the understanding of media cultures in this publication.

2 Reviewing the Debates on the Influence of Advertising – Considering the Role of Production, Content & Reception

In chapter one, I show the historical connections between the advertising industry and agendas of social change and argue for an expansive definition of advertising. In the following, I outline relevant debates in academia regarding the role of media in change processes as well as the influence of advertising and its linkages to social change. I divide this chapter into two main parts. First, I consider theories of change established in different disciplinary fields. Theories of change can be defined as "the conceptual model for achieving a collective vision" (Stachowiak 2013 [2009], p. 2). I thereby connect the empirical core of this project with existing theorisation on the role of media in change processes and social change in particular and deal with the question of the role of advertising in social change within a greater field of media and change while acknowledging the importance of regionally specific research. The specifics of studies focussing on media cultures in India connect the history of research regarding advertising with the diverse fields and debates they contain, including Development Studies and feminist Media Studies. The second part details publications concerned with advertising and change. Here I highlight the overwhelming body of research analysing the content of commercial advertising with discussions regarding its relevance for social change in particular alongside the reception of social campaigns. This research generally is marked by a marginal presence of advertising producers' perspectives. Many studies allocate extraordinary responsibilities regarding ethical media production to producers of advertising, but their perspectives are rarely present in these studies.

With advertising and change processes central to my research question, the sources included came from various disciplinary branches. Through my literature review, I identify trends in how advertising from the social sector and commercial advertising are studied and considered differently regarding their role in change processes and social change. Where social campaigns are considered for the direct influential aspect of each advertisement, commercial advertising is largely understood in its capacity to create and reproduce patterns of imageries beyond the incentive to promote products and brands. While

chapter one points towards immense intertwining throughout the advertising business, the studies reviewed distance themselves from centring on these circumstances.

2.1 Embedding Advertising Research in India in an Interdisciplinary Field of Theories

In the following part, I outline theoretical discussions regarding the dynamic between media cultures and change processes and present trends in the studies of advertising in India. The role of media in societies – including content, institutions, and technologies – is a thoroughly discussed field with a particular interest in the theorisation of change processes. Different disciplines thus contribute with a variety of meaningful insights into extant 'discourses of change' while empirical studies of advertising in India are embedded in this interdisciplinary field of theories of change. Here, I thus connect the inquiry into advertising in India with processes of medialisation, globalisation, and social change and establish the pertinence of this project through extant themes in a greater field of research.

Centring Regional Contextualisations within Insights from Theories regarding Media and Change

This interdisciplinary field of studies contains theorisations of change processes in relation to media culture. The importance associated with media cultures in regard to societies' structures is, for example, captured by the theorisation of medialisation processes. Founded in Media and Communication Studies, medialisation processes represent the interplay between media and change. The debates align themselves with ideas regarding the influential power of media. They are infused with a theorisation of this power through an understanding of global media structures as a fundamental component in communication and social structures. They suggest that individual, organisational, institutional, and systemic change is strongly tied to changes in communication and media cultures (Meyen 2009, pp. 9–17). Medialisation as described in the anthology "Social Dynamics 2.0: Researching Change in Times of Media Convergence. Case Studies from the Middle East and Asia" edited by N.-C. Schneider and B. Gräf (2011) takes "specific historical prerequisites and the local socio-cultural, political and economic underlying circumstances" into

account (p. 18).[60] Change processes are hence not exclusively connected to media's influence through technical innovation and densification of media. Instead, the importance of media culture is found in the interplay between media and its users and audiences by highlighting consideration for the appropriation of media technologies. In other words, "it depends largely on the conceptions with which people adopt media technologies, on the media practices they develop, and on how they integrate these in their everyday life" (Schneider & Gräf 2011, p. 19). Medialisation hence contains dynamics of establishing networks and institutions, the content and interpretation of meaning within medialised communication, advances made in media technologies, and the appropriation and practices of media use. This theorisation of media provides the importance of media cultures, including its producers, consumers, and production sites in relation to societies' structures and contexts. Accordingly, debates concerning advertising and change are entangled with key events, stakeholders, and movements of social change processes, as described in chapter one. For instance, as medialised communication became increasingly significant as part of the nation-building project initiated in the early years of post-independence India, diverse arenas and individuals involved were embedded in beliefs of media's usefulness and influential power. Intersections of the belief in providing scientific information and later edutainment as the basis for development and as a solution for inequalities, and the importance given to liberalisation strategies linking economic growth with theories of development, played an important role in debates regarding advertising and change processes. The history of India's advertising business thus lays out significant preconditions, developments, and discourses fundamental to understanding the role of advertising and its producers in this specific context. The historical and socio-political events and circumstances have thus led to the current stage of medialised communication that seeks to influence audiences and represent medialisation processes in this context.

The conviction of media cultures' power proposed by media practitioners, academics, and other stakeholders alike is widely integrated into efforts towards social change in the fields of development practice and Development

60 The theorisation of medialisation alongside mediatisation processes represents ongoing debates regarding the role of media in society. Though sometimes used almost synonymously, the ideas found in mediatisation theories deal with "the processes of an increasing spreading of technical communication media in different social and cultural spheres" (Hepp 2009, p. 141). However, medialisation provides an all-encompassing understanding of media's role in social change processes.

Studies.[61] Theories of change concerning the role of media in these fields combine the fundamental question of how to direct change processes with the utilisation of media culture. With the intent to determine how to get from one point to another, this theorisation addresses "linkages among the strategies, outcomes, and goals that support a broader mission or vision" (Stachowiak 2013 [2009], p. 2). Development communication takes up a central role within social initiatives, engaging medialised communication within the development agenda. R. D. Colle defines development communication as "the planned and systematic use of communication through interpersonal channels, and audiovisual and mass media" (Colle 2008 [2003], p. 126). In the publication "Communicating Social Change. Structure, Culture, and Agency", M. J. Dutta (2011) distinguishes between four principles or "entry points" that reflect projects of development communication and ultimately produce four approaches to directing social change processes: individual-level approaches, structural approaches, top-down approaches, and participatory approaches. Individual-level approaches are based on the belief that individual change brings societal change through changes in knowledge, attitude and practices (KAP) (Dutta 2011, pp. 32–34). Structural approaches acknowledge underlying inequalities and focus on transforming structures through redistributive justice (Dutta 2011, pp. 34–37). Top-down approaches consider development a universal evolution from uneducated to educated, while participatory approaches draw on workshop formats and dialogue as key to development work for creating structural change (Dutta 2011, pp. 37–38).[62] These trends are described in the publication "Communication for Social Change Anthology", edited by Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte (2006). Therein, Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte differentiate between individual behavioural change brought on through information and knowledge and social change in terms of shifting structural inequalities. Alongside this distinction, these approaches illustrate the various connections within development discourses. According to Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte, the two main threads in development communication, as mentioned above, are inspired by

61 As described by R. B. Potter, development contains development theories that aim to explain how development has occurred and how it should occur, development strategies which constitute the practical path to development, and development ideologies representing different agendas concerning social, economic, cultural, ethical, moral, and religious influences (Potter 2002, pp. 61–62).

62 The participatory approach was spearheaded by P. Freire (1970 [1968]) as a critical reaction to paternalistic tendencies in development communication and articulated in the publication "Pedagogy of the Oppressed", first in Portuguese and later translated and published in English.

modernisation theories and dependency theories, respectively.[63] Thereby, they are connected to the foreign policies of the USA, as mentioned in chapter one, as well as the critical stances towards power relations within development initiatives (Gumucio-Dagron & Tufte 2006, p. xvi). In a detailed account of development communication titled "Threads of Development Communication" (2008 [2003]) with insights from the Food and Agriculture Organization in 1989, Colle highlights how participation became an essential part of the critique towards modernisation theory through dependency theory. As part of J. Servaes' anthology "Communication for Development and Social Change", Colle identifies "conscious and active participation […] at every stage of the development process" as a fundamental aspect of development communication (Colle 2008 [2003], p. 126). Further, Colle argues that the inclusion of social marketing into development communication greatly influenced communication practices within development initiatives, further increasing the importance of research in order to adjust to "beneficiaries'" needs (Colle 2008 [2003], pp. 134–135). Similarly, Waisbord – in mapping the "Family Tree of Theories, Methodologies and Strategies in Development Communication" (2001) – points out that social marketing did not come out of the classic development discourses of diffusion of innovation[64] connected to modernisation theory, or participatory theories (p. 6). Nevertheless, Waisbord argues that its "focus on behaviour change, understanding of communication as persuasion ('transmission of information'), and top-down approach to instrument change suggested an affinity with modernisation and diffusion of innovation theories. Similar to diffusion theory, it conceptually subscribed to a sequential model of behaviour change in which individuals cognitively move from acquisition of knowledge to adjustment of attitudes toward behaviour change" (Waisbord 2001, p. 6). Social change within this perspective is understood with its premise in individuals' behavioural practices as the foundation for changing systemic patterns of society. In contrast, Colle notes that social marketing is distinctly different from its origins in commercial marketing (Colle 2008 [2003], pp. 134–135). However, the connection to

63 Dependency theory evolved from struggles against colonial and dictatorial powers in previously colonised countries of Africa, Latin America, and Asia (Gumucio-Dargron & Tufte 2006, p. xvi). As a critical stance towards modernisation theory, dependency theory pointed out the power relations that fostered and reproduced dependency between previous colonisers and colonised through hegemonic patterns of "global economic relations" (Curran & Park 2000, p. 5).

64 This theory was established by development communication practitioner E. Rogers in the early 1960s and connected to modernisation theory with its premise of spreading new ideas and information in order to influence behavioural practices (Morris 2003, p. 226; see also Gumucio-Dagron & Tufte 2006, pp. 110–125).

the marketing techniques in applied economics on which social marketing is based is a given. Some even argue that by adopting marketing strategies into development communications, the "gap between the corporate sector and public welfare" has been bridged (Hastings & Saren 2003, p. 307). The discourses in development communication regarding theories of change thus contain crucial reflections of the theoretical foundation for and evolution of development initiatives as well as elements of theorising approaches to directing change processes through medialised communication. While Development Studies draw heavily from development practices, other academic disciplines such as Sociology, Political Sciences, Media and Communication Studies, and Cultural Studies are equally influential in these debates (Stachowiak 2013 [2009], p. 26). This interdisciplinarity is apparent in discussions about problematic aspects of directing change processes within the arena of development agendas. The critical stances towards modernisation theory and development industries mirror the critique of the importance given to media technologies in mediatisation theories forming normative ideas regarding modernisation and development (Schneider & Gräf 2011, p. 20). Schneider and Gräf stress approaches moving beyond determining a single direction of global media development. Consequently, it is essential to consider how media development and processes of change can lead to contrasting tendencies (Schneider & Gräf 2011, pp. 19–20). This point of view proposes diverse and divergent possibilities of change processes over linear models of change that contain limited perspectives of what is of value (Huesca 2006, p. 570). These theories about media and change contribute counterpoints within 'discourses of change'.

Schools of marketing thought and advertising as a sub-area are based on the conviction that media institutions, technologies, and content are tools to influence audiences. Marketing is the common denominator that entails strategies to influence audiences successfully. Throughout the 20th century in India, as detailed in chapter one, and the 'West', social campaigning and commercial advertising were developed into professions and studies (see Shaw & Jones 2005). The significance of these fields is found through the interest in identifying what could effectively direct audiences to change behaviour. Thereby advertising constitutes a prominent part of 'discourses of change'. However, studies of media have moved away from thinking about media solely as an instrument. Instead, the focus is directed at the media's role as part of dynamics in societies and "sites where construction, negotiation, and reconstruction of cultural meaning takes place in an ongoing process of maintenance and change of cultural structures, relationships, meaning, and value" (Horsfield 2008, p. 113). In the context of discussing socialisation processes in Social Sciences and debates in Cultural Studies, the works by structuralist and post-structuralist sociologists and anthropologists contributed with revolutionising theorisations of

advertising, in particular, e.g. the study by J. Williamson (1978) titled "Decoding Advertisements (Ideas in Progress). Ideology and Meaning in Advertising" but also within Critical Media Studies in general (see Sundaram 2013, p. 11). With inspiration from these discourses, authors gave increasing focus to particularly commercial advertising as a cultural text. Since S. Hall's work "Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse" was published in 1973, a comprehensive theory of communication developed which deals extensively with the question of reception and hence the effect of medialised messages.[65] Central therein is "the fundamental instability of language [that entails that] meaning can never be permanently fixed" (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p. 6). The reaction of individuals depends on their personal context within the local and the global. Meaning becomes dependent on the realities of each person, and medialised messages can therefore have multiple meanings. This leads possible responses to be multiple and diverse, and thus to the potential for the effects and impact of messages, images and imageries to differ significantly. These complexities of reception hence represent a debate that challenges the assumption of being able to predict how media content will affect its audiences. In connection with beliefs about media's influential power and its continuous use in development communication and commercial marketing, these theorisations reflect debates regarding the success of advertising campaigns. The perspectives concerned with the role of media in society with regard to processes of social change thus entail correlating and contrasting ideas. Discourses regarding change processes are interwoven and illustrate the fluidity of discursive knowledge that is a central part of the framework comprised through 'discourses of change'.

As mentioned, Media Studies in India found their way into academia between the 1960s and the 1980s through the connection to the nation-building project strategies of development communication and interests in determining their effectiveness. With the importance of reception studies, establishing market research in India was a significant element in connecting empirical studies and an emerging field in academia. While drawing heavily on ideology theories, e.g. structuralism, Marxism, and critical theory, the circumstances of Media studies in India reflect a discipline based on a specific field of empirical reception studies (Sundaram 2013, pp. 3–7). In light of change processes in rela-

65 In the reworked essay "Encoding/Decoding" from 1980, Hall criticises mass communication research for its positivist stance regarding fixed meanings within medialised communication (Procter 2004, p. 59). According to Hall, medialised content has been produced with a specific meaning in mind – encoded – and is by the recipients interpreted – decoded – at the point of reception (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p. 16; Procter 2004, p. 59).

tion to media cultures in India, a range of studies deal with the interplay between media and social change. Within the tradition of determining the effect and impact of media content, reception studies in the form of ethnographic accounts cater to these concerns. For example, the works by P. Mankekar (1993; 1999) centre audiences' experiences of television and Indian serials, linking the medialised messages at hand with the construction of identity regarding gender and national belonging.[66] Similarly, S. Munshi (2010) gives a detailed account of extant TV serials and their production from 2000–2008. R. Parameswaran (2001) studied the role of romance novels in the lives of young middle- and upper-class 'women' in postcolonial urban India, and S. D. Derne (2008) interviewed "non-élite urban Indian men" and discusses the role of economic and cultural globalisation in social change processes in India in connection with Hollywood films and cable TV (Derne 2008, pp. 11–19, 34). These studies align with this field's common trend, identifying and describing the connections between media cultures and change processes. They provide examples for discussions of sociological models of social change, i.e. theorising historical developments according to societies' social structures and thereby establishing interpretations, understanding, and models of change processes (Sztompka 1994). These trends are equally prominent in the field of advertising and social change. Munshi, for example, discusses the relevance of commercial advertising of household appliances in relation to empowerment and argues that buying a washing machine without the husband's approval can be seen as a step towards independence (Munshi 1998, p. 580). This scenario exemplifies marketing strategies as part of processes of social change that relate to the approaches of development communication. With reference to medialisation processes, media contribute with cultural references and social meaning. Media cultures thus provide insights into the fluid interactions of the cultural and social systems, institutions and individuals of media production, and audiences. The academic debates on the role of media and its content in relation to change processes are hence present across disciplinary foci.

Specific historical and contextual particularities of certain regions, as contained in the studies mentioned above, deal with accounts of empirical studies as well as the role of, for example, cultural globalisation in this particular region. As pointed out by Sundaram, processes of medialisation follow the specifics of their contexts, e.g. the role of cassette culture and media piracy as low-cost alternatives to regulated media production or the spread of mobile phones

66 The audiences were described as 'men' and 'women' struggling for upwardly-mobility and "middle-classness". They were observed and interviewed for their perceptions of, and reaction to, messages contained in edutainment serials (Mankekar 1999, pp. 139–140).

as an element in media accessibility and digitalisation (Sundaram 2013, pp. 6–10; see also Ghosh 2013, p. 2). Similarly, the circumstances of newspaper production and circulation in India in the late 20th century exemplify multidirectional and regionally specific developments in connection with the advertising industry in particular (Jeffrey 2000, pp. 60–74) and illustrate contextual particularities of change processes that are different from other regions (Schneider 2005, pp. 116–117; Sundaram 2013, p. 11). In the context of the advertising business in India, the interplay between this field and global medialisation processes stands as an appropriation of present discourses that shows regional specifics due to its historical and cultural setup. The region-specific empirical studies of reception based in Social Sciences point to the interconnectedness of existing theorisations of change processes and provide a particular contextual setting. Just as the role of globalisation processes has been debated thoroughly throughout the late 20th century, theories of global media cultures contain discussions about their universal relevance and applicability in contrast to region-specific empirical studies. With the increasing density of media technologies, transnational networks, and growing access and appropriation of media cultures, the idea of a homogenised "global village" was countered with realisations of multidirectional media flows (see Curran & Park 2000, pp. 9–11; Hepp 2009, p. 4). Insights into specific regional contexts thus challenge the persistent reproduction of underlying hegemonic patterns and theorisations of a global media culture that assume homogenising circumstances (Curran & Park 2000, p. 6; Sundaram 2013, p. 9). The globalisation of cultural representations with trans-local characteristics, as visible in India, exemplifies how advertising agencies and social organisations are part of global networks. Studies of media cultures in regionally specific contexts thus reflect 'discourses of change' signified by its setting as well as its connection to diverse patterns of global media cultures. In order to interpret trends in the academic discussions of advertising in India, I revisit the history of research regarding the advertising business. In the following, I summarise the groundwork of this field and thus contextualise the academic trends that follow.

Old and New Themes in the Field of Advertising and Social Change

As outlined above, the field of advertising and change in India is embedded in the discourses, theorisations, and empirical studies of the role of media cultures. Further, the understanding of the advertising business within this project is signified by the historical and contextual circumstances of these media cultures and the immense intertwining of the social sector and commercial marketing. It is therefore relevant to include the history of research regarding both

commercial and social advertising in the review of the academic debates of advertising in India and consider these debates in relation to greater processes at hand. Authors discussing advertising and social change in India have considered a range of events and circumstances as particularly noteworthy in a society's change processes and, as such, distinguish these particularities in relation to the advertising business as change catalysts. Among them, Chaudhuri (2014), for example, sets studies of commercial advertising in the context of globalisation. Like many others, Chaudhuri discusses the implications of major events and developments as significant components in catalysing change processes in India while connecting these circumstances with the current understanding of gender. Hereto belong changes in governmental development policies, the Women's Movement in India, and increasing importance given to self-representation and image construction (pp. 145–146). In comparison, Rajagopal (2011a) sets out to understand the formation of the new 'middle class' in India during the Emergency and the relationship between state politics of coercion and the role of medialised communication in the form of social marketing.

As part of the intersections of these contextual events and circumstances, advertising and social change processes, social structures, and identities have been at the core of the discussions present. Social identities framed by gender, caste, class, nationality, or religion have often been related in these discussions to themes of 'modernity', 'middle classness', or 'social mobility' (see, for example, Rajagopal 1998; Rajagopal 1999; Mankekar 1999; Chaudhuri 2001; Schneider 2006; Haynes 2010; Cayla & Eckhardt 2012). Rajagopal, for example, points towards the new 'middle-class' becoming central in the nation-building project and its creation as a 'modern' nation. It is also an essential conceptualisation of the target group within the evolving consumerist culture. The discussion on the role of commercial advertising thus included intersections of this financially-abled group, ideas of 'modernity', and 'discourses of change' (Rajagopal 2011a, p. 1045). As Chaudhuri states, referring to the incorporation of commonalities or feelings of belonging: "social identity [functions] as elements in [commercial] advertising in order to speak to the audiences" (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 147). At the same time, Rajagopal points out the exclusion of "the poor and marginalised" regarding representation, as advertising agencies increasingly catered to an urban, well-to-do, elite, English-speaking audience (Rajagopal 2011b). With the importance of considering social identities as depicted in commercial advertising, scholars argue that the imageries in advertising play the role of "delegitimising space in public discourse for the majority of Indian men and women" (Chaudhuri 2001, p. 374).

Within these discussions on class, national identities, and medialised communication beyond adverting, intersections with gender are prominent. With stereotypical gender imageries so prominent in commercial advertising, female

personas' representation became a focal point among feminist activists and academics alike. Similarly, Chaudhuri's take on the visibility and representation of 'women' in print media singles out the 1990s as an era of an increase in visibility of themes of feminism and so-called "women's issues" as well as the rise of the corporate 'woman' as a new icon in media with a connection to liberalisation strategies (Chaudhuri 2000, pp. 264–266). Inclusion of 'women's' liberation and freedom, as seen in the Hero Honda Pleasure campaign or by utilising, for example, International Women's Day, are thus set in the intersection of social change, economic growth, and development agendas.

The importance of current discourses but also single events is exemplified in the context of the Nirbhaya case of December 2012.[67] With this incident of sexualised violence and the intense public debates and protests in the aftermath of this episode, discourses of sexism and gender-based violence gained traction. The Nirbhaya case marked a critical occurrence in the debates around gender and equality and a turning point regarding discourses of gender and social change. While media representation and, in particular, news coverage was criticised for its sensationalism and its reproduction of sexist patterns (Banerjee 2018), debates concerning gender-based violence and sexualised violence became central in mainstream news media. Discussions increasingly included previously excluded groups, and a variety of arenas provided fertile ground for public debates of, for example, the #metoo movement that followed. Representatives of NGOs and other social organisations were increasingly considered for their expertise on sexualised violence as exemplified by the Verma committee, and included in order to serve as a stand-in for how to direct change processes regarding gender. Accordingly, the themes and debates in the field before us became increasingly diverse. Contemporary commercial advertising content has increasingly discussed with possibilities of challenging gender norms. Ideas on "women's empowerment and emancipation are now marketing tools, and feminism a commodity to be sold" (Seker 2017) and thus increasingly visible in commercial advertising. This is encapsulated in the concept of 'femvertising'. The opposition to and support for these types of marketing strategies are exemplified through the debate following an advertisement from 2015 initiated by the magazine Vogue India. The two-and-a-half-minute-long audio-visual adver-

67 This particular case, in international media mostly referred to as the Delhi gang-rape case, occurred in Delhi on December 16th 2012. The 23-year-old J. S. Pandey, initially given the name Nirbhaya (translation from Hindi: the fearless one), was assaulted, raped, tortured, and died of the injuries inflicted. The case sparked great debate and demonstrations for action and led to the conviction of six perpetrators, four of whom were hanged in March 2020.

tisement was produced through the "social awareness initiative" #VogueEmpower and addressed topics pertinent to feminist discourses, from body image, gender norms, sexuality, and reproductive rights, as well as love, romance and relationships.[68] Critical stances, in line with criticism of 'corporate feminism'[69] in general, pointed out the flawed and potentially harmful aspects of this type of strategy, mentioning classist attitudes as well as a simplification and trivialisation of feminist activism and movements catering to a financially-able group (Gabler 2015). Alongside discussions of gender-based marketing as introduced in the introduction (Sekhar, Dash, & Singh 2012), some consider the inclusion of feminism into advertising merely as a marketing trick (Khan 2016) tapping into a market of 'women' as consumers (Davidson 2015), others – while not uncritical – praise the possibilities of inspiring self-esteem in 'girls' and 'women' (Bahadur 2014). Recently, the debates on the power of commercial advertising have found footing in international development organisations and their collaborations with the private sector, particularly the advertising industry. In these connections, commercial advertisements are considered tools for challenging sexist stereotypes and promoting worldwide equality, as seen in the Unstereotype Alliance (Neff 2017; Peck 2017). The discourse of the significance of commercial advertising regarding gender thus entails more diverse perspectives in line with the diversity of representation.

While studies on the role of commercial advertising in India have most commonly been embedded in processes of change regionally specific to India, such as how advertisements depict the presence of globalisation or their connections to development agendas and the liberalisation strategies, representation of 'women' has long been central in feminist Media Studies and other Social Sciences. The harmful effects of stereotypical gender representation in popular media and commercial advertising still play a major role in discussions of media and change, including notes of frustration with how commercial advertising and other media outlets are part of sexist continuity (Banerjee 2018). The understanding of medialisation processes, including technological

68 The video titled "My Choice" was produced as a collaboration between director H. Adajania and Indian movie celebrity D. Padukone. The text was written by Indian screenwriter K. Khambatta and voiced by D. Padukone. The short film ends with the statement "Vogue Empower. It starts with you", reflecting the self-proclaimed aim of the advertisement, to "encourage people to think, talk and act in ways big or small on issues pertaining to women's empowerment" given on Vogue's YouTube channel alongside the video (Vogue India 2015).

69 Critics of 'corporate feminism' point to how the focus on individual freedom and empowerment in the corporate world for some might prove successful but might undermine collective social actions (Bruenig 2015).

advances and the increasing spread of and accessibility to social media, illustrates the importance given to medialised communication and reveals the pluralism of media cultures' use in change processes. However, commercial advertising still takes up a significant role in these discussions, even though debates regarding the role of media in societies include comics, video games, short films etc. Similarly, the interest in reception is, to date, a dominant debate on social advertising, for example, assessing the importance of social marketing in HIV/AIDS prevention campaigns (Awasthi & Awasthi, 2019). Relentlessly being a widely used strategy worldwide, social advertising is produced with the intent to create awareness on a plethora of issues, including drug use and domestic and sexualised violence. Despite critical perspectives on a strategy based mainly on top-down and individual behavioural approaches, the production of social campaigns has not lessened. Instead, social campaigns show increasing diversity in connection with technological advances and the spread of social media and are also included in advertising festivals, winning prizes for ingenuity and creativity. These trends hint at the connections extant between advertising and medialisation processes, social change initiatives and debates, and the advertising industry.

The outline above thus illustrates how the research regarding the role of advertising in processes of social change reflects a greater variety and contrasting perspectives. Nevertheless, the discussions of core themes show the continuation of major trends. Commercial advertising and gender in the form of female representation are central in discussions of the role of media in socialisation processes. Studies of social marketing follow research in marketing in that they seek to capture the effect of specific campaigns through reception studies. In the following, I delve into these trends in more detail.

2.2 Layers and Variations of Academic Debates on the Role of Advertising in Change Processes

As illustrated, the sources laying out the relevant academic discussions are derived from Social Sciences, including Media and Communication Studies, Social and Cultural Anthropology and Sociology, Development Studies, Area and Cultural Studies, as well as Marketing and Media Management. This range of disciplines considers various perspectives and methodological approaches and thus highlights different aspects of the central questions. Each study might deal with the production, dissemination, and effect of advertising campaigns or centre one of these aspects. However, the diverse insights included provide a comprehensive foundation for further analysis. For this project, I hence chose sources centring the academic debates on advertising and social change with a

regional focus on India. I considered them in their capacity to give particular focus to the production sites and the individuals involved.

I sorted the literature according to various points of departure: 1) discussing the production of commercial campaigns; 2) discussing social advertisements, the effects sought, and the strategies to achieve this; 3) researching the utilisation of media producers and their institutions in social change projects; 4) identifying changes in the advertising industry, its visuals and imageries; and 5) discussing the influence of advertising on discourses. Sources include academic journal publications in Anthropology, Media and Communication, and Marketing, anthologies, elaborate ethnographic research, and publications within educational institutions or think tanks (Indian Institute of Management, International Marketing Trends Conference, Sarai, a program within the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies). Many of these studies are based on content analysis. Some include insights from the individuals on the production site through interviews or aim to centre these perspectives in ethnographic studies. Attempts to determine the effects and impact of advertising and discussion thereon are found in reception studies, while case studies contain the possibilities of addressing the production site, the reception, as well as the content. The literature included is a blend of thorough empirical research, historical contextualisation, and thematic discussions. Across the studies reviewed, media culture is not only seen as a direct part of everyday life but also as influential regarding cultural, social, and other societal structures. Theoretical and empirical studies essentially hold that various media channels, technologies, and their content play a prominent role in the socialisation processes of most individuals.

The multiplicity of arenas debating the dynamics of advertising and social change illustrates the complexity of this field. My review of the studies reveals trends of differentiation that embody a division between commercial and social advertising. While some studies draw upon existing interconnectivity between these two strands of advertising, the complex intertwining is simplified. The role of advertising producers is, apart from a few exceptions, marginal and discussed in the context of having certain responsibilities in creating medialised communication. Previous research concerning the role of advertising in change processes either prioritises discussing its effect and impact through reception studies or focuses on content, as in media content analyses in connection with change processes in society, e.g. economic liberalisation strategies or manifestations of globalisation. Through the division between intentional and unintentional directions of change processes, I centre the interplay between advertising and social change and apparent interconnectivity. Additionally, I highlight the marginal role of advertising producers in this review. In the next section, I detail these tendencies and trends accordingly.

2.2.1 Information Dissemination and Effectiveness: Intentional Directions of Change Processes

Advertising as medialised communication with the intent to influence audiences sets the premise for the importance given to the reception of advertisements. This type of communication is created to direct choices of a specific brand, product, service, ideology, idea, or behavioural pattern according to a specific agenda. A great deal of literature is hence concerned with the effectiveness of advertising campaigns. Development Studies and professionals in marketing and media management, in particular, centre the interest on the effects as an inherent part of their work. Social initiatives utilising advertising are thus aligned with interests in commercial marketing in that they centre the direct success of campaigns in relation to their intent and their specific message. Within the discussions of the effectiveness of advertising, the understanding of marketing and debates regarding participatory strategies become a central element. At the same time, the contextual circumstances illustrate the continuous stance regarding the power of medialised communication and, thus, information dissemination. In the following parts, I detail how studies focus on the intentional direction of change processes.

Marketing as Foundation for Effective Knowledge-Sharing

As mentioned, publications on advertising and social change in Development Studies have a strong link to practices of development. Therefore, the production and effect of social marketing are central to these debates. The intense focus on the effectiveness of campaigns had direct implications for the academic debates that followed. More recently, this interest is connected to the reform efforts and discourses in the field of development, centring the agenda of Results Based Management that was introduced in the late 1990s.[70] Accordingly, a line of studies focuses on the strategies used in social marketing, i.e. the implementation, outreach, and evaluations are central. Further, the re-organising of the campaigns is considered in order to bring forth more effective social

70 RBM was a fundamental part of a UN reform agenda to achieve coherence across the different institutions of the UN. This agenda was reaffirmed through the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in 2000, the Paris Declaration of Aid Effectiveness published in 2001, the Accra Agenda for Action from 2008, and again in 2011, the Busan Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation. Throughout, the focus on development results and aid effectiveness played a central role (Bester 2016).

marketing campaigns (see, for example, Jain 1973; Meekers & Rahaim 2005; Sharma & Sharma 2007; Sadh & Agnihotri 2010; Sharma 2014; Das 2016). These studies primarily draw on quantitative research and rely on statistics to determine campaign success. They are particularly concerned with the potential of isolated campaigns, the effect of chosen campaigns regarding the change processes they set out to catalyse, and the direct influence each campaign has had. Studies on social marketing thus focus on the individual behavioural change that is considered central to societies' development in this approach. As such, the focus on effectiveness is reminiscent of studies on commercial marketing by management professionals that similarly look to identify the effect of particular commercial campaigns or attitudes towards commercial advertising in order to identify the consumer and create appropriate marketing strategies (see, for example, Khan & Khan 2002; Mishra 2009; Singh & Vij 2008). Therein, commercial advertising is seen as a source of information on available products, ideas, and services fused with an objective to promote certain brands (Khan & Khan 2002, p. 17; Gupta 2005, p. 22; Das 2007). In these studies, marketing is the foundation that enables this promotion and, in connection to social advertising, is a powerful tool to be used in influencing audiences to change their knowledge, attitudes, and practices.

The assumed power of media content and networks, as displayed in the context of development initiatives, aligns itself with the ideas from the field of marketing, i.e. that marketing enables media content to be particularly influential. The fundamental aim of marketing is to make "the public aware about the existence, the price, and the benefits of specific products" (Waisbord 2001, p. 6). As such, marketing strategies are based on the belief that information and knowledge are fundamental in change processes. Thereby, the foundation of commercial and social advertising is similar, although marketing strategies deployed in social advertising were developed within the field of commercial advertising. This commonality is illustrated in the article "Reviewing the Concept of Advertising from the Print Media Perspectives", mirroring the aforementioned definition of advertising given by the AMA. A. T. Jibril (2017) here refers to advertising as "subdivided into commercial and non-commercial types of advertisements" (Jibril 2017, p. 2). Commercial advertising promotes products or services, and non-commercial advertising includes social advertising alongside announcements for social, cultural, political or religious events. However, the intent to influence audiences through marketing strategies unites these types of medialised communication (Jibril 2017, p. 2). As mentioned before, Colle questions the parallels between commercial and social marketing. While acknowledging the role of marketing in pointing out the importance of prior research and focus on beneficiaries' needs, Colle persists that marketing approaches in developmental initiatives are distinct from its origin

of commercial marketing (Colle 2008 [2003], pp. 134–135). However, the ways in which the principles of marketing are translated into social marketing ("4 As" or additional "4 Ps") illustrate the close bond. Moreover, the circumstances of the Indian context and its immense intertwining between social change initiatives and the advertising industry present m commonalities than differentiation to create medialised messages to influence audiences. For example, the growing use of social marketing during the Emergency in the form of propaganda and increasing incorporation of consumerist cultures into the development agenda of the Indian State, as described in chapter one, show strong interlinkages between the field of social marketing and commercial advertising. These circumstances eventually saw both commercial and social advertisements promoting ideologies of national identities alongside their objectives (Schneider 2006, pp. 823–824). The particularities of the advertising business in India thus highlight similarities between marketing strategies utilised in the private sector and the social sector, as the appearance and messages of different types of advertising became difficult to tell apart. Marketing strategies do, therefore, not only provide the groundwork for advertising with a commercial intent as well as advertising with a non-commercial intent. Its presence in advertising with contrasting objectives but with indistinguishable output and the continuous intersections of development and consumerism are indicators of the commonalities.

Complex Realities of Participation and Criticising Social Marketing

In contrast to the idea of information provision as valuable stands the conviction of participation in social change campaigns as essential. As introduced earlier, critical voices continuously point out the approach of social marketing and advertising as problematic. The critique draws on stances from dependency theory and centres parallel to modernisation theory upholding principles of universalism with 'western'-centric values. Dutta, for example, criticises modernisation theory for its perception of modernisation processes to be "based on universal values attached to economic growth, growth in mass media, growth in capitalist opportunities, and technological progress" (Dutta 2011, p. 36). The focus on beneficiary needs highlighted by Colle is described by Shanker (2009) as limited due to its top-down approach and "lack of social marketing research skills" (Shanker 2009, p. 11). Similarly, in a discussion on "The Illusion of Participation in Delhi's Social Welfare Advertisements", O. Kutty (2004) distinguishes between different discourses of participation. The paternalistic and undemocratic practices by campaign producers, and development planning in general, disseminating 'modernity', i.e. "taking values, world-view, habits, and institutions

labelled 'modern' to the people and places they had not yet reached" do not allow for a bottom-up approach which includes participation (Kutty 2004, p. 352). Additionally, Kutty describes how the rhetoric of participation was part of the agenda of modernisation in the 1950s and 1960s. Therein, the cooperation between development practitioners and the beneficiaries could inspire socio-democratic values and a scientific mind following Nehru's vision. Kutty argues that development initiatives in the 2000s are inherently different from these initiatives. Participation is included in solution-oriented approaches, which are "not about building something new but about repairing what already exists" (Kutty 2004, p. 352). This sentiment is exemplified through the governmental social marketing campaign visible throughout Delhi, fittingly titled Bhagidari (translated from Hindi: participation). These medialised messages promote dialogue between citizens, NGOs, trade associations, and Delhi's many municipal agencies. However, the intent is not to build new infrastructure but to force municipalities to fix broken streetlights or potholes. According to Kutty, the participation of citizens has thus become a rhetorical device to legitimise a simplification of urban development to contain mainly urban repairs (Kutty 2004, pp. 352–353). Thereby, social advertising does not address long-lasting social change but centres on allocating responsibility regarding upkeep. This critical stance is comparable with the argument put forth in the extensive ethnographic study on the production and launch of the Kama Sutra condom brand in the fall of 1991 by Mazzarella (2003a). Mazzarella discusses connections between globalisation and the advertising industry in contemporary India and argues that the advertising producers' main concern does not lie with actual effect and sales but with satisfying the client approaching the agencies for their skills in marketing and design (Mazzarella 2003a, p. 187). According to these perspectives, advertising producers generally care little about the effectiveness of campaigns and have little concern for how messages influence audiences.

When examining campaigns and posters produced in the context of the Women's Movement in India, ideas of participation and questions of representation are an inherent part of the presentation and discussions. Two publications stand out as a look into campaigns created by activists and NGO employees: "The History of Doing. An Illustrated Account of Movements for Women's Rights and Feminism in India, 1800–1990" by R. Kumar (1993) and "Our Pictures, Our Words. A Visual Journey through the Women's Movement" by L. Murthy and R. Dasgupta (2011). The former is an account of the early Women's Movement in India, presenting a chronological walk-through of activist engagements and initiatives with examples of photographs and posters created. Photographs capture protests and posters that promote agendas and demands for 'women's' rights. These pictures represent activists' involvement in producing a prominent advertising type in this context (Kumar 1993, p. 1). These

advertising producers overlap with the beneficiaries, i.e. the activists engage in efforts for social change to challenge systemic patterns that they themselves are affected by. The collection of posters brought forth by Murthy and Dasgupta centres the campaigns produced. With posters as a vital feature for mobilisation, the publishing house Zubaan initiated the Poster Women project[71] in order to collect campaign posters related to feminist activism from across India (Murthy & Dasgupta 2011, p. 9). According to Murthy and Dasgupta, these advertisements moved away from messages demanding actions towards educational and informative content in line with the growing movement after the 1970s. While the producers of these campaigns are inherently part of the movement and thereby create messages relevant to themselves, questions of representation, such as distinctions of class and urbanity, are discussed (Murthy & Dasgupta 2011, pp. 18–19).

Advertisements created in the context of this Women's Movement include campaign-specific posters and ad hoc placards used in protests. They can thus be viewed as participatory bottom-up approaches and top-down approaches simultaneously. The discussions regarding representation and the complexities of participation allow for consideration of the diverse realities of the producers of social advertising. I thus emphasise the importance of considering an understanding of the producers' realities, existing power relations, and present discourses.

Directing the Discourse: Using Advertising to Influence Indian Identities

A range of studies on advertising acknowledge campaigns for having successfully shaped discourses on Indian identities, the Indian family, class distinction, and gendered structures. In the article on "The Emergency as Prehistory of the New Indian Middle Class", Rajagopal (2011a) describes in detail the increasing use of medialised communication, a mixture of state-communicated propaganda as mentioned in chapter one and the growing presence of nationwide broadcasting through the nation-building project alongside governmental publicity. Rajagopal points to these circumstances as a key part of shaping public opinion and forming Indian identity and the 'new Indian middle-class' (Rajagopal 2011a, p. 1015). The slogans initiated by the aforementioned governmental institution DAVP ranged from incitement to hard work ("iron will and hard

71 The collection was published as an online archive, a printed publication titled "Poster Women: A Visual History of the Women's Movement in India" (Zubaan 2006), and chosen advertisements were reprinted as postcards.

work shall sustain us") to nationalist notions ("be Indian, buy Indian") (Rajagopal 2011a, pp. 1022–1025). Rajagopal argues that in this time period, the role of social marketing increased and was given "a level of political importance it has not previously had" (Rajagopal 2011a, p. 1015). The importance given to medialised messages produced to influence audiences is intrinsic to these strategies. The significance of commercial advertising rose with the nation-building project in that consumerism became a substantial tool and symbol for modernity, nationalism, and growth. This led to a decrease in development-oriented messages within TV serials on Doordarshan in the 1980s and 1990s. The connections between commercial marketing and social change initiatives through the advertising industry's involvement in the governmental development agenda and the significance of consumerism in modernisation processes show untiring confidence in information dissemination and the intentional direction of change processes. Commercial advertising actively being utilised for a social agenda was not dissimilar to the use of social advertising and reminiscent of the social campaigning produced as illustrated in the account of the national state of emergency in place from 1975–1977. The discourses regarding advertising and social change embedded in the intentional utilisation of marketing for directing change processes illustrate the unswerving conviction of being able to influence the self-perceptions of audiences. As such, advertising producers expect the use of single campaigns and their objectives of specific messages to be effective and successful.

2.2.2 Reproducing and Normalising Social Patterns: Unintentional Directions of Change Processes

Among Social Sciences, including some publications in Media and Communication Studies, the concern with the effect of advertising is predominately concerned with social structures. While studies deal with 'modernity' or 'secularism' as depicted in commercial advertising (see Jain 2017 or Schneider 2019), many cases explore the portrayal of gender. A particularly extensive collection of studies are thus situated in the field of gender and media, particularly in the context of commercial advertising and its content. Feminist media scholars and activists, in particular, expose patterns of sexism found in the pictures, imageries, and messages of these medialised messages. Among these studies, the criticism of the representation of female-coded bodies and characters in commercial advertisements is particularly prominent. Central is the concern for "the manner and ways in which mass media produce forms of knowledge about femininity" (Munshi 1998, p. 575). The criticism contains the notion of these representation strategies as the reproduction of sexism and, as such, an

obstruction to changing systemic patterns of gender norms.[72] Thereby the content of advertisements is at the centre of these debates in opposition to discussions of the reception of advertising. In the following, I present discussions regarding media content of commercial advertising in relation to its significance in social change, illustrating unintentional directions of change processes. Thereto belong: the focus on female-coded representation, criticism towards commercial advertising as part of neo-liberal politics, and discussion regarding possible impact.

Criticising Content and Female Representation between Social Change Processes and Neo-liberalism

Studies within the field of gender and media are mostly based on content analysis that often points out reproductions of power relations and intersections between hegemonic ideologies and elements. R. Parameswaran and K. Cardoza (2009), for example, discuss the intersections of race, class, caste, and mobility through a content analysis of the use of fairness in commercial advertising in postcolonial India in the form of print and television campaigns. The authors align themselves with the works of postcolonial feminist scholars in their critique of "the cultural politics of femininity in fairness cosmetics advertisements in India", connecting consumerist cultures and the beauty industry with nationalist and patriarchal legacies (Parameswaran & Cardoza 2009, p. 220). Determining that the visuals, imageries, and messages of commercial advertising in particular, are without a doubt influential, feminists in India have since the 1970s argued that "the media used stereotypical projections of women" and continue to criticise this stereotypical approach (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 148). Chaudhuri describes how representations of female-coded figures are a narrow depiction of the role of 'women' and femininity with an immense disparity between lived realities and imageries present (Chaudhuri 2001, p. 376; Rao 2001, p. 45). This topic continues to be a much-debated issue, as seen through the study "Privileging the Privileged: Gender in Indian Advertising" by the mathematician turned activist S. Shaffter (2006), who analyses 2500 commercial advertisements from magazines and English language dailies, or as discussed in numerous articles in journals, blogs, magazines, and news-

72 The criticism may differ and contain a range of beliefs, e.g. finding the reproduction of sexist stereotypes as the housewife problematic, criticising sexualisation and objectification of female-coded bodies, or demonising female nudity and sexuality from a morality standpoint.

papers (see for example Patowary 2014, p. 85; Yakkaldevi 2014, p. 3). The article "Advertisements Reinforcing Gender Stereotypes", for example, describes a travelling photo exhibition titled "Each Click Counts" on the theme of "Being A Girl", stipulating that "advertisements are unconsciously reinforcing gender stereotypes" (Sourabha 2016). More recently, A. Sharma and M. Pathak-Shelat (2017) authored "The Cultivation and Reception Effects of Gendered Images. Proposing Ways to Move Beyond Gender Based Stereotypes for Boys and Girls" that was published among a collection of texts titled "Beyond the Stereotypes? Images of Boys and Girls, and their Consequences" (Lemish & Götz 2017). Despite criticism concerning the role and position of feminist media scholars themselves, highlighting intersections of class privilege and gender, the discussions regarding representation and gender continue to be highly pertinent and relevant in various arenas.[73] Further, the central position of content analysis in debates on commercial advertising and social change is persistent (see, for example, Saeed 2011; Nguyen 2014; Poonia, Chauhan, Sharma, & Das 2015).

At the heart of the criticisms of representation is understanding media content as part of greater socialisation processes where imageries and representation normalise certain truths. Authors discuss the role of commercial advertising regarding the understanding of gender and social structures as reflection, production as well as the reproduction of existing social norms (Chaudhuri 2001, p. 376; Haynes 2010, pp. 186–187). The harnessing of cultural and social stereotypes is thus considered beyond its objective to promote products, services, and brands. The significance of pictures, messages, and imageries is considered in regard to their relevance in existing discourses. Central in this line of thought is the repetition of patterns in media content that, in turn, reproduces systemic patterns and hence normalisation of ideas, imageries, and values. In other words, advertisements contribute to reproducing the understanding of relations and characteristics of individuals and communities through reoccurring narratives and imageries (Lünenborg & Maier 2013, pp. 25–26). Interestingly, within the debate on the power of commercial advertisements and their role in socialisation processes lies an idea of this type of medium being particularly problematic. Commercial advertising is seen as distinct from other media productions and as particularly dangerous or harmful

73 As Rao (2001) describes, "given that most of the women who articulate the inequalities of gender in media belong to urban, middle class and upper caste segments of society", the question whether feminist media researchers – often having privileges of higher education and socio-economic background – are being "distanced and far removed from the reality of the majority of women in India" is raised (p. 45).

(Srikandath 1991). For example, a study funded by UNESCO from 1979 states that "sex-role stereotyping is nowhere as consistent and pervasive as in advertising, and criticism of male bias abounds" (Ceulemans & Fauconnier 1979, p. 49). Similarly, commercial advertising is singled out as a type of medialised communication to be exceptionally watchful for as its "reliance on women – particularly women's bodies – as sales bait is in universal evidence" (Gallagher 1979, p. 14). Such publications were created in the wake of the first UN conference on 'women' in 1975, which led to the declaration of the "Women's decade" and subsequent research efforts such as M. Gallagher (1979): "The Portrayal and Participation of Women in the Media" and M. Ceulemans and G. Fauconnier (1979): "Mass Media: The Image, Role and Social conditions of Women – a Collection and Analysis of Research Materials". The discourse concerning the role of media in social change processes reflects the pertinacity of centring commercial advertising and the representation of female-coded characters. The interest and investment of international development organisations in this field illustrate the far-reaching engagement with this type of medium. The engagement by UNESCO in particular, is considered as a catalyst for the evolving feminist media scholarship (Rao 2001, p. 45). A quote by Gallagher points out the importance of these debates in connection with convictions of media as "potentially powerful agents of socialisation and social change – presenting models, conferring status, suggesting appropriate behaviours, encouraging stereotypes" (Byerly & Ross 2006, p. 17). The central concern with female representation within commercial advertising in particular, has thus not only been persistent over decades but is continuously thought of as an essential factor in greater socialisation processes.

The debates centring on the representation of 'women' in commercial advertising are embedded in perspectives critical towards neo-liberal politics. Intersections of gender politics and initiatives of social change, consumer-oriented cultures and economic growth provide convictions and objectives regarding these facets of change processes that stand divided. On the one hand, India's state-led development agenda conflated initiatives of social change and challenging gender norms with the idea of neo-liberal economic reform and consumerist cultures as opportunities for change, as discussed in chapter one through the example of edutainment serials. On the other hand, the critical stance towards commercial advertising resonates with voices sceptical of neo-liberal economic politics and growth and the consumerist culture associated with these developments. While the idea of consumerism was utilised as a strategy in the nation-building project, which established that consumerist behaviour supported the growth of India as a modern nation, other voices gained momentum declaring consumerism in itself as wasteful (Mankekar 1999, p. 75). This point of view is evident in a report by the Joshi Working

Group on Software published in 1982 to advise the government on expanding television programming and its role in India's social and economic development (Government of India, 1985, p. 7). Three primary concerns were addressed: 1) the over-centralisation of TV, 2) the dangers of consumerism, and 3) transnational flows threatening cultural purity. However, the recommendations for adjustments were never considered (Mankekar 1999, p. 65). Despite conflicting voices, modernisation strategies through consumerism stayed a stable component of the government's development agenda. Thereby, commercial advertising had become a prominent element in these efforts of the social change agenda while the critical voices towards consumerism and its campaigns found resonance among non-governmental initiatives and within the debates in Social Sciences.

M. Chaudhuri's (2014) account of the imagery of gender, particularly 'women', in commercial advertising connected to neo-liberal politics and the development of the advertising industry post-liberalisation discusses the current consumerist cultures including the production of commercial advertising and the presence of feminist debates therein. Chaudhuri describes how dynamics between activism in the form of India's Women's Movement, academia with the onset of institutionalised Women's Studies in the 1980s, and media visibility through news journalism and coverage of discriminatory gendered patterns, e.g. dowry and rape, have all contributed to increasing visibility of gender in the form of so-called 'women'-centric issues. In connection with the growing advertising industry, Chaudhuri argues that feminist ideas of self-realisation and autonomy have been incorporated into the neoliberal politics of consumerism and the idea of the self as an enterprise, leading to an intermingling of feminist thoughts and the economic reforms from the 1990s (Chaudhuri 2014, pp. 145–152). Thereby, new stereotypes, such as the "women bosses", are depicted in commercial advertising, illustrating the fusion of feminism and economic growth. This stereotype is elsewhere described as "highly competent, employable and empowered, snatching jobs from their male counterparts and conducting corporate meetings and making decisions" (Dasgupta, Sinha, & Chakravarti 2012, p. 43). Chaudhuri argues that these imageries were a product of market research and active participation by the commercial advertising industry in reactions to feminist critique, and thus questions the idea of "free-floating images" evolving from unintentional flows of movements (Chaudhuri 2014, pp. 151–156). Chaudhuri continues to consider the potential democratising efforts by the network of market logic and media and communication research. While these institutions are central to disseminating global capitalism, they also facilitate spaces "for self-expression that has for too long been forbidden" (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 156). Accordingly, media and popular culture are described as access points to a

post-liberalised middle class for segments of society previously excluded from consumerist cultures. Chaudhuri sees medialisation processes and economic growth as a foundation for these new spaces as well as for potential mobility and thereby as important elements in processes of social change (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 156). Similarly, social change activist Sharada (2019) discusses the advertising industry in India as a potential component in the processes of social change in the article "Media and Advertising as Change Makers. Are We Being Unrealistic?". Sharada points out tendencies to "commodify women as targets of consumption, as influencers of purchasing decisions, and as eye candy for the male target group" and argues that "the emerging demographic of educated, professional women with purchasing power are determining the way certain brands are positioning themselves" (Sharada 2019). These perspectives and debates regarding opportunities thus allow for considering the multiple layers of the role of medialised messages and meanings of commercial advertising. Therein lies an acknowledgement of the complex dynamics between profit-driven media and social change.

The connections made between commercial media and social change range thus from the perspective of the potential of media staying largely unutilised (see, for example, Sardana 1984, p. 40; Fazal 2008; Bhavani & Vijayasree 2010, p. 65; Rao 2012, p. 34; Patowary 2014, p. 88), often accompanied by a generalised demonisation of media producers but also a critical stance towards governmental bodies in lacking social ideology and trusting the "free market" to be the solution to social inequalities (Quraishi 2006 pp. 259–261; Sinha 2006). Gumucio-Dagron and Tufte, in their description of social marketing and advertising, single out advertising agency employees as "producers lacking knowledge and sensitivity to local context, or deliberately considering incentives of multinational corporations" (Gumucio-Dargron & Tufte 2006, p. xviii). These perspectives are rooted in the conviction of the fundamental incompatibility of profit and social ideologies, where the focus on profit is argued to be pushed at the cost of ethical media production (see, for example, Hastings & Saren 2003, p. 314; Vilanilam 2005, p. 161; Muppidi 2012, p. 227; Seneviratne 2012, p. 73). This is exemplified in the debate following the aforementioned campaign initiated by Vogue. After the video spot was aired, the intentions, content, and implementation were widely debated among private individuals, activists, journalists, representatives of right-wing politics, and film celebrities. Despite important points regarding the freedom to choose a career, expression of gender, or mobility, one aspect of criticism pointed towards the advertising industry as a sector riddled with stereotypical definitions of beauty and femininity and therefore saw this advertisement as highly hypocritical. In the context of a commercial brand such as Vogue magazine, the possibility that medialised messages representing feminist discourses could be part of

social awareness was challenged.[74] Thereby, the Vogue film was widely dismissed as a potential catalyst for changing gendered patterns. The objective of debating gendered patterns is considered incompatible with being an advertisement connected to a profit-making agenda and using stereotypical imageries. The intersections of consumerism and sexist patterns stand in opposition to feminist movements and action in that the principles of marketing are linked to creating an aspiration that can only be satisfied by investing in specific products or brands. The inclusion of feminist messages is compartmentalised therein and proposes a commodification of feminism that can be viewed as a reaction to existing discourses regarding representation, as argued by Chaudhuri and is thus counterproductive to the feminist discourse. It caters to a target group engulfed in these debates, prompting relevant messages in relation to an understanding of 'middle-class' 'modernity' and discussions of gender relevant to a particular audience. Despite the long tradition and multi-layered involvement of the advertising industry in social endeavours, critical voices thus see commercial advertising as entirely profit driven. However, with the idea of media content reproducing patterns of systemic power relations through repetitive patterns as part of socialisation processes, as outlined above, diverse representation, or negotiating the understanding of representation, can be argued to hold opportunities to challenge existing norms and stereotypical imageries, as expressed by Munshi. While the commodification of feminism is argued to be profitable and harmful in the context of feminist movements and actions, the normalisation of these debates and the opportunity to distance oneself from specific perspectives can be viewed as an opportunity in and of itself. Chaudhuri, quoting Gutumurthy (2011), states that critical perspectives towards neo-liberal politics and consumerism do not exclude opportunities for social change in the form of egalitarian changes (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 156). Accordingly, discussions within Social Sciences, Development Studies, and other fields regarding the interpretations of advertisements and the role of commercial advertising in processes of social change enable critical standpoints and perspectives of opportunities existing side by side. However, the debate is collapsed with the overwhelming focus on content analyses and central concern for and a long tradition of criticising the representation of female-coded bodies and personas.

74 For a more detailed overview and discussion of the debate, see "Whose Choice? Plural Feminist Movements Packaged in and around Glamour" (Gabler 2015).

Considering Reception Studies and the Potential of Content Patterns as Part of Change Processes

The debates concerned with the opportunities of commercial advertising that attribute this type of medium with assumed power are further layered. Besides the economic reform policies providing financial opportunities in particular, a range of authors specifically centres the potential of providing new ideas and challenging existing norms through advertising campaigns (see, for example, Munshi 1998; Rajagopal 1998, p. 17; Chaudhuri 2001, pp. 373, 375–376; Haynes 2010, p. 206). M. Curtin's (1999) analysis of the strategies, operations, and discourse of global culture industries in the satellite and cable media era concludes that corporate media conglomeration leads to the transnational circulation of multiple and alternative representations of feminine desire. With ever-expanding networks, Curtin points out that global media cultures and medialisation processes have benefited the range of feminine imagery available in popular culture despite existing patterns of power relations (Curtin 1999). Similarly, in the study above, S. Munshi (1998) discusses the idea of alternate possibilities to the ongoing reproduction of sexist imageries through content analysis of print and TV advertisements for household appliances in relation to empowerment from the 1990s. By analysing the various roles 'women' are given as homemakers in these imageries – wife/mother/daughter-in-law – Munshi discusses the construction of "the new Indian woman" and argues that the content of these advertisements might not only reproduce existing norms of femininity and gender relations but also provide a space for resistance and challenge to these structures. On the one hand, the imageries contained in the campaigns provide possibilities for challenging ideas of gender norms in that, for example, housework is being redesigned as scientific discourse, linking discourses of 'modernity' and household life and providing a foundation of household decision-making and skills requiring particular intelligence and awareness (Munshi 1998, pp. 583–585). On the other hand, these visuals and imageries continue to reproduce the fundamental hegemonic patriarchal systems, as they do not challenge the systemic setup of gendered and sexist social structures. As Munshi concludes: "The representation of women has been played around with, but not changed in a structural or substantial way" (Munshi 1998, p. 586). This provides the possibility of being situated in systemic patterns and simultaneously challenging these patterns by negotiation between traditional femininities and feminist discourses. Between discussions concerning transnational networks, and regionally specific struggles of change relating to advertising imageries, authors deal with the role of media through content mirroring current discourses. The question of reception, effect, and impact is extracted from these discussions.

As part of the question of the role of commercial advertising in social patterns, studies of reception play an essential part. While this aspect is primarily discussed in connection with social marketing campaigns and social advertising, a few studies regarding commercial advertising take up this task. Hereto belong the reception studies by Mankekar (1993, 1999) mentioned earlier that highlight the commercial sponsorship schemes as part of the TV experiences and point to the content of the commercial advertisements as part of a televised discourse designed to convey particular ideas about the nation (Mankekar 1993, p. 547). Similarly, K. Karan (2008) includes focus-group interviews with 'women' in an analysis of advertisements for fairness products. Karan discusses their perception of beauty and fair skin as part of greater discourses regarding beauty ideals and ideas of fairness as desirability. Despite these attempts at reception studies regarding commercial advertising, the question of reception often circles back to discussions based on content analysis.

Determining the effectiveness of campaigns is often theorised according to the media's potential power to influence. Assumptions exist that particular audiences are prone to accept the realities portrayed in media, such as children, younger people, or 'women' (Bhavani & Vijayasree 2010, pp. 47–48). This perspective contains a discussion of whether audiences are understood as passive receivers or self-responsible. However, many authors refer to the "far more complex working of how dominant ideas are constructed" (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 151) and thus align themselves with Hall's perspective of media reception. Theorisations of media reception, as Hall presents, provide debates regarding social change processes that consider each individual's context and reality. The heterogeneity of responses, meanings, and practices further provides elements of social change on an individual level. Individuals might feel or read media content, including its imageries, in each their own way. They might hold "a variety of psychological positions and understand images, dialogues and narratives in a range of different ways" (Banaji 2006, p. 385). This is "depending on events in the viewers' lives and by thSe relationships in which those viewers define themselves" and is shaped by contextual circumstances either of "common social and individual experiences" (Mankekar 1993, p. 553; Parameswaran, 2001, p. 85). As S. Ghosh (1999) describes in an article titled "The Troubled Existence of Sex and Sexuality: Feminists Engage with Censorship", "one person's erotica could well be another's porn" (pp. 237–246). Audiences are hence not only "positioned […] by the text but also by a whole range of other discourses, with those of gender and nationalism being dominant in Indian TV" (Mankekar 1993, p. 557). While visual representations are intrinsically linked to "local culture" (Munshi 2001, p. 5), the "local culture" in question can exist on a micro level, and each individual might react differently, depending on their reality. Authors discussing the role of commercial advertising in society thus highlight

the importance of the context present. Authors hence identify opportunities for challenging systemic patterns through commercial advertising in congruity with the tension between ideas of the discursive power of repetitive circumstances and individual statements. The possibilities of content are understood in a dynamic between the debates on traditional femininity and aspects of feminist discourses. This interplay is threaded around consumerist discourses of campaigns, for example, promoting household products and 'women' as an essential consumer group with specific decision-making power. It acknowledges that greater discourses of gender contain both opportunities for resistance and empowerment alongside ongoing dynamics of power and stereotypical norms. The concept of empowerment that in development initiatives often figures as emancipatory objectives for 'women' should accordingly not be considered as a uniform solution. Empowerment – like emancipation – can differ significantly according to each individual's perception of what empowerment is for them (Gabler 2011). At the same time, these discussions point to repetitive patterns as the main driver of change processes beyond isolated advertisements as inspirational. In other words, while single campaigns serve as inspiration, the repetitiveness of commercial advertising fuels change processes. The patterns of visuals, messages, and imageries are thus central to the normalisation and systemic significance of advertising. As pointed out by Haynes (2010) in the article "Creating the Consumer? Advertising, Capitalism and the Middle Classes in Urban Western India, 1914–1940", "[commercial] advertising both shaped and was shaped by larger discourses of what it meant to be middle class during this time" (Haynes 2010, p. 187). The studies concerned with the potential of commercial advertisements in challenging social patterns thus confirm discussions of effect and impact with an understanding of medialised messages as part of greater socialisation processes. As such, they are aligned with critical perspectives of the depiction of female-coded bodies and characters but dissimilar to studies regarding social campaigns concerned with the reception of specific advertisements.

Dealing with the unintentional directions of change thus contains a tension between content as a way to normalise systemic patterns, whether through reproducing existing stereotypes or giving way to negotiating said imageries, and diverse reactions to certain medialised communication as discussed concerning reception studies. On the one hand, the role of advertising in processes of social change is linked to commercial advertisements as "impulses of deeper level social forces" (Rajagopal 1999a, p. 93). On the other, the traditions of Media Studies founded on the importance of reception studies revile possibilities of multiple interpretations. This aspect of the role of advertising as part of change processes parallels the discussions in Development Studies regarding individual behavioural change in relation to systemic change. These

parallels lead to a discussion on the question of to what extent individual reactions to commercial advertising are included as fundamental in processes of social change.

2.2.3 Discussions of Arenas' Inter-Connectivity: Commercial-Social Reciprocity, Intertwining, and Dynamics

I here continue to focus on how social initiatives, intentions, and ideas within social marketing campaigns are intertwined with the advertising industry, according to debates in academia. These debates propose contrasting viewpoints that include different aspects of connectivity. Collaborations and partnerships, for example, regularly establish relations among institutions. However, the intertwining is present in many other forms. Social content is often integrated into commercial campaigns, building on marketing as the common foundation of both forms of advertising. The interplay between social and commercial campaigns thus provides interesting facets regarding overlaps and reciprocity.

Advertising Industry Professionals as Producers and Initiators of Social Advertising

Among studies on social marketing, collaborations with various forms of businesses reflect frequent connectivity. These collaborations are not only seen as contributing factors but, with the conviction that they are essential for successful campaigning, ultimately have a greater effect and are beneficial in directing change processes. The benefits in the production and effectiveness of these campaigns are seen in, for example, the input from employees of advertising agencies through expertise and work hours, in that they contribute designs and the execution of these without payment, as well as companies supporting outreach. Particularly examples regarding family planning and health programs point to the idea that such partnerships have great potential (see, for example, Meekers & Rahaim 2005; Pilkington 2007; Sadh & Agnihotri 2010). This is exemplified by the World Health Organisation (WHO) campaign for Oral Rehydration Salts (ORS) to improve the care of children with diarrhoea, initiated by ICICI Bank in 2000. The study is a detailed description of the strategies, the monitoring of effectiveness and reception of produced campaigns disseminated through a mix of channels,

including TV, print, radio, and out-of-home advertising (OOH)[75]. It is based on statistical data collected over the four years following the campaign's initiation. Alongside the collaboration of an international humanitarian organisation and a private sector money institute, the study by Sadh and Agnihotri (2012) describes the involvement of Delhi Transport Corporation, which supplied spaces for posters on buses free of charge, and Lifebuoy/Hindustan Lever Limited in charge of the design of the campaign. The overall campaign was implemented by McCann Healthcare India and the public-relations company Corporate Voice Weber Shandwick (Sadh & Agnihotri 2010, p. 42). This campaign exemplifies the intense and multifaceted connectivity present in advertising. From the initiation and production to the implementation and distribution, the campaign production illustrates a joint venture on various levels. As shown here, commercial-social reciprocity is a frequent occurrence. While the private sector is often sought for support and partnerships in social campaigns, it can also be a contributor and initiator alongside state institutions and international organisations.

Debates on Social Content in Commercial Advertising

The linkages between social campaigning and commercial campaigns are often reflected in the themes and messages in commercial advertising. While this type of connectivity found ground with the involvement of the advertising industry in the nation-building project and during the Emergency, as Rajagopal describes (Rajagopal 2011a), the fusion of promoting a product and brand with a socially relevant message is still a common strategy. For example, the Hero Honda Pleasure campaign still draws on discourses regarding gender dynamics (ETBrandEquity 2022). According to Chaudhuri, including feminist debates and perspectives in commercial advertising was a reaction to critical voices regarding representation coupled with insights gained through market research of female customers as an important consumer group (Chaudhuri 2014). Similarly, the slogans of the Amul butter brand illustrate the use of socially relevant messages founded in a cooperative initiative to direct social change: empower farmers.[76] The campaign connected to the brand saw its beginning in 1966–1967 and, until this day, regularly comments on popular,

75 Out-of-home advertising is a term used in commercial advertising and refers to hoardings, billboards, and posters in public spaces.

76 The Amul brand represents a regional development project within a co-operate framework. A small cooperative started in 1946 to empower farmers by cancelling out middlemen developed into the Gujarat Cooperative Milk Marketing Federation Ltd.,

political, social and cultural happenings in India. Rajagopal describes this type of medialised communication as "genre-crossing" in that governmental messages during the Emergency were taken up by commercial advertising and reflected the state strategies (Rajagopal 2011a, p. 1034). The campaign is noted to echo existing political discourses and is described as a "part of the citizens-journalist discourse" (Collins Business 2012, p. 47). Even though the ability to be critical towards state policies has recently been questioned with an advertisement including a comment on the Indian government's controversial and questionable removal of the special status of Jammu and Kashmir (Bhattacharya 2019), strategies like these thus display a persistent inclusion of social change debates as part of a commercial agenda and reflect commercial-social reciprocity.

Similarly, the connection between private companies and social issues is discussed as part of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), which signifies the "societal expectation of corporate behaviour beyond the interest of the firm" (Karan, Bansal, & Onyebadi 2012, p. 86). The shampoo brand Sunsilk, for example, introduced an online platform in 2007 titled "Gang of Girls". Potential consumers were encouraged to join conversations on their daily lives and share advice on beauty and grooming but also regarding family life and career choices. According to O'Barr, the site supported young 'women' in finding their voices to express themselves, breaking down negative stereotypes by encouraging ambition (O'Barr 2008). In some cases, social initiatives and NGOs play an important role in commercial marketing strategies and promoting brands through extant collaborations. For instance, with an example in the Jaago Re campaign by TATA Tea, Karan, Bansal, and Onyebadi discuss the content of various campaigns produced during the 2009 Indian general election. The campaign combined product advertisements with a website to simplify the registration process for voting in collaboration with the NGO Janaagraha (Centre for Citizenship and Democracy). The authors see these advertisements as a way to create political awareness and motivate people to vote and argue for the success of these campaigns. They see significant benefits in addressing social issues through marketing and commercial advertising in particular. Accordingly, the businesses in question are described as having "recognised the importance of supporting democratic causes and the need to involve the youth by reaching and engaging them through the new media" (Karan, Bansal, & Onye-

also described as "a symbol of protest against the British Raj" (Chakraborty & Mandal 2016; Collins Business 2012, p. 47).

badi 2012, pp. 89–97). As mentioned by Roni,[77] intersections between brands and socially conscious strategies are helpful: "How brands are engaging in your life, are they sponsoring like a sports academy, or are they sponsoring, I don't know, are they supporting, are they helping, like Nike believes every man can be an athlete, so they have started programs, they sponsoring the Paralympics, like things like that. That is the way forward, I think, and what's going to happen also" (Roni 2011). This trend is welcomed as "a good strategy for simultaneously promoting a brand and being a good corporate citizen" (Karan, Bansal, & Onyebadi 2012, p. 87), and reflects an optimistic stance regarding media cultures and the opportunities given through its institutions and technologies. In creating platforms for communication or empowerment initiatives, commercial campaigns continue to draw on aspects of campaigns in social marketing. As marketing strategies for social campaigning were derived from commercial marketing, the utilisation of this type of expertise has come to a full circle. Marketing strategies have been incorporated into initiatives of social change to be more successful in directing processes of change, while social marketing is thought of as helpful to commercial marketing concerning its role in social change (Hastings & Saren 2003, p. 315). In their paper on "The Critical Contribution of Social Marketing: Theory and Application", G. Hastings and M. Saren (2003) even see social marketing as a way to "inform commercial marketers about how to do this [marketing] in an ethical way" (Hastings & Saren 2003, p. 311). However, the more recent discussion concerning feminist messages in commercial advertising contains more critical positions. As mentioned earlier, 'corporate feminism' and themes of empowerment have gained a presence in commercial campaigns and reflect the discourses building on the increasing visibility of feminist debates during the 1970s and 1990s and again gained traction after 2012. As previously described, these critical perspectives of commodifying feminist activism highlight' whitewashing' issues, allowing companies to boost their image without, for example, including meaningful strategies to adjust corporate policies to address gender inequalities. Concerns for the commodification of feminism align with the critique of neo-liberal politics and values considered part and parcel of inequalities. Therein, the incompatibility of profit-driven media and social initiatives are the underlying elements that are perceived as harming feminist activism.

77 The name Roni refers to a group of the respondents with a specific commonality: leaving the private sector to engage in the social sector. Other groups are named Suhas, Navnet, and Karam. The choice to encompass multiple respondents under one caption and its function is explained in the second part of chapter three concerning the methodological approaches.

The potential of directing processes of change via social messages in commercial campaigns, actions as part of CSR initiatives, and social-commercial collaborations alongside social marketing campaigns highlight a range of perspectives. While commercial advertising professionals are referenced for their expertise in marketing, the perspectives above give particular credit to individuals in the social sector as representatives for ethical and knowledgeable ways to engage with targeted audiences and subjects of social change initiatives. This assumption of the ethical social sector activist or employee is seen in reports published by UNESCO in 1979, where Gallagher states that "it is perhaps reasonable to assume that educational mass media may be more balanced in their portrayal of women, that educators may be more alert to sexual stereotyping and may seek to avoid bias in the projection of sex roles" (Gallagher 1979, p. 16). This perspective continues to figure in debates about collaborations between the private and social sectors. Despite the contrasting viewpoints within this debate, authors generally tend to homogenise advertising producers concerning their possibilities and intentions, whether employees of advertising agencies or affiliated with social organisations.

Ambiguous Dynamics between Social and Commercial Campaigning

Considering the context of medialised communication further unpacks how the interplay between commercial campaigns and social campaigning might feed off each other. This is exemplified by Mazzarella's study describing the launch of the Kama Sutra condom brand during the existing governmental condom awareness campaign and distribution project, the Nirodh condom campaign. This governmental nationwide contraceptive program, implemented in 1967, was the first use of social marketing in India and distributed condoms for free or very low cost (Mazzarella 2003a, p. 95). Mazzarella describes how the Kama Sutra condom brand entered the market with great success, despite the presence of the Nirodh condom campaign. The presence of the running Nirodh campaign is described as a precursor to the understanding of how not to market Kama Sutra condoms. Production and marketing of the Kama Sutra condom brand focussed on pleasure, self-realisation, and desire, creating a campaign that centred condoms around sex as fun instead of family planning, restraint, or control as was the main focus of the governmental development strategies of modernisation (Mazzarella 2003a, pp. 60–69). This juxtaposition of the governmental campaign intending to direct processes of social change with the advertising industry's promotion of a product thus claims that commercial marketing and market research can achieve a more significant impact as it provides an alternative that engages with the audiences and enables them to make choices

on their own (Mazzarella 2003a, p. 85). The chairman and managing director of the Raymond Group, G. Singhania, even states that the Kama Sutra advertisements were daring and a "contribution to doing social good" (Mazzarella 2003a, p. 96). This quote highlights the producers' idea of contributing to processes of social change and confidence in their advertisements' importance and power. Similarly, a study on commercial advertisements for a contraceptive pill is, according to the author N. Sheoran (2011), deliberately made to remind audiences of the governmental family planning program through its logo and design. Sheoran argues that a dual project is in place: "education and consumerism while still drawing on the moral framework provided by the government" (Sheoran 2011, p. 91). In Sheoran's study, a theme prominent in initiatives for social change is thus fused with objectives to encourage consumption. The campaign for contraceptives is consciously made reminiscent of the nation-building agenda, thus situating itself among the emancipation of 'women' through the utilisation of the nation's larger modernisation project. This approach is thought to be beneficial due to its association with an existing social campaign, providing a factor of brand recognition as well as being connected with projects of social significance. In contrast, Chaudhuri describes how the presence of particular debates regarding gender equality in commercial advertisements led to tension. With the normalisation of celebrating "choice" as part of empowerment debates, i.e. highlighting how making choices for oneself in and of itself is desirable and through commercial campaigns made to appear natural, social organisations opposing this appear as a "violation of choice and a killjoy attack" (Chaudhuri 2000, p. 273). The dynamics of commercial and social campaigns existing side by side illustrate connections between information and persuasion as well as between individual consumption and structural change processes. The examples reflect diverse interplay as part of the extant intertwining. These linkages are hence pivotal in the discourses regarding the role of the advertising business in change processes.

Participatory or Not? The Role of Market Research and Researchers

Like marketing, market research continues to play a vital role in commercial advertising and social campaigning alike. While in the early stages of the advertising industry, market research did not play a major part in the creative work, with its professionalisation, it is described as becoming a way to ensure greater connection to audiences (Rajagopal 1999b, p. 140; Rajagopal 2011b, p. 222). Accordingly, Chaudhuri describes agencies also specialising in market research and communication as a "new set of firms […] which are interested in understanding the Indian market" (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 146). In opposition to

this stands the insights from Mazzarella, who sees market research as a way to present agencies as having particular knowledge and skills. Mazzarella argues that market research was framed as "marketing 'science'" that ensures validity, expertise, and power. While often not used in decision-making prior to choosing strategies, the research reports instead provided the basis for rationalising choices in retrospect (Mazzarella 2003a, pp. 27–28). As part of development work, market research is considered key for more bottom-up approaches and necessary expertise, in line with the critique of social campaigns as a top-down approach and calls for more inclusive communication and participatory approaches. Market research is thus posed as the missing participatory approach in many of the strategies implemented by developmental organisations and as essential in the process to find out "about wants, needs, perceptions, attitudes, habits etc., to develop maximally effective marketing strategies" (Shanker 2009, p. 7). This expertise is seen as beneficial in creating medialised communication strategies with social objectives and as a solution to why developmental efforts have not shown the desired effects (Shanker 2009, p. 1).

In the context of producing gendered visuals and imageries as part of commercial advertising, Chaudhuri states that individuals engaging in market research are fully aware of the debates around gender through their work and incorporate this knowledge into the development of logic that stands at the foundation of campaigns. This perspective is evident in the already mentioned growing significance of the "female consumer" as a target group alongside expanding market research and feminist debates regarding the visibility of 'women' (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 148). In the study by S. Munshi (2001) on the "Beauty Industry and the Construction of the 'Modern' Indian Woman", 'women' are correspondingly singled out as "the key decision maker in purchasing" (Munshi 2001, p. 81). Subsequently, market research provided information on existing societal changes that influenced the imageries created. Munshi discusses the role of 'women' in relation to commercial advertising and points towards market research in the course of liberalisation as the driving force behind the re-creation of their profile as the female consumer, which extends its imagery with an idea of "women […] becoming more individualistic and paying greater attention to themselves" (Munshi 2001, p. 81). As Chaudhuri puts it: "Marketing agencies take cognisance of the impact of feminist ideas of 'freedom' and 'autonomy' on the new Indian women consumer and further reconstruct these ideas in alignment with neo-liberal ideas of self-realisation through achievement and pleasure" (Chaudhuri 2014, pp. 147–148). Based on this newfound focus, the producers of visual media in general, e.g. commercial advertising, film, and TV, increasingly targeted the aspiration of a growing 'middle class' by diversifying the female persona to include aspects of independence and 'modernity', intending to be able to cater to the financially-able female audiences

identifying with this profile (Munshi 2001, p. 81). The producers of commercial advertising hence found themselves in these circumstances and as part of discourses that entailed a new focus on 'women'. Market research provided insights into critical stances of visibility from feminist perspectives but interpreted and conflated these with traditional imageries of femininity into the persona of the 'new Indian women' to accommodate profit-driven agendas (Munshi 1998, pp. 573, 586).

Among the studies on advertising and social change, the role of market research differs depending on the relevant debate and the field and discussion in which market research is embedded: the inclusion of participatory approaches in social marketing campaigns, for example, as a base for effective commercial marketing campaigns, as a self-serving instrument regarding the legitimacy of marketing as 'science', or tool in order to identify and define target audiences. The commonality and interconnectivity lie in the importance given to market research as part of advertising practices. As outlined by Chaudhuri, advertising producers are situated within societal changes and changing practices while simultaneously consciously utilising the existing frame of reference. The awareness of advertising producers is thus embedded in debates on commercial interests, developmental initiatives, and change processes alike and framed by research methods. These circumstances highlight the interwoven interplay between media production and discourses on social changes in society. This places advertising producers in distinct circumstances concerning insights into debates on marketing thought and strategies, but also processes of change and significant social and cultural environments. The following section, therefore, deals with the discussions regarding the role of advertising producers.

2.2.4 Producing Media Content: Producers' Responsibilities and Self-Awareness

The production sites and producers themselves are central in discussing advertising's role in influencing audiences. The sites of production within the advertising business in India and the producers involved provide diverse types of studies regarding the involvement of advertising in social change processes. However, debates on the role of advertising producers as part of these processes primarily focus on the views of others about producers. In contrast, the views media producers hold about themselves rarely play a central role.

Among the studies, including the voices of advertising producers, the producers of commercial advertising, in particular, are described as being in a position of extraordinary power. These advertising producers are singled out even

though the broader category of media producers is in charge of the output communicated to the audiences and become representatives of chosen visuals, messages, and imageries. R. Banerjee (2018) echoes this point of view in the article "Media and the Power of Responsible Representation", asking the question "are Indian journalism and popular culture really taking any responsibility for the power they hold?" (Banerjee 2018). The belief of media cultures' specific power leads to the common idea of media producers and employees of advertising agencies and journalists especially to be notably positioned to hold this power by, for example, "determining the way consumers would be satisfied" (Jibril 2017, p. 4). They are considered a group who choose what medialised communication looks like, that is, which ideas and types of representation are included and how the characters and environments are presented. This specialised skill set that comes with being at the centre of the production of media content and combined with the assumed power of commercial advertising in particular is, in turn, argued to make them duty-bound with a specific responsibility. In an extensive study on gender representation in commercial advertising in India, Schaffter (2006) connects this position with the role and opportunities of 'women' in claiming, "the basic and necessary prerequisite for women's social empowerment is that they be treated with respect and dignity by society and more particularly by its avowed voices, the media, which not only reflect but also shape public attitudes" (Schaffter 2006, p. 13). Therein lies the idea of a few who are capable of directly affecting a considerable number of many. With the critical stances of representation of gender in particular, producers thus become responsible for the harmful medialised messages produced. They are expected to adhere to a specific agenda and knowledge of what visuals, messages, and imageries are not harmful and promote valuable and/or desirable matters. With this point of view, producers of commercial advertising are portrayed as homogeneous and in a unique position separate from society. However, as Mazzarella highlights, in thoroughly looking into the production of one particular advertising campaign, individuals of the advertising agency in question are noted to be occupied with clients' wishes. Mazzarella describes how any debates and deliberations on advertising content "have far more to do with the politics of the relationship between an advertising agency and its clients than with the relationship between the client and its customers" (Mazzarella 2003a, p. 149). These dynamics hence draw on a greater field of power relations set in the economic developments in India and reflect circumstances that entail networks of power and the corresponding discourses. As Chaudhuri points out in connection with campaigns selling beauty products: "advertisements do not operate in isolation but in tandem with a surfeit of sponsored features, news, editorials, interviews of professionals such as doctors, beauty specialists, hairstylists, sports icons, CEOs, etc." (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 150). Moreover, in connec-

tion with increasing market research and the insights these methods are said to bring, advertising producers are part of discourses featuring a range of specialised fields and are more precisely part of the "intended consequences of the myriad professional organisations of market, media and communication research" (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 156).

In debating the changing market and its influence on advertising strategies exemplified through commercial television advertisements, Rajagopal (1999a) includes insights gained from conversations with the advertisers. Rajagopal shares how some describe their role in change processes "as modernisers, uplifting oppressed women, and giving them the desires that they are too crushed and fearful themselves to try and fulfil" (Rajagopal 1999a, p. 89). While also described as "poets, artists, and others of a creative bent" (Rajagopal 1998, p. 19), producers of commercial advertising thus see themselves as individuals with the power to encourage change and with the tools to create strategies that influence audiences. This reflects the sentiment that the individuals creating advertising campaigns have not only been given responsibilities but have taken over responsibilities, as introduced in chapter one. Despite the consideration and debate on the responsibility of media producers, the insights of these individuals are rarely focal in these discussions. Apart from the study by Mazzarella, most studies include producers' views and thoughts as complementary comments. This can be seen in the publication by J. Cayla and M. Elson (2012) on the "Indian Consumer Kaun Hai? The Class-Based Grammar of Indian Advertising", where the authors focus centres the media producers' image of Indian consumers.[78] However, content analysis takes up a far more extensive part of the study's methodology, and media producers' insights function as additional voices (Cayla & Elson 2012, p. 295). Similarly, Haynes article "Creating the Consumer? Advertising, Capitalism and the Middle Classes in Urban Western India, 1914–1940" includes a discussion on the ways commercial actors, i.e. manufacturers, merchants, and advertising agencies, sought to create markets for their products among the urban middle class. Here too, the framing of the target group and audiences is central and discussed through content analysis. The sentiment and awareness among producers of commercial advertising of having responsibilities in processes of social change are reminiscent of the messages contained in the nation-building project focussing on each citizen as duty

78 In the study "Asian Brands and the Shaping of a Transnational Imagined Community", J. Cayla and G. M. Eckhardt (2008) aim to centre brand managers perspectives. While the authors "traveled to the offices of corporations, market research firms, brand consultancies, and advertising agencies developing regional branding strategies", the debate again circles the brands and representational politics therein.

bound. Rajagopal argues that "the pedagogical project of making subjects into citizens is assumed not only by the state, but as well and increasingly, by the market, in an age of economic liberalisation" (Rajagopal 1998, pp. 28–29). With the contextualisation through the governmental development agenda and the absence of changes in India relevant to all, the advertising agencies too function as an educational and pedagogical institution. Alongside the growing culture of NGOs that emerged as a response to the government's failure to provide the promised eradication of poverty prior to neo-liberal strategies, the advertising industry similarly had an important part in promoting the state-initiated agenda. Considering the state-led developmental project of nation-building, one has to ask whether, in the promotion of consumerism as progressive and modern and the enticement of individuals to consume in order to support the Indian nation, the role of the pedagogic institution was not only taken over by the market but was intentionally given to the market. The discourse of consumerism as an element in directing social change provided the groundwork for the marketplace and the players within to assume a position of responsibility.

In the light of the regional, historical, and contextual elements of the advertising business of India, media producers and creators of advertising, in particular, are part of diverse and complex networks of advertising. As argued by M. Chaudhuri (2014) with extensive experience studying predominately commercial advertising in India in the paper "Gender, Media and Popular Culture in a Global India": "ad agencies function across the media industry, development, advertisements and management sectors" (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 146). Therefore, within the spectrum of media cultures, producers of advertising must be regarded beyond the scope of creating commercial campaigns. Further, the advertising industry continues to figure as self-aware and involved in processes of change. Matters of representation and imageries on gender are hence products of marketing agencies that incorporate the current feminist debates into their work (Chaudhuri 2014, pp. 146–147). Chaudhuri describes this as follows: "the media industry too is acutely self-consciousness of the change that it is amidst – its role in shaping public discourse, in advertising what sponsors seek to advertise and the competitive need to advertise and promote itself" (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 151). The producers of campaigns thus exist in an interplay between decision-making and current discourses and intentionally incorporate these into their strategies in accordance with clients' and networks' support. Moreover, they must be considered as part of systemic patterns and discourses in place. Therefore, production circumstances are not only dependent on institutional discourses of media regulations but also on discourses on gender dynamics and other social change changes while being influenced by producers' realities, as well as their personal experiences of economic growth and extant changes processes in society. The tendency to single out advertising pro-

ducers as particularly influential and thus having particular responsibilities draws a divide between media producers and media audiences. This is illustrated when, for example, Rajagopal discusses the difficulties for media producers in creating messages "for addressing a new public still in formation in an environment where new challenges are mounting and the costs of error are high" (Rajagopal 1999a, p. 79) or argues that "advertisers seek to show individuals *in situ* as it were, crosshatched with prevailing caste, community and gender relations, to create a reality effect, and enable viewers to recognise themselves in the ad narratives" (Rajagopal 1998, p. 18). These discussions suggest an external position of advertising producers. While advertising producers have unique insights into the workings of media production, they cannot be considered apart from the processes of change and socialisation. In light of the discursive production of knowledge and the normalisation of ideas and perspectives, employees of advertising agencies and social organisations do not exist in a vacuum separate from their social and cultural context. As Munshi argues, reflecting on the potential of medialised messages to create spaces of resistance and simultaneously cater to dominant structures: "I wish to emphasise that advertising discourses aid to in no small measure in replicating the polemic of struggle, and that resistance can be read in many ways – both by audiences of media messages and by producers of the same" (Munshi 1998, p. 587). Munshi here points to a consideration for two categories, i.e. producers and consumers of media, while acknowledging that both groups exist within the same contextual circumstances of social and cultural knowledge and processes of change. Moreover, boundaries between media producer and media consumer are blurred as the current media culture increasingly allow for all individuals to be part of creating, producing, and reproducing this knowledge.

Ultimately, only a few studies include the perspectives of producers in the advertising business themselves and also tend to limit insights to homogenising descriptions or marginal comments. Content for the commercial sector, for example, commercial advertising, magazines, newspapers, and the entertainment business, takes up most space in the debates on the role of advertising in processes of social change. In studies regarding social marketing and advertising, producers are, for the most part, left undisclosed and only mentioned by proxy of their organisations or movement of social change. Social organisation representatives are usually defined in their capacity as experts with knowledge of social change rather than as media producers. Individuals in the advertising industry who engage in producing social campaigns are similarly only mentioned with regard to their company affiliation. Centring perspectives of advertising producers is thus largely absent from studies of advertising. In the following, I list the main trends and gaps identified through the review of relevant literature. Therein, I clarify my positions regarding these trends and gaps.

2.2.5 Trends and Gaps in Academic Debates: Influence of Advertising, Producers' Perspectives, and Gendered Issues

For the most part, the discussions on advertising and its relevance to social changes, as described above, indicate two main trends: studies concerned with intentional directions of change processes in opposition to studies dealing with unintentional directions of change processes. These are each largely tied to the social sector or the advertising industry, respectively. These trends, to some extent, reflect the contrasting objectives of commercial and social advertising: the aim of commercial advertising is to inform about available products and services, promote particular brands, and ensure profit for the private sector, while social advertising communicates available social schemes and projects, promote certain attitudes and behaviour, as well as specific ideas and ideologies. Due to this separation of sectors, the layers of overlaps, linkages, and intertwining are overlooked. Further, said studies rarely centre the perspectives of advertising producers, while it was apparent that a binary understanding of gender was dominant. In this section, I describe these trends and subsequently outline the understanding of advertising and focus established.

Differentiating the Influence of Advertising: Changing Individual Behavior vs. Systemic Patterns

As described, the literature review revealed that one aspect of discussing medialised communication entailed a focus on isolated campaigns that, for example, provide information in the form of health concerns or ideas on reproduction rights. Each advertisement's potential to influence audiences is considered with a specific goal in mind. Studies regarding social marketing campaigns almost exclusively consist of reception studies to determine the effectiveness of their initiatives and the ultimate impact as intended. The objective of selling ideas of social change is thus similar to selling products as in commercial advertising, i.e. dependent on each message. The main concern therein is, therefore, the success of directing processes of change. In contrast, advertising is debated with regard to its effect and impact on social change beyond its objective to sell products or ideas. Social Sciences, in particular, consider the significance of medialised content in processes of change and their impact on social patterns. While highlighting the importance of regionally specific and historical events and their connection to the advertising industry, these studies centre on media content analyses and the influential power of representation and normalisation. They draw on visuals, messages, and imageries contained in order to consider the reproduction and production of social patterns through

repetitive communication and as part of socialisation processes. The distinction between directing change processes intentionally in opposition to unintentional influence as part of socialisation processes sets up a differentiation between individual behavioural change and structural change of systemic patterns. Any systemic changes that are associated with social marketing are expected to evolve from each person's changes in knowledge, attitudes, and behaviour. With the central concern about commercial advertising depending on normalising patterns through the discursive power, systemic change or continuity is expected due to the repetitiveness of advertising.

The apparent differentiation is connected to the fields of studies primarily concerned with their respective type of advertising. The field of Development Studies and development communication centres on individual behavioural change reflecting principles of the idea of diffusion of innovation, while feminist Media Studies and other Social Sciences highlight the significance of commercial advertising in relation to social structures. Despite acknowledging commercial and social linkages, the advertising industry and the social sectors are thus continuously studied according to this differentiation. Due to the regionally specific historical context as outlined in chapter one and insights from conversations with advertising producers in Delhi and Mumbai, I find this differentiation unreflective of the current advertising business. The position of this interconnectivity between the social sector and the advertising industry needs to be given more relevance in the discussions of advertising and social change. Moreover, the trends of differentiation deflate a complex debate on the role of advertising in social change processes. The intertwining thus became a central theme of reflection, challenging the apparent differentiations. I argue that several factors point to the importance of the juxtaposition of social and commercial advertising. The interconnectivity includes the common foundation of marketing and its objective to influence audiences, the intertwining of the production, its sites and networks behind campaigns, as well as their content. While social marketing is inherently connected to the advertising industry through the use of marketing, the practical involvement of advertising agencies in social change initiatives pulls these field closer together. As detailed, examples of intertwining are common and stand in opposition to the trends of differentiation present in academic debates. The idea that the content of medialised communication is part of socialisation processes and, thus, normalising certain truths exists parallel to the conviction that media channels and content can be utilised in order to direct individual attitudes and behaviour through information dissemination. Accordingly, commercial advertising has of late been considered increasingly as part of messages directing social change with attention paid to representation in order to challenge the sexist stereotypes associated with commercial advertisements and normalise diverse perspectives of gender.

In contrast, the significance of social advertising as part of socialisation processes is rarely discussed. One exception is the article "Family Planning or Birth Control?" by M. Kishwar (1979), published in the journal Manushi as part of an organisation concerned with "women's rights and democratic reforms" (Manushi no date). It deals with family planning films initiated by the Indian government and poses consideration for social advertising as part of socialisation processes. Kishwar points out that the campaign emphasises the importance of sons stresses 'women's' self-sacrifice and passivity, and promotes family planning as a 'women's' duty to her husband and family (Kishwar 1979). Kishwar thereby argues that the representation contained illustrates sexist and patriarchal patterns and, as such, can be placed with the vast number of studies on commercial advertising regarding the impact of contained visuals, messages, and imageries. However, the idea of the content of social advertising as part of the reproduction of social patterns and, thus, unintentional directions of change processes is almost non-existent in academic discussions of the influential power of advertising. Based on the trends apparent in these discussions, the focus on the interlinkages and commonalities is central. I hence highlight the definition of advertising as part of medialised communication with the specific intent to influence audiences and centre the inherent intertwining.

Identifying Experiences of Change through Producers' Perspectives

The relentless focus on content analyses and reception studies illustrates an immense gap regarding the detailed narration of producers' perspectives and voices. The complexity of advertising entails a range of institutional affiliations and arenas, including advertising agencies and social organisations, but also governmental bodies and international development organisations and networks, as well as the interlinkages in between and academic debates. Therefore, producers' insights, in particular, provide an opportunity for understanding this complex field beyond marginal comments in support of extant discussions. The focus is thus shifted towards a thorough empirical enquiry into the meaning and understanding of the role of advertising in processes of social change from the advertising producer's point of view.

In order to encompass this field, I centre processes of change. This focus is relevant in all forms of advertising and enables the cumulation of diverse arenas. Despite the contrasting objectives, reception studies and content analyses both centre change processes and focus on identifying and describing social changes. With this, the change debated adjusts to the arena it exists within and is simultaneously a product of the extant contextual circumstances. As I have noted, change contains different aspects according to the arena or perspectives

it is connected to and should thus be thought of as pliable. An understanding of change then includes choosing one particular product or service, or a specific brand over another, obtaining knowledge that influences a person's attitude or leads to adopting certain behavioural patterns or dealing with processes of change regarding systemic patterns. This point of view enables discussions that encompass the complex network of advertising and the commonalities and intertwining of the social sector and the advertising industry in particular.

Reflections on Gender in the Form of "Women's Issues" through a Conceptualisation Beyond the Binary

Building on the premise that gender functions as a fundamental element in social structures, gender is referred to as a major resource in commercial advertising (Chaudhuri 2001, p. 375) and a focal theme in development work and, thus, many social marketing campaigns. Thematic frames centring gender and media are thus a thoroughly debated field among Social Sciences at Indian institutions since introducing the academic institutionalisation of 'women's' studies in colleges and universities in the 1980s, as well as the established development sector and affiliated scholarship, and growing discipline of Media and Communication Studies (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 145; Banerjee 2009). The diverse disciplines involved create a complex foundation of intersections between the understanding of media, gender, and change and its dynamics. As detailed above, several authors highlight the importance of the representation of gendered visuals and imageries in commercial advertising, such as Chaudhuri (2001, 2006, 2014, 2017), who extensively discusses gendered representation as part of extant processes of change. Critical voices point towards objectification and reproduction of static gender roles as the main problems within these discussions on representation, commercial advertising in particular promoting sexist patterns. Similarly, politics of social change point to the problems and symptoms of sexism: rape and gender-based violence, 'eve-teasing',[79] as well as unequal opportunities and expectations. Since the mid-1970s, social initiatives have increasingly focussed on the economic contribution of 'women' followed by an understanding of gender as a social construct and a shift towards centring "gender" instead of "women". However, the focus on the role of 'women' in processes of social change continued to be central (Wilkins 1999).

79 'Eve-teasing' is the term used in India and other countries in South Asia for sexualised harassment, such as comments and whistles in public spaces.

The importance given to 'women' and "women's issues" in discussions on commercial and social campaigning is telling. While the importance of these debates cannot be overstated, gender is often automatically associated with 'women', centring "women's issues". This is reflected in ideas on gender marketing as well as 'gender-mainstreaming' as part of development initiatives. Though gender has been pulled into focus, the main topic is representation and participation of female-coded characters and 'women'. Accordingly, the Network of Women in Media, India (NWMI), for example, who in 2019 organised a three-day gathering titled: "Making Gender Count: Towards Visibility, Equity and Safety", called upon media organisations to "consciously and effectively promote the Constitutional value of gender equality in media workplaces and media content" (NWMI 2019), with the focus addressing inequalities experienced by 'women' in particular.

Among the studies discussing gender in advertising, the focus on male-coded characters and masculinities, as in Haynes' study, is rare. The gendered binary positions male-coded and female-coded personas in opposition to each other (see, for example, Chatterji 2006). Haynes notes how the gendered expectations divide as follows: 'men' represent the material and political world, while 'women' stand for the spiritual world (Haynes 2010, p. 193). Chaudhuri describes the representation in advertisements from a perspective of 'women' gaining power, "an old attribute of men" while discussing power in relative terms, i.e. 'men' being in charge at work but not at home (Chaudhuri 2001, pp. 380–381) whereas 'men' are discussed to gain traditional female characteristics, i.e. as caring individuals (Chaudhuri 2001, p. 381; Favero 2002). In this development, while acknowledging the debate, Chaudhuri questions whether the emergence of "a more gender-sensitive image of male-hood spell the onset of a gender-equal era" (Chaudhuri 2001, p. 384). The debate on gender in advertising and other media outlets hence continues to focus on 'women' in particular: their visibility, their representation, and their opportunities, and occasionally also their role in production, for example, when it comes to journalism and representation in the news. The discussions almost exclusively draw upon a binary understanding of gender, thereby limiting their scope.

In rare cases, authors focus on alternative realities to the heteronormative construct. R. Vanita (2001), for example, discusses English language advertisements in Indian newspapers and magazines in the 1980s and 1990s and argues that the role of advertising in the representation and visibility of non-heterosexual couples and/or individuals is often to provide subtext representing homoeroticism as a seamless part of urban middle-class life (138). Therein lies the potential and possibility of redefining Indian manhood and womanhood as well as "blurring sexual as well as national and cultural boundaries" (Vanita 2001, p. 145). Vanita states that "advertising can get away with a much greater

degree of celebratory suggestiveness" (127) and that homoerotic themes and representation in literature and advertising – while sparking resistance and critique – have the potential of generating debate in general, thus adding to the visibility and publicity (130). However, the binary continues to be the foundation of gender dynamics when the representation of female-coded and male-coded personas. Stereotypical gendered markers and characteristics are left unchallenged, and no reference to other gender identities is made. Alternate gender identities such as trans, non-binary, or other gender non-confirming personas would enable a deeper discussion of stereotypical gender representation alongside the importance of addressing marginalisation and discriminatory practices experienced by individuals not fitting inside the binary understanding of gender.

As the academic discussions of the dynamics of advertising and gender adhere to a binary understanding of gender and often also a conflation of gender with 'women', the construct of these dynamics, power relations, expectations, and complexities inherent in constructions of gender dynamics is simplified. While considering alternate possibilities for understanding gender, this project includes gender as a representation of a particular aspect of social change while also reflecting a foundational component. Throughout the project, I deal with the discussions regarding the understanding of gender and include these reflections as part of the language used as outlined in the section on positionality. With the foundation in queer feminist perspectives, this standpoint continues to play a significant role in debates on gender.

2.3 Production Sites and Producers of Advertising as Departure in Discussing Processes of Social Change

As explained, to accommodate the complexities and immense intertwining of the advertising business in India and focus on processes of change and social change in particular, I here centre experiences, perspectives, ideas, and understanding of the individuals involved in the production of advertising. As representatives of people engaging in producing media content and especially medialised communication to influence audiences, they contribute with valuable specifics regarding ideas and understanding of advertising as well as the role of advertising and producers themselves in production and change processes. The sites identified in order to engage with the producers of advertising include advertising agencies and social organisations. Advertising agencies as production sites is a given. However, international organisations, NGOs and other social organisations, governmental institutions and ministries, alongside other stakeholders in advertising such as private companies, all figure as

important arenas that contribute to the discursive knowledge on change processes through medialised communication. The production sites at hand represent intersections for various discourses derived from, e.g. debates on media channels and technology, on development and social change, concerning advertising regulations and company policies, as well as economic perspectives alongside social and cultural implications. While not all of these arenas regularly interact, centring the producers of advertising, i.e. employees of advertising agencies and representatives of social organisations, encompasses junctions of diverse perspectives and discursive intermingling.[80] This focus enables insights into apparent arenas and intersections. Moreover, this position enables in-depth enquiry into the presence of discursive knowledge regarding processes of change. Through the advertising producers' background, realities, and understanding of the role of advertising in processes of social change and their self-identified position concerning these processes, including conflicting realities, the complex field at hand is perceived from a previously unconsidered point of view. In the analysis of this project, I hence focus on processes of change through an empirical exploration and provide a discussion exclusively based on the input by advertising producers. The dynamics between gender, media, and change are encapsulated within this focal point. Before outlining the theoretical framework applied within this project, I introduce the main research question and sub-questions in detail.

Introducing the Individual, the Institutional, and the Discursive Levels of the Central Question

The three key pillars central to this project are: 1) framing commercial and social advertising under a common understanding of medialised messages with the intent to influence audiences, 2) making the production sites and the individuals involved in the production processes focal, 3) and considering an understanding of gender as a construct of dynamics, power relations, expectations, and complexities beyond the category of 'women' and binary models. This led to the central question being phrased as follows:

What are the ideas, perspectives, and debates regarding the interplay between advertising and change, strategies of communication in order to direct change pro-

80 I detail the choice of respondents and the unavoidable exclusion of others in the next chapter.

cesses, and gendered imagery and social change processes prominent among producers of social and commercial advertising?

The following sub-questions reflect levels of change: individual and institutional realities, as well as the presence of discursive power as part of communicative strategies:[81]

— What connections exist between producers' realities and the production of advertising?
— What role do institutional networks and collaborations play in producing medialised messages?
— How are advertising strategies connected to change processes?

In order to encompass the diversity and complexities of the advertising business in India and the pillars mentioned above, these questions are set along a theoretical framework enabling a foundational understanding of advertising. I use the '*discourses of change*' framework as a lens to capture the focus on intertwining and diverse arenas and their complexities, centring the understanding of change processes from producers' perspectives. '*Politics of change*' provided a starting point and a concrete conversation of the strategies and approaches of advertising while being situated in greater discourses of change processes. Thereby, this project contributes to the debates on media and change with an in-depth discussion on production environments and processes of social change. In connection with the assumed power and pervasiveness of advertising, the production sites of advertising are framed as *spheres of knowledge production*, junctions where different perspectives are deliberated, and thus *platforms of discursive struggle*. This framework considers the diverse arenas present, the contextualisation of these intertwining arenas, as well as the debates regarding the role of advertising in change processes. The ideas and perceptions of advertising producers become representative of a diverse field of medialised communication created to influence audiences. In the following chapter, I detail these concepts and the qualitative methodology employed.

81 Succeeding the literature list, I provide a list of interviews undertaken, including the guide of questions used in the interview plan.

3 Framing the Understanding of Advertising Production & Exploring Producers' Perspectives

Advertising producers are essentially understood as key experts whose perspectives enable insights into a highly complex field. Their role in advertising provides conditions and opportunities to reflect on the exchange and inter-connectivity of the different arenas meeting as well as intra-institutional and client-employment hierarchies contained. Producers' insights hence reflect perspectives of the deliberation processes experienced, knowledge about the junctions in place, and shed light on how change is understood. Herein lies the opportunity to reveal discursive knowledge on directing change processes. The following chapter contains two parts regarding the role of the production sites of advertising and advertising producers. I first outline the theoretical framework in relation to the context of the chosen respondents. Then I detail the methodological approaches, including the processes and reflections during the inquiry. Throughout, this chapter highlights the insights given by the respondents, the contextual circumstances outlined in chapter one, and discussions of advertising and social change as detailed in chapter two.

3.1 'Discourses of Change' as Conceptualisation of the Understanding of Change Processes

In the following part, I elaborate on the construct of 'discourses of change' by drawing on theoretical concepts which describe discourse as a tool to direct focus and understand phenomena (Landwehr 2008, p. 20). The theoretical framework of 'discourses of change' is thus a way to conceptualise the meaning and understanding of change processes and the debates regarding change, including discursive knowledge of processes of change and the capacity to direct these processes. Through 'discourses of change', I encapsulate the contextual circumstances and debates present and connect this framework with discussions on theories of change and debates on media and change in particular, as outlined in chapter two.

As part of the field of media and gender and advertising and social change, 'discourses of change' are established through various arenas. These reflect dif-

ferent debates and agendas regarding the role of media in society and the influence of advertising in relation to gender. The discursive knowledge regarding processes of change thus includes perspectives from academic disciplines with different disciplinary focal points, political agendas of state policies, activists and development practices, and discourses present in media cultures. Between neoliberal policies that see economic development as a solution to poverty and a foundation for social change and reforms in the form of governmental agendas of progress conflating consumerism and social change, the dynamics of change processes include debates of individual change and systemic change. 'Discourses of change' encompass these perspectives and allow one to discuss contrasting views. Each arena includes debates regarding the role of media in processes of change, and thus, each plays a significant role as part of 'discourses of change'. All arenas constitute the extant discourses while at the same time are produced by them. Considering the diverse debates and perspectives regarding change processes alongside the networks enabling the intertwining of these discourses, a theoretical frame centring 'discourses of change' encompasses the range of knowledge, expertise, and debates present. 'Discourses of change' function as a theoretical lens to capture the diversity and assumed power of advertising and encapsulate the perception of the interplay between media cultures, media producers, change processes, and social structures. This perspective hence frames the intertwining of private sectors, governmental agendas, and the social sector.

Through 'discourses of change', I also frame the chosen respondents within their contextual circumstances between personal, institutional, and discursive connections. Advertising producers' context entails the interplay between the practices of directing change based on expert knowledge of, for example, producers of commercial advertising or development workers, and academic theorisation of change processes. Each individual's understanding of change is thus influenced by their contextual setting as, for example, a creative director or account manager, a client from an international development organisation or NGO, or volunteering to create campaign material. 'Discourses of change' thus encapsulate complex realities and incorporate the diverse perspectives based in different arenas and intermingling discourses regarding ideas, understanding, and achievability of directing change processes. This framework captures the background and perspectives of advertising producers as part of India's historical and regional circumstances, including social and cultural particularities. I thus deal with the trends and gaps I identified in my assessment of the literature on advertising and social change in India in the context and interpretations of a greater context. I use 'discourses of change' to establish the understanding and approach of this project and frame the analysis and discussions of the empirical material.

In the following sections, I detail the different aspects of the theoretical framework of this project, including the understanding of advertising and its

production sites as spheres of knowledge production. Therein, I specify the understanding of these sites and related arenas as junctions of different ideas and perspectives and, thus, discourses. These circumstances provide opportunities for discursive struggles that are considered the basis for processes of change in that the tension between conflicting discourses provides bases for transformation. Production sites of advertising are thus fertile ground for change. In each section, I consider the role of individuals and discuss positions of power and contributions to discursive struggles. Additionally, I position the theoretical framework in relation to transnational networks, post-colonial experiences, and advertising producers' socialisation processes.

The Power of Advertising Framed by Discursive Knowledge Production and 'Politics of Change'

As established, the pervasiveness associated with medialised messages, their role as prominent cultural texts, and media cultures as an essential element in societal change processes reflects the overarching conviction of media as powerful. Thus, Media channels, practices, and content are strong forces in creating an understanding of the world around them. The understanding of discourses captures the power associated with medialised communication and advertising in particular. As Carpentier and De Cleen (2007) pointed out, "From a discourse-theoretical viewpoint, media are seen not just as passively expressing or reflecting social phenomena. The media are not just one of the societal sites where discourses circulate, but also discursive machineries" (p. 274). Through linkages between communication, power, knowledge, and truth, discourses produce and reproduce systemic patterns and relations of power.[82] Therein, discursive knowledge is constructed through the ongoing repetition of statements that, as results of historical processes in which they are embedded, eventually become common sense, making any claim of truth a discursive construct (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, pp. 13–14; Rose 2012, p. 136). Thereby, discourses constitute the understanding of our realities (Foucault 1993 [1972], p. 20; Jäger 2001, pp. 82–86).[83] The understanding of gender as a binary, for example, emerges from a discourse that has been reproduced throughout time

82 M. Foucault referred to these linkages as a set of rules of what can be said and what cannot be said that create boundaries and prohibitions implemented through restrictions, taboos or possibly laws (Foucault 1993 [1972], p. 11).

83 As rephrased by S. Hall (1997) in "Foucault: Power, Knowledge and Discourse", discourse constitutes "a group of statements which provide language for talking about – a

in the form of socialisation processes, ongoing debates, and medialised messages and is taken for granted. That is, it constitutes the knowledge that most perceived as indisputable. The debates on the role of media in society thus illustrate the conviction held concerning the discursive and productive power of medialised communication. The messages produced and disseminated by media exist as part of existing discourses and can, through their presence, repetitiveness, and pervasiveness, reproduce or produce particular knowledge and hence discursive truth. The debates in relation to the advertising business in India, as outlined in chapter two, reflect the ongoing association with power as part of change agendas and connects advertising with the productive power of discourses. The repetitiveness connected with advertising, in particular, supports the notion of this type of medialised communication's discursive power. In order to capture the pervasive presence and its perceived ability to influence social structures, I frame advertising as a sphere of knowledge production. The influential power of advertising is thus given by setting these medialised messages in an understanding of communicating and normalising discursive knowledge and truth.

In the realm of media cultures, "discourses are articulated through all sort of visual and verbal images and texts, specialized or not, and also through the practices that those languages permit" (Rose 2012, p. 136). This reflects the idea of discourse as multimodal communicative practices (Landwehr 2008, p. 22; Hall 2001, pp. 72–73). As such, alongside language that figures as productive, the actions and performance in relation to communicative practices are also connected to discursive knowledge production. This establishes the production sites of advertising in its entirety as strong players in the discursive production of truth. Producers of advertising are thus situated amidst these spheres of knowledge production in accordance with the conviction of their position as powerful. By positioning spheres of advertising as discursive knowledge production, I acknowledge the power associated with media cultures and capture the perspective regarding the responsibility associated with advertising producers.

I frame the relations between communication and practices by the concept of 'politics of change'. 'Politics of change' draws on politics as "practices, discourses and institutions which seek to establish a certain order and organize human coexistence" as defined by C. Mouffe (Carpentier & De Cleen 2007, p. 272). Thereby, the methods and approaches used in advertising entail specific discursive knowledge in relation to specific agendas and objectives. The pro-

way of representing the knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular historical moment" (p. 73).

duction processes, including deliberation and creative choices, reflect discourses regarding effective communication. Discussing appropriate channels and communication forms, e.g. TV spots, print advertisements etc., as well as design, aesthetics, visuals, representation, and strategies applied in advertising are thus all part of the discursive knowledge and hence ‘discourses of change’. ‘Politics of change’ essentially captures the concrete expression of ‘discourses of change’. At the same time, the conceptualisation of ‘discourses of change’ allows for ‘politics of change’ as part of advertising to be understood in its broader context of discursive knowledge. Any choice in design and representation is embedded in the discursive knowledge of society, extant power relations, and ‘discourses of change’. Discussions of ‘politics of change’ hence provide indications of the understanding of change processes, how change is brought about, and who is in a position to influence or direct change processes.

The framework presented is particularly useful in understanding the interplay between advertising, social change, and theorising change processes. The theoretical concepts of discourse reflect the discursive power of advertising by drawing on the idea of underlying discursive knowledge and, thus, truth claims constructed through repetitive performances of learned behaviour and knowledge. This conceptualisation encompasses the dynamics and complex intertwining of production sites, stakeholders, including audiences and producers, and medialised communication while being embedded in existing discourses and their context. Deliberation processes as part of production include perceptions and experiences of extant power relations, discursive knowledge based on economic, institutional, cultural and social aspects, as well as discursive struggles. In turn, advertisements again become part of discourses, can spur debate and can be considered platforms for discursive struggle. Media’s influential position is thus not only considered part of change processes but central therein. With the framework of ‘discourse of change’, I thus build on the ideas of media’s power in the form of normalisation of discursive knowledge production and socialisation processes.

The Advertising Business as a Junction of Arenas, Ideas, and Knowledge

Discursive knowledge regarding processes of change is shared in different arenas and is connected on transnational levels through processes of globalisation, democratisation, and modernisation and discussions thereof. The unique historical background of advertising in India, characterised by diversity and intertwining, highlights the range of arenas, perspectives, and discursive truths present. The contextual setting and circumstances of the advertising business, including agendas of development and progress, economic reform and advan-

ces in medialised communication alongside the academic debates regarding the role of advertising in change processes in connection with the theorisations of media cultures and processes of change provide contrasting arenas in an interconnected network of 'discourses of change'. Discussions in each field reveal the dynamics of global discourses within a post-colonial experience and enable discussion of extant power relations. Post-colonial Studies and postmodern ideas especially provide a necessary reflection on these dynamics. As described by Chaudhuri, the contrasts between "international capitalist interests" usually conflated with the 'West' and "national sovereignty" play a significant role in perceptions of advertising in India. Therein, critical stances toward liberalisation policies and the inherent power relations persist as strong viewpoints among stakeholders in India alongside ideas of the opportunities of advertisements to promote egalitarian social change (Chaudhuri 2001, p. 375). The context of this specific field, the extant movements and societal changes, governmental policies and transnational networks, and interdisciplinary debates of academia thus contribute to current 'discourses of change'. 'Discourses of change' are part of broader contextual relations and thus not only entail a multitude of arenas, perspectives, and discourses but are also marked by the interplay between transnational networks and regional interpretations thereof.

Within these particular circumstances, through the individual context present such as family setup, upbringing and interests, educational background, as well as training and work experiences, or engagement with existing discussions, respondents are connected to different theoretical and practical debates on the role of media in change processes. Each person's individual reality, context, and relation to medialised messages are composed of existing discourses available in their particular setting. At the same time, the contextual settings of advertising producers reflect the extant intertwining through personal stories and institutional networks, thus pointing to opportunities for discursive struggles. With, for example, shifting between sectors happening regularly among advertising producers alongside frequent collaborations, the various discursive realities present in deliberating and planning campaigns are characterised by contrasting experiences. While individuals involved in the production of advertisements are situated in 'discourses of change' through a particular arena, their perspectives seep into another arena with their relocation. I elaborate on this as part of the analysis. The interconnectivity through individual career choices, institutional collaborations, and constant intertwining with the departure in the contextual circumstances of the advertising business of India thus lead to junctions of diverse arenas, ideas, and knowledge. Further, the perspectives of advertising producers entail transnational discourses as found in different disciplinary studies and existing debates connected to regional specifics of their settings and experiences. Respondents' regional, historical, and personal condi-

tions are thus encapsulated through post-colonial experiences within transnational discourses.

The diversity within ‘discourses of change’ as encountered in the advertising business in India and the convergence of arenas, ideas, and knowledge contained within the junctions where producers of advertising and other stakeholder meet reflect discursive struggles through the process of deliberation over what works, i.e. ‘politics of change’. With the discourse theoretical point of view that defines media as important public spaces and media discourse as a site of power and social struggle (Carpentier & De Cleen 2007, p. 274), the production environments of medialised communication hence represent spheres of discourses that highlight the complexity entailed and enable platforms of these struggles. Discursive struggles thus consist of differing discursive knowledge regarding change processes from contrasting fields like development practices or marketing, Sociology or Media and Communication Studies. In the next section, I detail the understanding of discursive struggles present as part of advertising production and relate these perspectives to processes of change.

Production Sites of Advertising as Platforms of Discursive Struggles and Change Processes

As explained above, the interconnectivity of institutional collaborations and individual career paths not only establishes production sites characterised by diversity but also lays the foundation for junctions of diverse arenas. Thereby, the deliberation processes as part of creating campaigns entail intersections of discursive knowledge and thus represent platforms of discursive struggles. In line with the perspectives presented by Laclau and Mouffe, I build upon the idea of diverse discourses existing side by side and interacting, struggling “for the right to define truth” (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, pp. 5–6, 13).[84] The struggles between conflicting discourses are key in change processes and draw on the premise that discursive change materialises as social change.[85] The process of change is hence reflected in the understanding of discursive change, and dis-

84 As described by N. Carpentier and B. De Cleen (2007) in “Bringing Discourse Theory into Media Studies. The Applicability of Discourse Theoretical Analysis (DTA) for the Study of Media Practises and Discourses”, Laclau and Mouffe contributed significantly with their perspectives as part of the discussion on Marxist theory, Hegemony and Socialist Strategy published in 1985 (Carpentier & De Cleen 2007, pp. 265–266).

85 This perspective is based on the standpoint that the social world is discursively and thus socially constructed. The result is that no understanding of the world is solid: all understandings are changeable. (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p. 5). Similarly, Laclau and

cursive change in the form of social change is dependent on interaction. With advertising and its production sites as the junction for deliberation concerning communicative strategies, including visuals, messages, and imageries, the exchange among the involved stakeholders is not only part of the production processes of advertising but also significant to changes in discursive knowledge. These spheres of discourse, therefore, contain choices made based on discursive struggles. Due to the extant diversity, the interaction, communication, and actions within advertising production sites mirror an exchange of discourses that can lead to new discourses from which knowledge and hence new discursive truth is constructed. The choices regarding specific visuals, messages, and imagery, in turn, become part of greater discourses. While the conceptualisation of discourse theory gives way to an understanding of advertising production as an important part of discursive change, the dynamics of normative frameworks and struggles to define truth do not lead all discourses to become normative. Different arenas accommodate different discourses that constitute truth respectably, while normativity depends on the relation to greater social norms and extant power relations. For example, a queer feminist discourse on gender as a spectrum conflicts with the normative paradigm of gender as a binary. The understanding of gender as binary oppositions constitutes a dominant discourse. In contrast, queer feminist discourse – proposing multiple realities and diversity within gendered belonging and identification – is a discourse challenging this notion. The struggles to define meaning and truth are thus of constant concern. Based on the idea that discursive struggles can inspire alternate, unforeseeable or opposing discursive truths, I argue that advertising in all its forms might challenge discursive truths, reproduce current normative discourses, or be part of renegotiations of normative patterns.

The circumstances of campaign production seen as platforms for discursive struggles brings forth the question regarding individuals' role in change processes. The sphere of discourses in place behind the scenes of any campaign stands in relation to each individual's experience of institutional practices, existing technologies and servicing logic and is influenced by social and cultural structures. While designers and copywriters deliberate on content with account managers, as well as corporate employees or NGO workers and other activists, representatives of international development agencies and representatives of governmental bodies, depending on the specific campaign and the clients in question, sites of production thus become sites of social interaction. Dis-

Mouffe argue that discourses and identities are not defined as stable and fixed but are always in exchange with various elements of different discourses (Carpentier & De Cleen 2007, p. 268).

cursive struggles become present in deliberation processes with the premise that "knowledge is created through social interaction in which we construct common truths and compete about what is true and false" (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p. 5). With the understanding of advertising as a sphere of knowledge production and individuals' powerful position therein, I identify producers of advertising as agents of change through the stance that "language users act as both discursive products and producers in the reproduction and transformation of discourse and thereby in social cultural change" (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p. 17). This perspective leans towards the theoretical foundation of critical discourse analysis (CDA).[86] This understanding frames advertising producers as subjects and agents in processes of change and builds on the conception of advertising producers' powerful position. While individuals act on the basis of discursive knowledge and thus truth claims, the conceptualisation of advertising as a sphere of knowledge production provides the basis for individuals' position in processes of change. While individuals are influenced by their contextual discursive knowledge and truths in relation to the productive power of discourse (Hall 2001, p. 80), CDA acknowledges the ability to identify and challenge extant discourses.[87] By utilising existing ideas from alternate discourses to influence other discourses, new hybrid discourses can emerge or be constructed and thereby, "people function as agents of discursive and cultural change" (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p. 17). Accordingly, producers of advertisements are situated in discourses that determine their understanding of social realities, choices, and behaviour but, at the same time, have the possibility of reflecting on their position and relation regarding extant power relations. This position reflects the common understanding regarding media producers' power and responsibility and considers possibilities of influencing discursive knowledge and, hence, processes of change. Advertising producers thus figure as

86 CDA is based on an understanding of discourse that centres on extant power relations. Discourses are considered as resources giving power to some in that identifying with the dominant discourse puts individuals in a place of constituting and promoting truth. This can potentially lead to the oppression of minorities that identify with other truths. In other words, the knowledge determined to constitute the truth is utilised through seemingly obtaining the power of defining this knowledge (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p. 13).

87 In contrast, the premise of Foucauldian discourse theory frames "the individual as determined by structures" (Jørgensen & Phillips 2002, p. 17). Therein, discourses constitute a super-structure that determines all reality and does not consider individuals or groups in a position to create discourses (Jäger 2001, p. 86). Discourse is powerful "because it is productive […and] human subjects are produced through discourse" (Rose 2012, p. 137).

agents with agendas depending on their institutional affiliation that reflects an intent to direct change processes with roots in discursive knowledge and struggles. These components are the basis for potential discursive change and, thus, social change.

Centring Producers' Socialisation, Education, and Experiences as Aspects of 'Discourses of Change'

The respondents thus include creatives in charge of visuals, design, and copywriting in order to explore the choices made about the form, design and content that brings forth the message of campaigns. They also include account managers and client services in the case of employees of advertising agencies and project managers, and independent activists as part of creating social advertising. As a key in this inquiry, I frame the individuals as experts amid a sphere of discursive politics that influences the exact visual and message that is communicated to audiences and expected to generate change. They are embedded in multiple discourses throughout, which depend on their contextual setting: their position within the creation process, social and cultural belonging, and their perceptions regarding change. State regulations and debates regarding morality and censorship influence the possibilities and limitations of design, while discourses regarding PR, representation, and brand logic are part of the debates with clients. Agendas, due to economic structures or social agendas put forth by the private sector or social institutions and organisations, whether government, regional NGOs or international networks, each play their part in advertising production. This context includes the extant political or commercial agendas, and institutional networks, the understandings of the world fuse into the representational, market, and discursive politics. The chosen respondents are thus not only experts with a particular set of skills, expertise, and experiences in deliberating on media content and creating campaigns but also at the centre of intersections of deliberation processes and, as such, in a unique position regarding insights into processes of change and media's role in these processes through 'politics of change'. With the intertwining in place among the different arenas as part of the production sites of advertising, producers of advertising are set in the midst of established junctions. The respondents I chose for this project are thus uniquely positioned to encounter and experience the 'discourses of change' present in deliberation and decision-making processes.

Further, all respondents each have their specific path of socialisation, educational background, and experiences and connect to 'discourses of change' according to these contextual realities. Debates regarding systemic patterns and

social change are reflected in each respondent's background, family setting, and upbringing. Besides exposure to medialised debates, including news media, advertising, and other media cultures, another factor that plays a major role in each person's viewpoint is disciplinary affiliation and the academic discussions of theories of change therein. The respondents have encountered various perspectives regarding this field depending on education choices. Respondents studied, for example, Social Work or Communication Studies, engaged with fine arts, journalism, or web development, or were employed as airline staff, bank officers, or architects. This diversity sets these individuals within varying discourses and, thus, ideas of the world, especially concerning change processes. Each of these fields brings a set of specialised knowledge that influences convictions regarding elements useful for directing processes of change, for example, the need for regulations and legislations or individual behavioural change as prominent.

Sitting in a spacious office space that seemed like a wide corridor leading to windows that allowed light to flood the space, Karam shared their life and points of view with me. While waiting, I was invited to look through the campaign material for sale besides DVDs, t-shirts, calendars, and other items. Tables, couches, and glass cabinets were loaded with textiles and posters, all reminding me of the work happening in this house. Surrounded by this atmosphere, we sat at the desk between a computer screen and piles of paper on current projects. Karam described the activism of family members who actively engaged with topics of class struggle and how these experiences influenced them in their life choices:

> I have always been interested in the social sector because I come from family background that probably ingrained that in me. […] I grew up as a child seeing pictures of Marx and Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg and stuff like that and the communist manifesto very early on. […] So, a bit of that social streak came from there. I never thought I would do anything else actually (Karam 2013).

The family setting thus contained a normalisation of seeing social structures through a lens of class struggle and a desire to engage further, leading to employment in the social sector accordingly. Besides discourses present in their academic and other educational studies, activism continued to be part of and influence their perceptions and ongoing activism.

> I started working in the field, at the grass-root level with rural communities, with gain from gender perspective looking at development and social change and stuff like that. I was always inclined towards the creative sort of domain of seeing how things were changing, how we were messaging or how we were writing (Karam 2013).

Their work creating social campaigns thus connected their wish to engage in the social sector with interests in medialised communication. The areas they engaged with thus included theories of change contained in development practices and debates regarding the role of media in social change while engaging artistically with the attempt to direct processes of social change. Karam's case thus entails specific debates regarding power relations of society and, at the same time, provides a specific approach to direct change processes. Similarly, Suhas described their career path and choices made:

> I was studying commerce and […] a major subject being introduced at the time called advertising and mass communications […] was a specialised course among traveling and tourism. I was keen on advertising at that time and those three years gave me the background of advertising and how it works and a little about agencies, a little bit about their work and how its done in general, and I was creatively inclined towards doing that kind of stuff, so I pursued it. […] I used to wonder how they had thought of this, how this entire process was made (Suhas 2011).

Commercial advertising stood as a way to combine various aspects of their personality. This specialised course of advertising, embedded in specific disciplines between commerce and tourism, thus gave a particular background into this field and a specific understanding of the 'politics of change'. Within the chosen studies, Suhas' career choices are connected with the personal interests of working creatively and understanding the works of medialised communication. The disciplinary linkages reflect the contextual particularities that bring forth specific 'politics of change' as part of the evolving advertising business. Hence, the sphere of knowledge production entails 'discourses of change' embedded in these connections. 'Discourses of change' hence frame the understanding of advertising production and the respondents' role as part of media cultures.

Theoretical threads concerned with media and change and studies regarding advertising and change in India highlight different aspects of 'discourses of change'. The advertising business in India and its stakeholders partake in these discussions through their work and connect specific circumstances to discursive knowledge of development, medialised communication, and processes of change. Further, the environment of urbanities contributes to close proximities of diverse realities and opportunities. These provide denseness in the current 'discourses of change'. With the involvement in the production of medialised communication, respondents are situated in the midst of junctions of knowledge production and discursive struggle while bringing discursive truths based on socialisation, including background, affiliation, and exposure, to the table. The connections and overlaps of these elements of 'discourses of change' hence

provide discussions that stand as the centre of this inquiry. The chosen respondents give way into insight into these discussions. In the second part of this chapter, I detail the methodology related to gathering the perspectives of advertising producers. As part of this, I describe the process of collecting material while negotiating the focus, approaches, and principles used during my visits to advertising agencies and social organisations and outline the methods used for analysing and interpreting the material.

3.2 Considering Producers' Perspectives through Qualitative Methodologies of Social and Cultural Anthropology

As outlined in the previous chapter, my review of studies concerning advertising and social change in India shows insufficient attention to the perspectives and understanding of advertising producers. This led to my focus on production sites of advertising and its producers as a potent thematic core regarding the interplay between advertising and change. As such, I set out to contribute with these perspectives to enrich the academic debates and studies on gender and media, with discussions less prominent. Qualitative data gathering is especially useful for capturing perceptions and understanding (Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest, & Namey 2005, pp. 1–2, 30). Therefore, I chose methodologies connected to traditions in Social Anthropology, including semi-structured interviews and observations, to engage with and interpret advertising producers and their perspectives (Creswell 1997, p. 6). Centring conversations with individuals engaged in production sites of advertising, the respondents were marketing professionals employed by advertising agencies in Delhi, Gurgaon, and Mumbai, employees of NGOs and other social organisations, as well as activists, volunteers, and other individuals almost exclusively situated in Delhi and engaged in producing messages designed to influence audiences. The inquiries circle thematic discussions regarding advertising and communication strategies, social change and change processes, as well as experiences in personal and professional life. Ultimately, the chosen respondents' attitudes and points of view were the foundation for an interpretive analysis of the 'politics of change' and discussion of 'discourses of change'.

In the following part, I give insights into the research process, choices made, and principles applied as part of the methodology. This includes the exploration of various thematic and focal possibilities regarding the advertising business and connecting with the respondents through an interest in their backgrounds and realities. Further, I emphasise the importance of adjusting to the setting and difficulties that occurred and, most importantly, being mindful of the limits and possibilities of the individuals willing to share their time and

energy with me. I thus detail the methodological considerations necessary to gain insights into the ideas and perspectives of the chosen respondents and outline the learning experiences encountered during the visits to Delhi and Mumbai. This chapter ends with introducing the methods applied in the review of my field notes, the transcription sessions of the recorded conversations, as well as the approach used for analysing and interpreting the collected material.

Concerning the Fields and Producers as Respondents: Gaining Access to Diverse Production Sites

I gathered the material during two separate visits to India, each between early January and the end of March in 2011 and 2013. The first visit was more exploratory and focussed on respondents employed by advertising agencies in Delhi and Mumbai. The second visit focussed predominantly on respondents from arenas previously neglected, such as agencies that produced governmental campaigns and respondents producing campaigns for NGOs and other social organisations. While Mumbai is known as a financial hub and has many advertising agencies throughout the city, Delhi gave access to a booming advertising industry with growing numbers of agencies and the social sector as a centre of social organisations and activism. The landscape of Delhi thus reflected the growth of the advertising industry alongside the presence of social sector engagement, especially concerning topics regarding gender. For example, many transnational advertising agencies were situated in nearby Gurgaon. This environment provided accessible and suitable locations. As a former resident and researcher in Delhi, I was acquainted with most areas and had previously visited many social organisations that were also relevant to this project. This gave me an advantage in contacting individuals in the social sector. Respondents in Delhi perceived the city as a place where "everything happens" (Karam 2013) while also described it to be "known as a city which was like the most unsafe city for women" (Navneet 2013). The discourses encountered thus carried the juxtaposition of these realities as part of urban proximities in terms of economic growth and ongoing engagement against social inequalities. This environment was also visible through commercial and social advertising and exemplified in current events. For instance, in Delhi, I had the opportunity to visit an exhibition initiated by UN Women in the finalisation of a photo competition titled "Freedom from Violence" (UN Women 2013) as well as the annual two-day Indian Marketing Summit titled "Social Marketing. Bridging Business and Society". Delhi thus served as a knot of 'discourses of change' as well as a representation of intertwining in that dynamics, close interactions, and partnerships were possible and pertinent.

When I returned to Delhi in January 2013 following the aforementioned Nirbhaya case, an extraordinary amount of events, talks, and discussion groups on gender and 'women's' safety took place in Delhi and provided ample opportunity to join discussions on gender and witness reactions to the debates. I was part of an open group discussion organised in direct reaction to the Nirbhaya case to digest past activities and discuss further actions. I joined a presentation and discussion round organised by the Bahai'i community concerning 'women's' safety in public based on a study done in connection with the Safe Delhi campaign in 2004. I visited the one-billion-rising event and different happenings for the International Women's Day, which included a march, exhibitions, speeches, and performances dealing with sexualised violence and sexism. These sessions of participatory and non-participatory observations at different locations across Delhi highlighted the intensification of debates on gender-based violence framed through the focus on 'women's' safety and how this topic had been of great concern continuously and now had become part of mainstream debates. Some events also gave me access to respondents and provided intriguing insights into collaborations while providing a range of posters and social advertisements placed around the event or offered for sale.[88] While preparing for the International Women's Day events, I was invited to join a group of volunteers active in a Delhi-based social organisation creating posters for the march. This opportunity provided me with perspectives as part of an activist group engaging with gender-based inequalities and violence while accompanying them to various events, e.g. the International Women's Day event at Delhi University and the Take Back the Night event in central Delhi. Moreover, participating in creating posters set me in the middle of a production site and as part of the team and deliberation of the production process. Additionally, I was allowed to conduct three focus group discussions (FGD) with students at two different universities. I organised two sessions at the Sociology Department of the Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) with twenty-five students in total and another with almost fifteen students at the Jamia Millia Islamia organised with the support of the professor at the Centre for Culture Media & Governance.[89] While contacting previous respondents from the advertising industry to bring

88 Besides relevant weeklies and advertisements in newspapers gathered throughout my stay, I thus collected 48 posters, one calendar, some short films and a range of flyers and brochures in different sizes and with various focuses at both events and archives visited.

89 The first round was in the context of a seminar titled "Themes in Gender, Culture, and Society", which made my project relevant to them and enabled me to hold a discussion round based on interest and familiarity. The second FGD consisted of many from the initial round and students responding to an announcement at the Social Science

previous conversations up to date and getting in touch with respondents in the social sector, the circumstances during this time served as an attestation of the transformation present flowing the Nirbhaya case.[90] Medialised debates, reactions through media channels, including advertising, and debates concerning social change and gender dynamics established an amplified version of relevant discourses. Explorations into content-driven research and the opportunities of reception studies opened interesting perspectives. The FGD I conducted and events I visited became part of gaining insights into the phenomenon of commercial and social intertwining as well as the environment of debates on advertising and social change. Similarly, events echoed the existing voices and discourses present and, as such, reflected the complexities of the 'discourses of change'. However, the interviews with advertising producers became central to my analysis.

All in all, forty respondents contributed insights from their particular production site, predominately through one-on-one formal conversations, not including other conversations I had during events and observations. Two of these were phone interviews, and one was an exchange via email. I conducted three interviews with two respondents each and one as a group session of five participants. Of all the conversations, twenty-five were with respondents who sought their connection to commercial advertising: these people were employed as client service, copywriters, or creatives in advertising agencies that were a mix of transnational networks, local agencies, or newly established independent businesses. Another fifteen were respondents mainly engaged in the social field either as illustrators and designers, as activists and volunteers, as part of established NGOs, organisations set up since 2000, or international organisations such as the UN. I excluded representatives of government Ministers and private companies as respondents. Apart from the practicality and accessibility of centring advertising producers as experts on communicative strategies, their experiences and viewpoints provided the necessary input regarding the research question. Further, I expected any other stakeholders' influence on the process of production to be covered in conversations with the chosen respondents. For example, while the DAVP is listed as responsible for governmental campaigns, their position in these activities is mainly in providing contacts to advertising agencies and guidelines to follow. I hence consider employees of advertising

building. The sessions consisted of slides with advertising examples that inspired discussions about the content and the participants' perspectives regarding the role of advertising and media in social change processes. I repeated this format in the third FGD.

90 In many cases, the previous contacts connected to advertising agencies were unavailable, and I found new respondents during my second stay.

agencies as an entry point to the discussions of governmental campaigns and commercial advertising alike.

With the respondents' permission, I recorded most conversations to ensure all the details were included and let me focus on the conversation rather than writing exhaustive notes.[91] I kept two field diaries, one from each visit in 2011 and 2013. In them, I noted my plans, thoughts, ideas, information about the meetings, observations from events, details on the conversations, and documentation from the interviews that I did not record. Purposive sampling and snowballing provided access to respondents, following the guidelines to conclude the inquiries when "theoretical saturation" was reached, i.e. when the conversations seemed to repeat already established salient insights (Mack et al. 2005, p. 5). With my focus on production sites and a broad understanding of advertising, the social and the private sector alike provided criteria for relevant representatives to include. I usually established initial contact by contacting advertising agencies and social organisations directly. I chose some advertising agencies out of practicality, such as cases where I gained access through personal contacts or previous interview partners. Others became a focus of interest due to commercial campaigns including themes of social change they had produced. In some cases, I approached advertising agencies I learned had figured as production sites of social marketing campaigns, such as advertisements instructed by governmental ministries, international organisations, and NGOs. I flagged social organisations as relevant due to their work on gender and the production of visual or audio-visual campaigns, and here also often drew on previous contacts. Snowballing sampling was advantageous in order to get in touch with additional potential respondents (Mack et al. 2005, p. 5). With the various arenas involved in production processes, including international organisations and state institutions besides private companies, the representatives of advertising agencies and social organisations chosen as respondents for the inquiry at hand provided the spectrum of perspectives into these diverse arenas.

Introducing the Respondents and their Realities: Ensuring Anonymity through Fictional Personas

As part of the analysis, I divided the respondents into four overarching fictional personas that comprise the different aspects of each respondent's context, i.e. the characteristics of their backgrounds and realities. These personas encom-

91 I kept bullet points of the conversation in case the recording failed.

pass the major trends regarding respondents' affiliation to the advertising industry or social organisations as well as shifting according to the perceived boundaries in between and therefore serve as useful groupings. Each fictional persona hence represents a group of respondents with common traits and includes the details of more than one person. During the conversations with the respondents, questions into their contextual settings were not only a way to connect but also contained vital reflections concerning the presence of 'discourses of change'. Through the division into four personas, I ensured the anonymity of the respondents despite enabling a detailed look into their backgrounds while highlighting the intertwining of said boundaries.

I have chosen the four following personas to describe the respondents. The first two represent individuals who – at the time of contact – have remained within the sector they chose at the beginning of their career path: 1) those connected to advertising agencies I named Suhas, and 2) those connected to the social sector I named Karam. The other personas are people who have shifted between sectors: 3) respondents who have shifted from the social sector to commercial advertising, I named Roni, and 4) those who have shifted from the private sector and the advertising industry into the social sector, I named Navneet. While respondents were not necessarily only active in one arena and not always strictly moving from commercial advertising to social advertising and vice versa, these distinctions were prominent trends and are thus highlighted. I have chosen gender-neutral names in line with my approach of eliminating assumptions about gendered belonging and presenting a gender-neutral language. I chose this approach as a reminder that the binary understanding of gender contributes to the invisibility of individuals from trans- and non-binary identities.[92] Despite the usefulness of these groupings and choices, shortcomings and complications must be discussed. Suhas, Karam, Roni, and Navneet each stand for a specific commonality among the respondents while representing producers of advertising widely. However, respondents and personas are not identified by gender. Based on gender representation, the respondents were diverse while not distinctively queer presenting. As each respondent's gender identity was not discussed, the individual's experiences of gender and singular queer voices, in particular, have not been explicitly highlighted. Similarly, specific gender dynamics and the potential of power relations according to gender in conversations with multiple respondents or as part of work spaces' dynamics were not addressed explicitly. While acknowledging that gender identity might influence perspectives and experiences, I chose to stress the importance of not

92 Despite conflicting readings of names, the four chosen names occur as neutral and are meant to be read as such.

making assumptions about gender. With this, I wish to highlight the problematic aspects of such assumptions and counter tendencies of adverting to recognising gender due to representation following an understanding founded in the discursive power of hetero-normativity. A binary understanding of gender might become dominant and render the spectrum invisible. By making every individual's gender identification invisible, I attempt to overtly point out the tendencies of particular individuals' invisibility and hence highlight the power relations that come with identifying some while excluding others. The role of respondents' gender in relation to ideas about processes of change was not central to the research question, and I, therefore, left out a conversation about their personal gender identity. As mentioned in the introduction, the main driver for choosing a gender-neutral language is eliminating assumptions based on a stereotypical understanding of gender markers. Singular 'they' is hence also prioritised and enables references to specific individuals as part of a group containing individuals not based on gender differentiation. This choice, in turn, prompts the issue of eliminating the possibility of addressing trans people with appropriate personal pronouns and connecting experiences and statements with gender identification. However, the shortcoming of the choices made is addressed through the diversity of the respondents. With activists of social organisations concerned with gender and, in some aspects, also dealing with the construction of the gender binary, these perspectives are present otherwise. While single voices and experiences are not focal, the assortment of voices is assumed to smooth out these issues. Additionally, with the direction of the research question to understand the respondent's perspectives regarding processes of change, it was never an attempt to pinpoint how gender works in these workspaces or dynamics.

While each persona had varied experiences getting into the production of advertising, almost all were enrolled in English-medium primary and secondary schools and continued to pursue higher education. As outlined in the previous part, their educational paths were diverse, departing from various family settings and interests. I combined various elements of each respondent under each fictional persona to give an idea about their realities. Suhas became engaged with commercial advertising as they lost interest in formal studies and the idea of, for example, pursuing a career in the legal business, governmental ministries, or towards a doctoral degree as many of their family members did. They were interested in creative expressions such as fine arts, poetry, and writing. However, the expectations of family and their understanding of careers pressured them into looking into employment that was considered more traditional than the instability of engaging with art. The advertising industry thus presented an apt compromise: they could follow their inclination to fun and creative work. It enabled them to fuse personal characteristics of not fitting into

the family's ideas of careers with their interest in working in a creative direction. During their time in advertising agencies, Suhas engaged with social causes and initiatives through projects within the agency. They contributed work hours and expertise to support social organisations' social marketing campaigns, e.g. the Bell Bajao campaign against domestic violence launched in 2008, and became involved with social projects by volunteering with organisations or campaigns.[93] While their family often did not understand the balance of late working hours and minimal payment in the initial years, they established an independent company producing commercial advertising campaigns after some time. This step enabled greater freedom in work choices and reflected the independence from social expectations, whether career paths or other unorthodox life choices, e.g. married life or personal interests. They engage in artistic expressions in their time outside the agency and seek experiences through travels for leisure and personal adventures within and also outside India. Similarly, Navneet sought a career path that ensured financial stability and independence. While themes of social justice were prominent in the family conversations, careers in the social sector were not considered a first choice. The importance of having a high education leading to a high-paying job was prime to give stability and opportunities. Navneet's family setting inspired them to seek this type of employment as a way to distance themselves from traditional family structures. While their father was in charge of the family's income, their mother was responsible for the household and childcare. In this scenario, the importance of independence became prime for Navneet seeking financial stability in a career path reflecting these opportunities. However, through experiencing gendered patterns throughout their education and initial employment, a personal attachment to social causes led them to seek employment in a social organisation where they also became part of the team working on the Bell Bajao campaign, among many others. Their family were understanding of the changes in their choices despite the worry of leaving a promising and stable career behind. The experience of not fitting into normalised ideas of gender roles and the wish to give something back then were fulfilled by joining the social sector. Karam also lived a life in which social equality was central to family values and had opportunities for higher education with English-medium school and college degrees. While making films and working creatively also was an interest, their chosen studies reflected the socially conscious attitude instilled by their family. Within the family setting, the stereotypical gender roles between siblings were

93 The Bell Bajao campaign (translation from Hindi: Ring the bell) was initiated by the Delhi-based NGO Breakthrough. For more details on the Bell Bajao campaign, see Aleya (2012).

challenged to some extent in that all children were expected to contribute to household chores. The wish to engage with arts became an ongoing project, which in some periods also included teaching arts and, thus, a skill set applicable to the work on social campaigns and advertisements. However, their personal realities and persona are signified by challenging heteronormative expectations. They saw the social sector as a more welcoming and accepting environment and hence a more comfortable choice. This led them to engage in the social sector professionally and be involved with social initiatives, organisations, and projects throughout their career. Roni also grew up with an idea of the importance of social justice and socialist ideals, with highly educated parents who both worked outside their homes. Discussions of social change and theories of society were common among the family. However, Roni's career choice was not completely clear from the beginning, and they tried out different directions, e.g. English literature, psychology, and eventually, social work. Accordingly, they then went on to work as part of social initiatives in rural areas and engaged with this sector wholeheartedly. Friends would sometimes refer to them as too ideological. Over time, they started thinking about other possibilities but could not imagine a career fitting. Through personal contacts, the idea of engaging with advertising emerged. With an interest in poetry and writing, this position offered an alternative to other careers in the private sector and combined a previous creative hobby with the creative position of copywriting and design in an advertising agency.

Detailing Conversations and Observations: Outlining the Importance of Flexibility & Validity in Methodology

As mentioned, the intent of gaining insights into the producers' points of view, ideas, and understanding prompted a methodology and principles founded in Social and Cultural Anthropology. In order to shape this interpretive study, a qualitative approach provides a foundation suited for understanding perceptions and attitudes to identify and interpret patterns of meaning-making. With in-depth semi-structured interviews in particular and sessions of participatory and non-participatory observation, I connected to deeper meanings of perceptions (Mikkelsen 2005, p. 125).[94] I was thus able to focus on beliefs connected to media, communication, and gender and ultimately unpack the role of advertis-

94 The methodological approach was obtained from multiple publications, including major points to consider in the research plan and empirical material collection. The combination of perspectives from different authors provides a strong foundation in con-

ing producers and advertisements in processes of change. I consider these insights part and parcel of discussing 'discourses of change'.

Voluntary participation based on informed consent was essential to the process of conducting interviews and was founded on the respectful reflection of each respondent. I would introduce each meeting with the outline of my study, the topic, the affiliation, and the goal to ensure that respondents understood what I was doing and in what capacity. This allowed each individual to decide if they wanted to be part of the project (Mack et al. 2005, pp. 6–10). I obtained oral consent, guaranteed confidentiality and anonymity, and always allowed for interruptions of the recording or session as a whole according to each individual's wishes and needs. In one instance, I met with Navneet in the space of a cultural centre that housed gallery spaces and a library, facilities for movie screenings, concerts, and other events, office spaces for a range of social organisations and cultural institutions, as well as an assortment of restaurants. We sat amid these spaces, surrounded by tall buildings and greenery of palm trees and flowery bushes. We checked the timing during our conversation and noticed we had talked for a long while. Navneet realised they had little time left. We decided to take a break and pick up a drink before sitting down to finalise our interaction with a fresh mind. I always gave the opportunity to ask questions and was open to engaging in conversations beyond the preset questionnaire. As part of the interview process, I shared my views and personal endeavours, which in turn contributed to a fairer setting of the semi-structured interviews, aka conversations.[95] At the same time, the relationship between interviewer/interviewee or researcher/respondent should be remembered, and continuous consideration for maintaining boundaries to not influence answers or disrupt daily lives was essential (Mack et al. 2005, p. 11). The nature of the conversations followed the guidelines of in-depth semi-structured interviews given by Mack et al. in that respondents are treated as experts on this particular field whose perspectives are considered inside knowledge as well as individual ideas, experiences, and opinions.[96] Fundamental to the conversation were non-

sideration of all details. Among them: "Qualitative Research Methods: A Data Collector's Field Guide" by N. Mack et al. (2005) and J. W. Creswell's (1997) "Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Traditions".

95 I use the terms interviews and conversations interchangeably to highlight the relationship between me as a researcher and the respondent. The term interview highlights the relation under the intended research, while conversation gives way to the importance of mutual exchange.

96 This perspective stands as a constant reminder during the writing process, in which I valued the learning experience and prioritised the people who shared their time and thoughts with me and who deserve to be considered at all times.

leading questions on chosen topics and a neutral consideration for information shared (Mack et al. 2005, pp. 29–30). Each meeting would end with appreciation, an opportunity for specific comments they felt should be mentioned, questions to me, and the possibility of contacting me for thoughts after the conversation, for example, to retract information shared. I ensured that recordings were to stay in my position and not shared, and I gave my contact details, all in line with ensuring informed consent (Mack et al. 2005, p. 32). Confidentiality, appreciation, and consideration for the respondents' time and wishes were essential in receiving consent and trust for a fruitful conversation. These ethical considerations allowed the interviewer and respondents to meet on a more even level.

In many cases, the meetings were scheduled to take place at the respondent's workplace. These spaces often provided meeting rooms that enabled private conversations without disturbances or others listening. The visits thus allowed me to experience a range of transnational advertising agencies' office spaces, advertising agencies that were situated only in India, besides workrooms occupied by NGO and international organisations. Many spaces were signified by cubicle-style environments with personalised stations alongside private offices often divided by, for example, glass doors and furnished with shelves of books on relevant literature depending on their arena. NGO offices were often part of housing complexes in apartments with two or more rooms or multiple-storey houses, as was the case with UN organisations. The spaces of creative work were thus very diverse and illustrated the range of arenas involved. In some cases, I would meet the respondents at cafes, public spaces, or in their private homes. While these situations gave way to interpersonal connections to a greater extent, the conversations were in some cases disturbed by the surrounding atmosphere, e.g. vents and passing cars were often noisy, and meetings taking place in coffee shops entailed chairs shifting across floors, sounds of grinding coffee beans and other patrons' interaction. Combining the recordings with conversation notes helped capture all input with hardly any loss.

Throughout the process of research, flexibility and openness were central elements. The flexibility allowed for greater consideration of the respondents' daily lives. Similarly, genuine interest and respect for the respondent's time, insights, knowledge, feelings, and perspectives were essential in the conversations I had, in line with ethical considerations as part of qualitative research (Mack et al. 2005, pp. 8–9). I often adjusted to given environments, including the process of ganging access and the thematic directions of conversations, not only out of practicalities but also as an essential component in respectful exchange. By employing principles of flexibility in interviews and data gathered, I followed the interest areas of the respondents while keeping track of the

main objective. The possibility of open-ended questions and probing inherent in qualitative research enabled richer and unanticipated information and conversations (Mack et al. 2005, p. 4). Keeping conversations semi-structured is especially useful in this endeavour (Creswell 1998, p. 78; Mack et al. 2005, p. 34). I stayed open to the unexpected and to possibilities of meeting relevant contacts and information at any time at any place. Consequently, I visited numerous events that often combined exhibitions, workshops, film screenings, and entertainment programs, e.g., a stand-up comedy show organised during the week of International Women's Day. In many cases, the performances of the show commented on sexualised harassment in public and hence gave me ideas for the reach and relevance of these topics. I watched TV shows that commented on the Nirbhaya case and experienced reactions to advertisements on 'women's' safety in public. Events visited provided insights into current debates and actions where 'discourses of change' were played out. In order to still ensure validity and reliability, I employed a method of triangulation consisting of interviews, observations, and literature reviews (Cresswell 1998, p. 36). With the strength of qualitative research in particular to provide the needed flexibility, I gained deeper insights by adjusting and shifting focus on thematic categories during the process. I followed the ideas of qualitative research as being "intuitive and relative" and "learning by doing" (Cresswell 1998, p. 142). By not following a set frame and process, I was able to continuously refigure the material and compare my ongoing review of secondary data with notes I made during the research process. This strengthens the validity of the research and provides a broad overview as well as deep insight into the material as a whole, thereby providing a seamless continuance to the analysis of the collected material. In conversations, I centred on advertising producers' perspectives and experiences on strategies and approaches in campaigns and advertisements, as well as insights on production processes involved in creating campaigns. I ultimately asked what form, design, aesthetics, tactics, rhetorics, and visuals are considered effective in influencing attitudes and behaviour. These topics, understood as 'politics of change', led to discussions of ideas regarding the role of advertising in change processes and perspectives on social change in India. In some cases, specific campaigns and advertisements were used as entry points for interviews with respondents and motivated conversations on advertising and change processes. Discussing the ideas, ideologies, rationale, and logic foundational to chosen strategies and their significance in change processes enabled a deeper consideration for the understanding of change. These insights included the role of individuals, the institutional context, perspectives on content, and the underlying 'discourses of change'.

To recap, the collected primary data consists of the word-to-word transcribed text of the recorded conversations, notes of non-recorded conversa-

tions, and documentation and notes of participatory and non-participatory observation of relevant events. All in all, the transcribed and documented material encompassed over 200 pages of text and became my main source of information. As detailed in chapter two, secondary data included academic publications focusing on advertising and social change, giving special attention to production sites, individuals, and institutions involved. Documentation and observation of campaigns supported the research in clarifying my point of view. Subsequently, particular campaigns are included in the analysis to exemplify the present discussions and perspectives. Besides considering maintaining flexibility and openness, post-modernist concepts, as outlined in the introduction, are significant in avoiding preset notions. In the following, I discuss its importance.

Researcher – Respondent Dynamics and Self-Reflexivity in Interviews and Settings of Observation

In the course of obtaining informed consent, it was imperative to disclose my position as a PhD student and to share the outline of my research project and my perspectives, including my interest in platforms and activism on gender issues. Additionally, it was crucial to consider my positionality, background, and persona regarding potential bias. Postmodern perspectives, in particular, have enabled a deeper self-reflexivity in methodology and, as such, deal with problematic aspects of research in general, such as legitimacy, objectivity, and authority (Clarke 2005, pp. xxvii–xxviii). In line with such reflections, Parameswaran sees documenting failures and reflections as contributing to a richer understanding of the so-called field in question (Parameswaran 2001, p. 77). Following this idea, I will here briefly touch upon such experiences during the visits to Delhi and Mumbai. Reflexivity is instrumental for ethical methodology and considering possible harmful generalisations and power relations.

During observations and group discussions, I occasionally experienced worry that my presence as a foreign researcher was obstructing conversations or discussions. I would introduce myself and the context of my work, but I would find it difficult to navigate between observing and participating. I often minimised my input and refrained from asking questions to avoid influencing the direction of public events. However, I contributed with comments occasionally to establish myself as someone genuinely engaged in the discussion and not just a silent observer draining information. I also thought of this as a way for the participants to feel comfortable with me and further, thereby opening myself up to questions and a conversation on a more equal level. Occasionally, I would insert comments to probe if these topics interested the participants but

abandon the direction if not discussed further by the participants. During group discussions, I did not detect any hesitation from participants, and my presence did not seem to matter in sharing points of view and perceptions. However, therein I wondered about the possibility that some participants, on the contrary, might feel the need to share to a higher degree, that is, cater to a wish to present the group in a certain way towards me. Despite this seemingly unsolvable situation, I had to trust that among the participants present, all possibilities existed. Those who did not feel comfortable sharing would be able to do so in other settings, and those wanting to discuss seemed to do so honestly because the discussions were not limited to theoretical viewpoints but also touched on personal experiences and stories from their own lives. Similarly, some groups might contain internal power relations, for example, between directors and employees. Fortunately, among the individuals willing to meet and share their experiences, I conducted one-on-one interviews almost exclusively, with only a few situations of conversing with two or more respondents simultaneously. The respondents represented different positions within organisational hierarchies and diverse identities. My experiences, thoughts, and principles were kept in mind throughout the analysis.

Identifying and Analysing Arenas, Themes, and Structures: Situational Analysis, Coding Techniques, and Memo-Writing

In the following, I present the methodological approach applied in analysing the conversation transcripts and notes. The attention given centres on respondents' insights and perceptions as presented by R. H. Bernard and G. W. Ryan (2010) in "Analyzing Qualitative Data: Systematic Approaches" (p. 4). As such, the study resembles a cultural domain analysis: a "study of how people in a cultural group think about things that somehow go together in their society" and therefore focuses on perception before preferences (Bernard & Ryan 2010, pp. 164–165). I interpret the qualitative data collected and identify patterns and dynamics regarding the relationship between media, gender, and change. This qualitative analysis hence becomes a method to discuss the understanding of processes of change and social change and the existing connections between patterns and contextual realities (Bernard & Ryan 2010, p. 109). Before entering into the analysis of the material, I outline the methodology utilised to systemise the interpretation of the input and insights shared.

The key in this analysis is coding the text to break it down into manageable segments according to the coded themes (Bernard & Ryan 2010, p. 192). While this coding figures as the main method in the analysis, the analysis is present during the entire research process, from the initial idea to

the literature review, exploring themes in conversations, and revisiting the material. During the transcription of these conversations – the first sighting of the material as a whole – ideas to thematically code salient elements in change processes and gender-media-change dynamics evolved following the perspectives on codes and the coding process described by J. Saldana (2013 [2009]) in "The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers". In order to identify the themes and directions to take, I continuously applied the principles of memo writing and mapping relationships as detailed by A. E. Clarke (2005) in the guide "Situational Analysis: Grounded Theory After the Postmodern Turn". Situational maps and analysis supported the intuitively based efforts of this interpretive analysis. A situational map visualises the major human, nonhuman, discursive, historical, symbolic, cultural, and political elements and displays all the relevant components (Clarke 2005, p. xxxv). Both publications entailed a structured method for deciphering, mapping and visualising the social worlds, arenas, positions, stakeholders. Through situational, social worlds/arenas, and positional maps, I visualised the arenas I engaged with while highlighting the dynamics of details involved, thus articulating the elements present as well as considering the relations between them. All three types of maps enable the visualisation of usually invisible social features, for example, the interrelations between sectors and pertinent discourses (Clarke 2005, p. xxxvi). In Clarke's words, they "allow researchers to draw together studies of discourse and agency, action and structure, image, text and context, history and the present moment-to analyse complex situations of inquiry broadly conceived" (Clarke 2005, p. xxii). According to these maps, I centred the importance of capturing the complexities of the arenas instead of aiming at simplifications (Clarke 2005, p. xxix; Bernard & Ryan 2010, p. 121). I was thereby able to identify connections and relations between themes present throughout the contextualisation in India's vibrant market of producing medialised messages. The situational map, in particular, functioned as an ongoing renegotiation with the field by rearranging the elements and centring different relations and element groupings through "messy" and "ordered" working versions of abstract situational maps. Thereby, the relations among the different areas and particularities became central (Clarke 2005, pp. 83–90). Accordingly, I rethought my topics and themes in that the importance of the connections between commercial and social sectors grew with the increasing detailing of relevant elements. Through a map of social worlds/arenas, the interplay between existing discourses identified in this project became clearer as they focused on meaning-making and social groups by outlining the collectivities of actors and other elements (Clarke 2005, pp. xxxv–xxxvi). I indirectly used a positional map through the social worlds/arenas map to identify major elements of sector-specific or discursive positions and relations. Thereby, I

highlighted the connections between the historical context of creating campaigns and current trends in advertising production with specific discourses in mind that continued to play a role in the field of media and change processes. For example, the understanding of media as useful as well as harmful were important aspects of extant 'discourses of change'. Each conversation and event I was part of during the visits to Delhi and Mumbai inspired and directed further research by rethinking focus and thematic perspective according to the direction of the conversation and insights given. First, ideas for analytical categories concerning the conversations were visualised through a situational map throughout. Visiting advertising agencies and social organisations and talking to the individuals involved in creating campaigns and advertisements about the strategies they used and advertising, in general, led me to realise that the central theme of these encounters revolved around the understanding of processes of change. This, in turn, evolved into the conceptualisation of 'discourses of change'. While the role of media in processes of change and gender as an aspect of social change had been salient throughout, the importance identified in current debates regarding media and change supported the thematic choices made. Subsequently, media and gender figured as overarching factors in change processes and important elements in directing change processes. Through the advertising producers' perspectives representing exceptionally concise insights into a highly complex and entangled field, these cornerstones were thus excavated by an ongoing revisiting of themes in accordance with the methodological approach of qualitative data gathering and analysis.

The transcription, as well as reviewing and documentation process itself, figured as a major step in identifying codes. Understood as "a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data" (Saldana 2013 [2009], p. 3), the codes included previously identified salient themes *(gender, media, change)*. The process of transcribing the conversations further led to identifying minor codes potentially interesting for further analysis, e.g. ideas of modernity and the role of transnationality. With the review of the text produced, I considered these codes for their significance in relation to the entire text, i.e. all conversations and notes. I then read the finalised text and colour-coded sections according to the major codes. I thus summarised, distilled or condensed the material to identify patterns without reducing it (Saldana 2013 [2009], pp. 4–5). Through this process, I rearranged the statements, identified sub-themes, created visualisations, and thus constantly revisited the material and tested the themes based on the idea of engaging in a "conversation with ourselves about our data" (Clarke 2005, p. 204). This process consisted of "first cycle coding" and "second cycle coding", including continuous memo-

writing in order to extract significant points and statements, initial ideas, thoughts, concepts, and possible discussion points and thus open up the interpretive level of the shared perspectives.[97] Accordingly, I reviewed the theme *change*, for example, for sub-themes and interplay between a range of themes under the key theme *change*, e.g. *strategies that work*, *outreach*, *collaboration*, *media as an entry point*, or *personal involvement*. Thereby, I rearranged the text and produced manageable sizes and visual maps under each major code in order to consider the networks and dynamics of the sub-themes, leading to new categories. Following the qualitative analysis method of Saldana, the chosen codes thus enabled the organisation and grouping of similarly coded data into categories according to similar characteristics and, thus, patterns identified (Saldana 2013 [2009], p. 9). The categories found entailed an individual level, an institutional level or given agenda, and a communicative level. Through these categories, the text was sorted and rearranged anew and ultimately provided a new structure of the text. The analysis thus gave way to this new structure of three fundamental levels. This was followed by an interpretative analysis that subsequently is discussed through the lens of the theoretical framework of 'discourses of change', enabling a discussion regarding change processes and the role of advertising therein from the perspectives of advertising producers.

The following chapter contains the re-structuring and interpretation of the material collected. I include particular campaigns as part of respondents' descriptions or visuals to exemplify the central discussions. Through an understanding of advertising, its production sites, and its producers through 'discourses of change', I establish the focus on the intertwining of different sectors of advertising. I dive into the previously scarcely-discussed perspectives of producers, centre processes of change within the field of media and gender, as well as question discursive knowledge of gender as binary. With advertising producers' role at the core of medialised communication directing change processes, their insights also enabled insights into the complex circumstances of 'discourses of change'. While 'discourses of change' are understood as part of certain arenas and constituting theories of change, this framework also reflects a broader normative understanding of change processes based on historical events and circumstances. The individual, institutional, and communicative lev-

97 During the "first cycle coding", I identified the main themes/major codes and other salient concepts/minor codes as potentially relevant. I then took apart the text and rearranged it according to the codes chosen, resulting in a list of single texts, *gender*, *media*, and *change*, each being one. These compound texts formed the bases for the "second cycle coding", including rearranging each compound and visualising connectedness and relations through sub-themes/minor codes. Memos were inserted into the reworked text and signified as such.

els play an essential role in this interpretation. Not only do they figure as structural elements in presenting the analysis, but they also illustrate the dynamics of gender-media-change linkages and layout discussions of change processes. The perspectives of the respondents thus figure as central material and are set in the context of the advertising business in India as outlined in chapter one, the academic debate of advertising and change in India as discussed in chapter two, and the theoretical framework of 'discourses of change' outlined in the first parts of this chapter. The analysis focuses on the patterns and politics of the underlying debates. This inquiry hence contributes insights into complex realities and ideas of actively influencing individuals and being part of greater discourses.

4 Understanding Processes of Change and the Role of Individuals, Institutions & Communication within Dynamics of Gender, Media & Change

This chapter contains the findings of my thematic analysis based on the conversations I had with producers of advertising. With the central research question in mind, as detailed in chapter two, the insights into the production of advertising contain the recurring levels of the individual, the institutional, and the communicative. These levels mirror the subquestion's division. Therein, the *individual level* contains personal circumstances, agendas and collaborations embody the institutional level, while the *communicative level* includes the producers' perspectives on successful content and its role in greater discourses. Although not strictly separable, this division was kept for its practicality and salience in relation to the significant parts of the production of medialised communication. The interconnectivity and fluidity between these levels are kept in mind. These levels were present during interviews and throughout the analysis and thus formed the structure, and as such, are significant throughout discussions of advertising, gender, and 'politics of change'.

The analysis is divided into three parts, with the first part outlining the entanglements and overlaps between the campaign creation in the social sector and settings in which commercial advertising is produced in order to highlight the complex intertwining present. The second part details the perceptions regarding processes of change in relation to the role of advertising according to the individuals interviewed and thereby deals with the perspectives on advertising, change, and gender identified through the analysis. Through the 'discourses of change' framework, I present and discuss the trends identified in the conversations on form, design, aesthetics, and strategies of what is considered successful in influencing audiences and why, i.e. 'politics of change'. As explained, I focus especially on the perspectives of the respondents. The conversations provide the text for the interpretations in order to discuss the research questions given. The chapter ends with the third part discussing the understanding of change processes as part of the dynamics of gender, media, and change.

4.1 Detailing the Intertwining of the Commercial-Social Entanglements in Advertising

Visiting production sites of advertising and engaging with the individuals involved, the environments of producing social campaigns and commercial advertisements proved far more entangled than anticipated. As I describe in chapter one, the foundation of the intertwining of different arenas is embedded in the belief that media is powerful and the subsequent utilisation of media in directing change processes. As a consequence, connectedness was a given. However, this interconnectivity contained complex intertwining beyond collaborations between networks and institutions. Throughout the inquiry of this project, this intertwining was a constant factor. I thus detail these interlinkages before analysing the respondents' perspectives regarding processes of change.

During my time in Delhi and Mumbai, it became clear that it was common for employees of advertising agencies to be involved in projects promoting social change either outside their work life or within. Individuals also often switched professions: mostly from the private sector to social organisations but in some cases also from the social sector to commercial advertising. The respondents' paths of formal education and careers were thus marked by a diversity that influenced the deliberation processes of production and was also present due to the production sites' institutional entanglements. The diverse skill sets within arenas of production highlight the heterogeneity of interests and engagement shared across perceived boundaries between advertising agencies and the social sector. Institutional collaborations are not limited to bringing together representatives of these sectors. Rather these circumstances facilitate junctions of ideas, arenas, and perspectives, as explained earlier, and thus enable discursive struggles. Finally, these interlinkages become visible in the strategies and content of advertising. While advertising agencies and their employees play a significant role in the production of social advertising and initiatives of social change, for example, in the production of edutainment, discourses of social change are incorporated into commercial advertising and presented in advertisements as part of their sales strategies. These realities lead to an understanding of change processes influenced by discourses found in commercial arenas and social sector endeavours. Thus, the individual level includes social and commercial intertwining as part of educational and personal background and daily life, including personal engagement and ideology. The institutional level conveys campaigns that contain collaborations and strategies that cross boundaries between the social sector and commercial advertising. The perspectives on chosen advertising content and discourses regarding its possibilities of influencing social change processes are combined at the communicative level.

4.1.1 Individual Paths of Profession and Sharing Skill-Sets as Basis for Diversity and Discursive Struggle

Throughout this inquiry, the respondents shared personal stories of background and career paths that illustrated their engagement in several sectors. As described with the introduction of respondents, shifting between sectors was highly common, and multiple examples showed how personal interests and realities influenced their choices to, for example, get involved in social initiatives. The range of educational backgrounds shows an immense diversity of respondents. I had conversations with an architect, an airline employee, journalists, and social workers, IT and web developers, bank officers, marketing professionals, artists, film-makers and pharmacists, as well as students of Engineering, English Literature, Media and Communication, or Political Science. Respondents hence gained their training, education, and work experience in various settings before continuing to engage with advertising, whether social or commercial. Navneet's journey working in media institutions for many years before shifting into the social sector centred previous skill sets as beneficial: "I came into this field as a communications specialist" (Navneet 2013). This enabled them to find a way to engage in a field that was more satisfying personally while contributing with skills from the private sector. Navneet explained: "I felt I needed to give back some of the things that I have got" (Navneet 2013). Similarly, Roni was trained and engaged in the social sector before choosing the advertising industry. The educational starting point of social work had Roni working in the social sector: "I was working for two years with an NGO in a village, and I used to spend most of my time in the village, and you know my friends thought I was too idealistic" (Roni 2011). With an interest in poetry, they entered the commercial advertising business to work in copywriting. Similarly, Suhas used their artistic interest in their career, engaging in commercial advertising as a way to earn a living from art while engaging in the social sector outside work out of a wish to keep the two parallel to each other (Suhas 2013). Only a small part of the respondents actually pursued a career in advertising. The lived realities of the respondents hence not only signified diversity of educational backgrounds and career choices. Respondents also displayed variations of engaging in different sectors, following personal interests and priorities throughout.

Advertising as an Alternative Option and Producers as "Misfits"

While the commercial sector might provide the recognition, security, and independence of financial stability, Suhas and Roni shared how the commercial

advertising business was not always considered a proper career choice. Choosing a career in commercial advertising was described as an alternative for "mad people" or "an antithesis to a regular job", "something fun" that was not a "9–5 job" and, as such, gave opportunities to engage with "something new every day" (Roni 2011; Suhas 2011; Suhas 2013). Advertising agencies provide a work environment without formal clothing and a sense of freedom from rigid circumstances. Therein, advertising was, according to Suhas, attractive because it contained a "sense of freshness" and an opportunity for "creativity that can unfold" (Suhas 2013) while having an interest in being noticed as "what you do is seen" (Suhas 2011). As such, the interest in the advertising industry represented an opportunity to express characteristics of nonconformity. In its current state, this field is perceived as providing a space for "misfits" (Suhas 2011).

In many cases, the respondents entered the advertising industry by chance, joining a marketing course apart from an existing educational setting they felt detached from or as a practical specialisation, e.g. Media and Communications Studies. Building on the professionalisation of the advertising industry since the first half of the twentieth century, as I outline in chapter one, and the immense growth of the commercial advertising business in line with liberalisation strategies from the 1980s in particular, economic growth in India was accompanied by an intensification of educational opportunities regarding commercial advertising. The opportunities that came with the growth of this field provided financial stability in some cases while at the same time offering spaces more suitable for those that did not feel comfortable with standard career options. Especially individuals with interest in poetry, fine arts, and other creative traits, as mentioned above, found advertising agencies a way to enable interest in working in a creative field and earn their livelihood through artistic skills, dealing with the attitude of artistic professions as misfits that Roni experienced:

> they all said, if he is going to become an artist, which means, rest assured, that he would basically not be earning anything, but just roaming around the streets. […] So either you paint and sit at home and none will buy your work or you go work in ad company where you would earn some money (Roni 2011).

In comparison, Navneet described their dissatisfaction with their initial career choice. Despite finding financial independence in the private sector, their work for a social organisation had become central due to their family background and personal reflections on their work and engagement. While their family stood in opposition to their wishes for a career in the social sector and fine arts, these aspects of their personal interest led Navneet to engage with work in social organisations and contribute to designing social advertising campaigns

(Navneet 2013). At the same time, the social sector is mentioned as a workspace that welcomes alternate personalities to a higher degree than the private sector. For example, regarding debates on gender, accepting realities beyond heteronormative ideas of living was thus an attractive option. As Karam explains: "I always worked in the development sector. The corporate sector, I know it is not very open, a lot of sectors are not very open, but the kinds of organisations I worked with, they have been remarkably open" (Karam 2013).

Generally, each respondent's background was a key factor in the choices made. While most were given opportunities for higher education and are part of financially-abled groups, their background showed a range of possibilities. Some had the support of their family and followed ideas instilled by their home. Others were inspired by their family's environments as undesirable and stood in opposition to family traditions. For example, Navneet shared how the stringent traditional gendered roles within their family inspired them to seek a career that enabled them to be financially self-sufficient and have the opportunity to refuse gendered expectations. Navneet shared their experience of feeling empowered and described the definition as follows:

> Empowerment for a woman is, she has voice, she has a place in the – not only the family – but the society where she is respected as a person. […] Empowerment means she has the tools to make herself economically stable, which is very important for a woman. Without financial help she continues to stay as a slave to the male dominated society. For me that is empowerment. If she has the opportunity to work, whatever work is available and which is dignified and which brings her economic stability (Navneet 2013).

The strong connection between financial stability, independence, and empowerment in relation to gender is prominent. While Karam was inspired by their family ideologies to seek a career path congruent with these and thus engage with the social sector throughout their life, Navneet's initial choice entailed financial stability as a priority and a conviction of the private sector, enabling this type of security. However, the personal background in their family also prompted the wish to be involved in work regarding gender dynamics and inequalities and the eventual shift. Eventually, Navneet's personal experiences as part of a traditional family setting and their interest in engaging with social change led them to choose a shift in direction and leave commercial marketing to get involved in a social organisation.

The respondents generally described their personal experiences, such as travel and international education, but in particular upbringing and family background, as part of their decision-making. Personal experiences and subsequent wishes to either distance themselves from normative realities or follow family traditions played a significant role in their engagement in advertising

production, whether commercial or social. While family settings were described as conservative, liberal, Marxist, or having a tradition in a particular career, the respondents expressed the sentiment of their choices as an alternative to traditional career paths. The title of "misfits" thus fitted for creators of commercial advertising and social campaigns alike. Advertising producers hence display aspects of commonalities while contributing to junctions characterised by diversity. The following section details how connections to social causes were also common among advertising producers.

Building Connections to Social Initiatives & Causes

Personal experiences, frustration, and inner conflict fuelled a wish to be involved with initiatives addressing topics of social change through their daily work. They led to careers in social organisations for Navneet and Karam in particular. However, most respondents expressed the sentiment of engaging in social issues. Hence, involvement in social causes in some form was a part of most of the respondents' lives. Their engagement with social causes was expressed by finding ways of supporting current projects or actions by, for example, attending marches and protests. Some joined existing groups and volunteered apart from their professional work or founded new organisations.

Roni felt that joining the advertising industry would be a good fit enabling them to use studies in social work, Social Sciences, and research methods in the production of campaigns due to the common need to "identify shifts in culture, get behind people and see what's happening, what the stresses are, what are youth stresses, what are their biggest motivations currently, what's changing in society" (Roni 2011). Besides the respondents who were inspired to work with the social sector or activism full-time, Suhas especially found ways to engage in social change efforts through their employment in advertising agencies by, for example, initiating or joining projects for producing social campaigns within their agency or alongside their paid job in advertising agencies through projects outside their daily work. In contrast, Navneet described how the private sector was not inspiring and did not drive them as a person: "My personal problem was that it had no social connection, it had no social expression" (Navneet 2013). Navneet expressed the need for a social connect in their work and, with inspiration from previous volunteer positions, left a career in the private sectors to enter into the social sector: "I look at things that have more meaning and are more related to my life. So, for example, women's empowerment was more related to my life. Education for me was very empowering, so which is why education was the second pillar. It was actually the root to my empowerment and my economic independence. For me personally, I was just looking for

things that would connect with me at a deeper level and would have a greater meaning and purpose for me as an individual" (Navneet 2013).

Ultimately, the involvement in social change initiatives by individuals in the advertising industry was a common trait. A position in the private sector enabled volunteering with social organisations for some or facilitated contributing to the production of social campaigns. At the same time, personal interests in engaging with social causes led to respondents shifting careers and joining social organisations. These shifts represent the multi-dimensional lived by each person where the engagement in social causes belonged to most as a vital part of their being. The inherent feeling of responsibility to engage and for each person to play a role in processes of social change is reminiscent of the values promoted by the nation-building project. The nation-building project incorporated discourses of centring individual behavioural change as a basis for structural change, thus conflating ideas of each citizen's responsibility with one particular approach in development practices. While structural changes of the state-led development agenda in the form of de-regulation of economic policies and media institutions were an essential factor in the change processes, highlighting the role of each individual continued to be present. This illustrates the influential role of this particular discourse. The respondents' wishes to express their personal connections to social engagement thus resonate with ideas and values instilled as part of social change agendas.

Shifting Sectors as Foundation of Diversity in Advertising Production

The multiple examples of intersecting career paths and interests highlight the diversity of the individuals involved in advertising production and subsequently provide opportunities for skill sets to be incorporated across sectors. As mentioned, Navneet, for example, described how their training and work experience in the private sector had been their focal point for many years. Inspired by their personal network, the idea of engaging with the social sector emerged. Their skill set offered something valuable to many social organisations, so they decided to engage with an NGO (Navneet 2013). The skills from their professional paths gave them access to the social sector and became useful in social sector work. Education in statistics and journalism enabled particular directions and access to social sector work in which skill sets in online marketing, statistics, and expertise in communication were necessary. As Navneet describes:

> they were looking for someone who could handle the outreach, the campaigning, and because of my academics and also my work experience in the corporate which was focussed more towards marketing. It kind of all fell

> together. That was what they were looking for, those are the skills that I brought in (Navneet, 2013).

In comparison, Suhas and Roni, that were living out their passion for creative work within advertising agencies and, in some cases, engaged with social causes parallel to creating commercial campaigns, carried their education and experience as, for example, social workers into their career paths as they left the social arena. Sharing their story about shifting from commercial companies to working in the social sector, Navneet pointed out how boundaries in between were inaccurate. Individuals employed or engaged in the social sector might be represented as experts on social change processes, and in particular in the field of gender. However, their daily life now being employed by an NGO was not much different from working with marketing companies. Apart from making a living through paid work in a social organisation, they buy daily groceries, clothes and fulfil wishes such as travelling, consuming media content and entertainment, products and services, and generally are as much part of consumer cultures as everyone else, thereby contributing to the ongoing processes through their choices (Navneet 2013). Individuals from the social sector are thus not distinct from the daily life of consumption, and individuals in the advertising industry are not excluded from engagement in social sector endeavours. As described in detail by A.-M. Fechter and H. Hindman (2010) in the collection of ethnographic accounts of aid workers titled "Inside the Everyday Lives of Development Workers. The Challenges and Futures of Aidland", the job descriptions of aid workers are complex and entail multifaceted work settings and personas (89). While the mobility of aid workers as part of short-term project influence their life course, professional path, and social relations, experiences of shifting between sectors, including diverse experiences and careers, including education and work in the private sector, is part of the landscape of social sector employees (Fechter & Hindman 2010, pp. 5–13). Similarly, I argue that social sector employees and personnel in the private sector are more similar than distinct from each other while providing immense diversities to the realm of advertising production.

In the light of the respondents' various career paths, their experiences through educational settings and distinct family backgrounds, personal realities and interests, as well as cultural and social patterns, the intermingling of a range of ideas of change and values are present. While the multi-layered realities are incorporated into each individual's personal fabric, diverse perspectives of each person's lived context and reality thus influence how each person sees their role in the production of medialised communication. The fluidity between sectors reflects the change processes in India in the form of economic growth and an increase in consumerist cultures that entailed accelerated employment

opportunities in advertising, alongside continuous attempts to direct change processes by social change initiatives. It builds on the tradition of intertwining the advertising industry and the social sector, setting generations of advertising producers within these change processes and the present 'discourses of change'. The production sites hence consist of individuals embedded in these discourses while engaging with their role in advertising based on each their background.

The specificity of advertising production that allows for these diverse backgrounds – artists and poets, social workers and political sciences students, management and marketing professionals – and hence diverse perspectives on change processes and 'politics of change' to meet facilitates junctions of intertwining. Consequently, these junctions illustrate particular 'discourses of change' that incorporate a range of perspectives due to the background of the individuals meeting. The diverse fabric among the respondents ultimately reflects circumstances and spheres that enable discursive struggles in their work producing campaigns and advertisements. In the following, I present these circumstances as part of networks of practicality, solidarity, and benefits and connect the intertwining of sectors through individual realities with shifts between the institutional levels.

4.1.2 Institutional Collaborations providing Networks of Negotiation and Solidarity

The intertwining on the institutional level consists of collaborations and supportive networks. However, the connections present go beyond practical exchanges and sharing benefits. The interplay between engagement in social endeavours and advertising agencies, for example, entails production circumstances that provide institutional support for social initiatives as well as opportunities for social engagement. At the same time, business models are often considered helpful in progressing social causes. The diverse perspectives of the individuals and strategies involved give way to various negotiations of 'politics of change'. Therefore, I argue that the networks and collaborations figure as junctions that reflect discursive struggles.

Networks and Connections of Advertising facilitating Discursive Struggles

During my visits to advertising agencies and social organisations, I learned of multiple examples of advertising agencies regularly involved in creating and designing social campaigns. NGOs, international development organisations,

and governmental bodies commonly drew on advertising agencies and marketing experts to conceptualise, produce, and implement campaigns. In the case of ministries and other government departments, the DAVP essentially functions as a nodal agency that coordinates contacts, guidelines, and rates with advertising agencies. The advertising agency Span Communications, for example, is listed as a possible connection for creating government-initiated campaigns and specialises in catering to the specific needs of state ministries. Their main clientele thus includes a range of ministries of the government and other public institutions, e.g. Indian Railways or the Department of Women and Child Development. These agencies thus create social advertisements with, for example, a focus on "female foeticide" as part of awareness campaigns under Delhi governmental initiatives. Just as advertising agencies were the leading producers of media content in connection with the nation-building project, agencies continue to produce social campaigns alongside commercial advertising. The range of campaigns that advertising agencies produce is hence directly linked to a long tradition of its diverse clientele and social engagement as part of the advertising industry in India. For example, employees at the agency FCB Ulka Advertising first introduced through the Hero Honda Pleasure campaign *and* also designed the Safe Delhi campaign commissioned in 2004 by the Delhi-based NGO Jagori, which centres on 'women's' rights. Hence, the individuals involved engage with the campaign's design and are exposed to discussions addressing gender-based harassment in Delhi through this particular campaign. While the commercial advertisement reflects sales strategies that connect their objective to sell two-wheelers to processes of social change present and combine themes of gender inequality, consumerism, and change, the social campaign highlights the agency's involvement in attempts to direct social change processes apart from promoting commercial products. In some cases, transnational advertising agencies take on NGOs as pro-bono clients and provide expertise and work hours.[98] These collaborations did hence not entail a direct financial gain for the agency, and agencies' names would usually not be visible within the campaigns they are involved in. In the creation process and deliberation sessions, social organisations guide agency employees in matters of social change. Depending on the parties involved, perspectives clash in some situations more than others. While scepticism about engaging with advertising

98 The advertising agency Ogilvy & Mather, for example, was part of the team behind a range of social campaigns, including the Is this Justice campaign addressing the stigma and discrimination against women living with HIV/AIDS in 2007. They collaborate with NGOs as well as transnational development organisations, e.g. Oxfam India. Similarly, J. W. Thompson is the go-to agency for the UNFPA India.

agencies exists, and many NGOs create their own visual campaigns, this type of collaboration is common, often as part of CSR departments but also in place through individuals' previous experiences and personal contacts. Navneet, for example, described how the implementation of a social change campaign connected the development organisation they worked for and an NGO founded by a former head of an advertising agency they personally knew from their own time in the advertising industry. "I spend around 25 years in advertising. I started as a writer, then I went into client servicing, I went into planning, and I went into rural communication. Before I left advertising, I was heading a special unit" (Navneet 2013). The background in the advertising industry was thus entangled in the creation of social campaigns. Discussing these partnerships with Navneet, they described how campaign production divided tasks. Partnerships provide opportunities or are explicitly formed to take care of different parts of the production and implementation of campaigns. An NGO might serve as a link so that pro-bono relationships can be utilised, and the idea and concept cost would then be covered, an international development organisation would then provide funds for the production of the campaign, illustrating how advertising production might contain several institutions and thence perspectives (Navneet 2013). Collaborations are often not limited to the representatives of the NGO and employees of an advertising agency but entail multiple arenas that each contribute with their perspectives regarding 'politics of change'. Suhas, for example, described a campaign from 2013 against drinking and driving that was created by employees of McCaan Erickson (Suhas 2013). The collaboration between advertising agency employees, a local pub, and the Chennai Traffic Police led to an audio-visual advertisement titled "Drink and get Driven" that was carried further by police offices in Chennai, Bengaluru, Hyderabad, and Gurgaon (Anand 2013; Campaign India 2013). This type of partnership involves multiple partners, so they are exceptionally well equipped to provide different advantages that help carry the messages further, e.g., pooling funds and resources. In some cases, collaborations between international social organisations and NGOs evolve through the initiator drawing on the other organisations for specific expertise and support, as exemplified by the Close the Gap campaign for gender equality initiated by Oxfam India in 2013 and designed by Ogilvy & Mather.[99] While Oxfam stands as a representative of the

99 The Close the Gap campaign initiated by Oxfam India was visible throughout the streets of Delhi but reached nationwide. The advertisements consisted of simple billboards posting, for example, numbers on female participation in the police force or as CEOs or other questions of gender. The ideas was to encourage audiences to call a hotline to comment on their chosen topic.

campaign, they partnered with a range of regional NGOs as these are considered great mobilisers for spreading the message through on the ground campaigns and events. At the same time, a strong media partnership was, in this case, seen as an important part in increasing outreach. As Navneet explains:

> partnerships and presence give you scale and numbers. So it goes out to heaps of people and then you get people engaged. If you don't have a strong media partnership then you don't get the numbers. Or if you have good community NGO networks, because some NGOs or Indians can mobilise hundreds of thousands of people just like that (Navneet 2013).

Due to the junctions in place in the form of collaborations and networks, different experts are consulted and included, each for their expertise in the production process.[100] Despite divisions of tasks, the arenas involved come together through these junctions and deliberate on strategies and design. With the personal shifts between sectors, as described in the previous part, layers of social and commercial connectivity often serve as access points to different arenas. While some collaborations take the form of private or public sector institutions contributing with free spaces to advertise, for example, through media outlets for placement of advertisements, these partnerships across sectors and different arenas create a strong network that does more than simply increase the outreach of campaigns. With these networks in place, the production is marked by diverse perspectives, input, and supportive connections. The shifts between sectors, experiences in contrasting sectors and interpersonal relations, as well as the collaboratory networks, illustrate the ongoing intertwining brought forth through the individuals involved and thus contain 'discourses of change' marked by these circumstances and fundamental in discursive struggles.

The presence of diverse arenas as part of the junctions enabled through the intertwining sectors is particularly evident in the production of social campaigns. An example of junctions on an institutional level is the Bell Bajao campaign (translation from Hindi: Ring the bell) initiated by the Delhi-based NGO Breakthrough in 2008 (see Fig. 1).[101]

100 Some audio-visual advertisements are basically mini-movies that might take four to five days to film, and an entire film production is necessary for creating them (Suhas 2011). In contrast, print advertisements, such as many governmental campaigns, use visuals from an image bank, e.g. Image Bazaar (Suhas 2013).

101 Since its initiation, the campaign has won many awards, including recognition at the 2010 Advertising Festival in Cannes. It has been adopted by various organisations globally, including Canada, China, Pakistan and Vietnam. This led to a global campaign relaunch with the slogan: "One million en. One million promises" in 2013. With a focus

Fig. 1. "Bell Bajao", Ogilvy & Mather 2008. Courtesy of Breakthrough Trust.

With the slogan "Gharelū hiṁsaā ko roko, bell bājao" (translation from Hindi: Stop domestic violence, ring the bell), this advertisement addresses the issues of gender-based violence. It was created pro-bono by a design team from the advertising agency Ogilvy & Mather. It depicts a scene symbolic of domestic violence and encourages the audiences to engage by ringing the doorbell, thereby interrupting the potential violence. The campaign includes a range of TV advertisements depicting different scenarios of domestic violence in the form of noise. It is framed around the idea of involving witnesses, e.g. children playing cricket in the yard or neighbours, hearing these disturbances. The TV spots are said to have been seen by 130 million viewers (World Summit Awards 2011). The partners involved in the campaign are visible on the print in the right bottom corner. Next to the national emblem of India, a logo and a slogan of the Ministry of Women and Child Development shows the support of the government, UNIFEM (the United Nations Development Fund for Women, succeeded by UN Women)[102] besides Breakthrough itself and n(o)vib, Oxfam Neth-

on engaging 'men' worldwide, the campaign further secured partners in, for example, South Africa, Brazil, and Sweden.

102 UNIFEM was established in 1976 under the name the Voluntary Fund for the UN Decade for Women. With the name change in 1985, the organisation started operating

erlands.[103] During a meeting in Delhi in the fall of 2008, I was invited as part of an internship at UNFPA in Delhi, representatives of UNFPA India, UNIFEM, and Breakthrough discussed the content and implementation of the campaign. While the NGO employees presented the background and progress, the participants provided input and feedback for further campaigning. The meeting illustrated how the different arenas involved each had their perspective on the campaign, the produced visual and message, as well as the imagery contained. In the production process, the NGO and UN representatives collaborated with the other social organisations and the advertising agency in charge of the design while including preliminary research and "a network of professors from across the world" (Navneet 2013). The production of social campaigns thus reflects how the intertwining of institutional networks provides encounters of arenas and perspectives. Different and potentially conflicting perspectives include discursive knowledge regarding change processes through medialised communication. As such, the choices of framing the message, phrasing, point of view, aesthetics, and representation were up for debate. In the context of historical events and trends displaying diversity and building on a long tradition of intertwining of the advertising industry and the social sector, the circumstances of the production illustrate a sphere of discourses, the possibility of conflicting 'discourses of change' and thus discursive struggles.

Institutional Support for Personal Expressions of Social Engagement

Apart from the practicalities, the collaborations and networks provide possibilities for advertising industry employees to engage in social endeavours. As detailed on the individual level, the interest and motivation to partake in these cannot be overstated and were shown to be part of most respondents' realities. In the context of the institutional level, this engagement is present through the collaborations outlined above, which provide opportunities for employees in advertising agencies, in particular, to be involved. In addition, employees of

as part of the United Nations Development Group. In 2011 the UN Women (United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment for Women) took over the field of gender equality and empowerment of women (UN Women no date; UN Women 2010).

103 Other institutions listed as supporting bodies include the UNFPA and the UN Trust Fund, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs MDG3 Fund, EMpower, Oxfam India, the Asia Foundation, and the Jacob & Hilda Blaustein Foundation. For more details, see the publication in the series Breakthrough-Insights titled "Breakthrough's Bell Bajao! A Campaign to Bring Domestic Violence to a Halt" (Silliman 2011).

advertising agencies find occasions to initiate and seek out possibilities for creating and supporting social causes. Suhas mentioned their involvement in the Kinnar project, a campaign from 2012 that, with the help of the traditions and communities of kinnar (hijras) in Mumbai, spread messages of gender equality and against "female foeticide".[104] According to Suhas, a colleague proposed the project and sought collaboration with the Heal Foundation, leading to the campaign's conceptualisation and a short audio-visual advertisement in support (savethgirl 2012). Critical voices might see the involvement of employees of advertising agencies as an image booster for the company, not dissimilar to interpreting the engagement of brands and companies with social causes as following a market logic that cultivates more consumers for their product through 'whitewashing'. However, this perspective ignores the realities of individuals who wish to engage in social causes while at the same time seeking financial stability associated with certain careers, as described in the previous section. For Suhas, a good advertisement combines the products advertised with attention to social issues. They thus saw social engagement as an essential factor in their work within the agency while at the same time engaging in volunteer work with a focus on social issues in their time outside the office (Suhas 2013). The personal interests fundamental to engaging in social causes, apart from their connections to the private sector or social sector, may take different forms depending on institutional affiliation. The context of advertising agencies, in particular, enables engagement with social advertising by not only proving security but also opportunities to be involved. The production site of these medialised messages hence illustrates how a personal engagement in social causes is made possible through institutional circumstances and support.

Promoting Social Change and Networks of Solidarity through Business Models

While interests in engaging with social causes lead employees of advertising agencies to participate in the production of social campaigns, business models are frequently described as useful in processes of social change through networks of solidarity. With producing and implementing social campaigns, acti-

104 Kinnar or hijras are traditionally often seen at celebrations for newborn children singing songs about the children's future for pay. The Kinnar project was an awareness campaign in which song lyrics were altered to praise girl children, essentially promoting choices against "female foeticide". See the YouTube channel savethgirl for details (savethgirl 2012).

vists of social organisations etc., see benefits in approaching businesses and companies for increasing outreach. This is illustrated by, for example, the Close the Gap campaign that included flyers and posters to be distributed to taxi companies and coffee shops to reach audiences in addition to the billboards visible throughout the streets of Delhi (Navneet 2013). The Safe Delhi campaign includes training of conductors and bus drivers undertaken by NGO workers to address unsafe circumstances on public transportation. Additionally, the NGO provides stickers with messages from the campaign to share with auto-rickshaw drivers through their association or kiosks in heavy-traffic locations. On the one hand, this is a way to reach audiences throughout the city; on the other hand, auto drivers and business owners project an image of safe travel or an environment of safety that, in turn, is good for business. As Navneet explained:

> If that space is considered unsafe, they are not going to get good business, so it is in their interest, to ensure that space is safe. So, a) they do not tolerate it, if there is some kind of violence that happens or something that happens around that area, b) they try to be proactive about it (Navneet 2013).

In contrast, social organisations might incorporate social business models in order to generate funds for the causes in focus. As presented at the 7th Indian Marketing Summit in 2013 entitled "Social Marketing. Bridging Business and Society", corporate endeavours incorporating a social stance or social entrepreneurs utilising business strategies to run their organisations were invited to share their knowledge and experiences.[105] The Aarohi project, for example, was established to create opportunities for rural communities, offer school and scholarship programs for children and young adults with a strong focus on education and health. The organisation implements a business model to cover costs by producing and selling apricot soap and oil. This business partially covers the school's expenses and provides livelihoods for the families. While the success rate or quality regarding change processes is unclear, this type of organisation is not uncommon. It reflects the reciprocity of commercial and social aspects and the intertwining of the production of goods, sales, and social change endeavours. Similarly, social business models enable profit-making through social messages or socially focused business ideas. An example is the

105 The Marketing Summit 2013 built on the previous year's theme of "Marketing for Not for Profit Organizations in Big Emerging Markets". According to the Director of BIMTECH the focus of 2013 addressed a "need for not-for profits to utilize effectively the tools of the commercial marketer" (2013). Throughout the two days, the sessions circled media technology, corporate social responsibility initiatives and social entrepreneurs in action to consider business models' role in the social sector.

taxi company Sakha launched in 2008 by the director of the Delhi-based NGO Azad Foundation, which offers taxi services to female travellers or families only with female drivers exclusively. This for-profit social enterprise describes the expected impact as a way "to ensure livelihoods with dignity for resource-poor women who become drivers, and […] to offer safe mobility for female passengers" (Patel 2013). In the succession of the Take Back The Night event on International Women's Day in 2013, one of the core organisers started arranging taxis for everyone present. Participants, including myself, were grouped according to their destination and each group was appointed a taxi from Sakha, Car Hire Service for women.[106] After the gathering, which focussed on women's access to public spaces after sunset, the group took advantage of this service to ensure all were offered safe travels and arrival home. The campaign to promote this business was conceptualised in collaboration with the NGO Kriti – a Development Research, Praxis & Communication Team. This collaboration and campaign production was initiated with an incentive through personal connections. As Karam described: "This whole campaign started because Azad Foundation came to me, they are old friends we know, and they said […] we like you to partner on this. So that is how it began" (Karam 2013). While the quality of social change opportunities in the form of earning livelihoods can be debated, the personal connections and the institutional anchor represent networks of solidarity that are utilised to create initiatives and messages promoting social change.

The way business models and social content overlap is also reflected in the manufacturing and dissemination of, for example, household items. Social organisations often commission the production of mugs, coasters, and calendars alongside advertisements of current social campaigns. The sales of these products can be considered an income source. At the same time, the merchandise is a crucial element in increasing the outreach of social campaigns. Especially when the product itself consists of reused advertisements, as in the case of the reprinting of poster into postcards in the Poster Women project (see Fig. 2). The project collaborated with NGOs across India and encouraged this network to revisit their archives for posters and other advertisements containing messages promoting equality or 'women's' empowerment and share their

106 According to Sakha Consulting Wings Private Limited, this business model is a "social enterprise, launched to provide safe transport solutions for women by women" (Sakha no date) and a way to "provide livelihoods with dignity to women in Delhi." (Radiotaxi no date). Thereby, it is considered a company with a social commitment but also serves a need for activists and supporters to engage in ventures comparable to the Take Back The Night event.

Fig. 2. "Poster Women", Zubaan (2010). Photo by M. Gabler, courtesy of Zubaan Publishing House.

material. The collected social advertisements became part of a travelling exhibition and were collectively published in "Poster Women: A Visual History of the Women's Movement in India" in 2006 and subsequently part of the publication "Our Pictures, Our Words: A Visual Journey through the Women's Movement" (2013). They were sold printed on mugs or in sets of thirty-four postcards by the feminist publishing house Zubaan.

Through this reprinting, the posters of social advertisements and their messages were made available. As Karam explained: "Most often what people do is produce posters, and they keep laying in their offices for years and years, and then they get thrown. That is one thing I am particular about that thing must get shared" (Karam 2013). The network of solidarity among NGOs in particular, enabled this venture. Moreover, the collaborations reflect the constant intertwining of the social sector with private businesses, which is considered beneficial in the efforts to direct processes of social change.

The institutional intertwining of social initiatives and private sector elements thus provides different aspects of said entanglement. The common phenomenon of collaborations in campaign production and social change initiatives co-aligns with the aspects of apparent reciprocity between the private

sector and social sector pointed out in research from Development Studies, as noted in chapter two. The reciprocity of private and social sectors and institutions establishes networks out of practicality and sharing benefits, parallel to networks of solidarity. While social businesses entail exchange regarding business interests and financial gains, networks of solidarity lead to support in creating social campaigns or increasing their outreach. However, the significance of institutional networks contains more intricate points. The opportunities advertising agencies provide to engage with social initiatives, for example, reflect the constant and complex intertwining between the social sector and the advertising industry. Critical viewpoints question the possibilities of social change due to entanglement with institutions that, in many ways, promote power relations in the form of sexist patterns and represent socio-economic inequalities between the financially-abled and other groups. While power relations and negotiations of power persist, I argue that the intertwining of commercial interests and social agendas gives way to the adversities to social change, and the opportunities given through these connections can be extant side by side.[107] Profit-driven institutions, as well as social agendas, are heterogeneous and can be expected to contain contrasting perspectives. The collaborations and networks create circumstances for exchanging ideas, ideologies, and benefits in light of advertising production as junctions of discourses. Personal interest and engagement in social causes as part of institutional structures stand as personal opportunities and investment into processes of social change, while greater patterns of inequalities might persist. Within these particularities of the production of campaigns conflicting, differing, or supportive perspectives appear and hence enable spheres of discursive struggle and the basis for social change. The critical perspectives further beg the question regarding the role of communicative strategies, its limitations and possibilities: Which systemic patterns can be influenced and which social agendas are helpful? As Munshi argued in the context of commercial advertisements for household appliances, the possibilities for change in the form of personal empowerment in relation to gendered expectations can exist parallel to the continuity of systemic patterns (Munshi 1998, pp. 586–587). Before discussing these questions with a focus on advertising producers' perspectives exclusively, as detailed in the second part of the analysis, I focus on the intertwining of social and commercial as part of the communicative level of advertising. Thus, the following section concerns medialised communication and its production in relation to, and role in, discourses.

107 Hierarchies contained in client-employee relationships and decision-making powers among the stakeholders will be considered in detail later in this chapter.

4.1.3 Communicative Elements enabling Discursive Power

In my conversations with advertising producers, how to inspire change centred on two communicative elements: the production process as part of processes of change and the possibilities of normalising patterns through medialised content. The circumstances of production entail deliberations processes that enable discursive struggles. With the medialised messages in mind, commercial advertising, in particular, was seen as an opportunity to normalise debates on social change. I discuss these elements in the following through the significance of discursive struggles as part of extant intertwining and consideration for the role of normalisation and discursive power.

Discursive Struggles as Part of Deliberation Processes in Creating Campaigns

The deliberation processes to choose a specific approach or strategy serve as junctions for encounters between a range of arenas and perspectives. Within social organisations, the diverse backgrounds present flow into these processes. As described by Navneet:

> We end up discussing and it ends up for the whole day, keeping discussing discussing discussing. All of us have our own views on it, a couple of team members are studying law so they have their legal reform act agenda. There are others who understands this in a different sense through experience through their own work. And I also have my particular views in it (Navneet 2013).

The intertwining of social initiatives and private sector institutions alongside diverse individual experiences provides opportunities to share different perspectives and challenge existing ideas. With each individual bringing their understanding of the 'politics of change', environments in which marketing professionals meet representatives of social organisations entail discursive truths from different arenas and, as such, enable encounters of discursive struggles as introduced in the previous parts. This can be thought of as a side-effect of the collaborations mentioned. Discussing the strategies of representation in one conversation, Navneet mentioned the briefings and conversations between NGO employees and employees of advertising agencies that illustrated the potential of such sessions as educational. "They had come with a number of concepts which were about the negative image of men, so we rejected them, and they came up with two concepts with positive imaging" (Navneet 2013). The deliberation on campaign strategies, poster illustrations, and repre-

sentation hence function as conversations to challenge existing norms within advertising agencies or, at the very least, the individuals from the agencies involved. While not necessarily all partners are part of the creation process, the briefings and deliberation processes for creating campaign themes and representation provide unexpected teaching opportunities in which different perspectives and views are shared. As a particularly noteworthy example stands the creation process of the Bell Bajao campaign. The partnership and institutional collaborations behind this campaign, including the pro-bono production by the advertising agency Ogilvy & Mather, consisted of diverse representatives, each contributing their perspectives. Suhas, who was part of the creative team at Ogilvy & Mather, described the interaction with Breakthrough's contact as follows: "The clients partnered us in getting a better understanding of the problem of domestic violence. That helped us to look at the brief in a different light" (Suhas 2013). While the advertising agency naturally caters to the wishes of their clients, the briefings between representatives of the NGO and agency employees constituted educational settings where domestic violence was discussed and reflected upon. The expertise of the NGO workers facilitated discussions on problematic content and representation. When the advertising agencies' employees created campaign ideas that did not fully express the sentiment of the NGO, new ideas had to be developed (Navneet 2013). These sessions entailed elements similar to sensitivity and awareness training that is often used in development communication, thereby making briefs informal educational sessions, or even challenging norms and ideas on, for example, gender issues. The production sites and deliberation processes at hand that enable encounters marked by immense intertwining and diversity hence represent discursive struggles taking place.

Normalising Debates about Social Change through Commercial Campaigns

As I detail in chapter three, the essential element in considering the power of advertisements regarding change processes is the persistent acknowledgement of its productive power and its repetitive and pervasive aspects. With the understanding of discourses as productive in that they normalise certain knowledge through repetitive statements and, over time, constitute discursive truths, I connect patterns normalised through medialised communication with an understanding of discursive power. Accordingly, the production sites of commercial advertisements in particular, are substantial factors in normalising discursive truths and starting points for altering media content for social change. The use of the assumedly powerful advertising industry and the inter-

twining of commercial advertising and social endeavours is exemplified through the Laadli Media Award for Gender Sensitivity. This award was established in 2007 by the communication and advocacy initiative Population First with the main focus to "help eliminate the falling sex ratio in India's population, sensitize the youth and media to gender issues and improve the quality of health and standard of life of India's rural population with a special focus on women and youth" (Population First).[108] In 2008 the award was expanded with the support of UNFPA to include the advertising industry and introduced across India, for example, through the Goafest, a gathering for creative exchange and award show established in 2006. The award was hence an opportunity to reach the top advertising agencies and, through these, connect with their clients in order to sensitise them to gender as an essential topic to consider in advertising. The Laadli Media Award was conceptualised to inspire the producers involved to reflect on representational choices, for example, concerning "son preference", and hence choose a female-coded child for their campaigns. Thereby, a system of rewards could set preferences for normalising depiction and thus imageries of characters that are often made invisible. During my conversations with advertising producers, it became clear that awards held a special place and were used to showcase their quality and skills or be rewarded with prize money.[109] Employees of advertising agencies, considering awards desirable, were expected to discuss choices with their clients. The producers of advertisements are thus positioned to catalyse systemic change through their content and, in particular, their imageries. The awareness inspired through normalising the conversation on creating advertising with gender-sensitive approaches represents consideration for media cultures, particularly commercial advertising, as powerful tools in social change processes. The production of commercial campaigns in agencies here serves as an entry point into influencing choices of representation and message, challenging normative gender patterns in particular. The award is based on the idea of media's role in systemic patterns beyond the influence of a single advertisement. Navneet described this initiative to direct change processes as an attempt to influence the parts of the medialised communication considered most potent and sensitise these media producers to their role in normalising patterns. This approach drew on the existing media networks instead of creating new advertisements and campaigns.

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108 According to Population First, annual awards events have been held "with over 474 awards presented across twenty-eight States and six Union territories of India, covering thirteen languages" (Population First no date).

109 I discuss these aspects further in the second part of this chapter.

> We have a huge number of channels, television channels, newspapers, all languages and movies, reaching out to each and every individual in the country. And we are a country which is swayed by what we see on television and the movies. […] There is a huge amount of money being spent on corporate advertising, on brands, and roughly speaking around 65–70 % of the main line advertising is handled and designed by the top five agencies, like J. W. Thompson, Ogilvy, Low, Lintas (Navneet 2013).

It further utilises an incentive to create content that makes choices in relation to discussions of gender and processes of social change. The perception of employees of advertising agencies and other media producers as particularly powerful because of their role in creating media content reflects the studies discussing the innate responsibilities connected with creating commercial advertisements, as detailed in chapter two. However, it includes the interest in an award as an incentive to encourage a socially aware position. Additionally, the outreach of medialised messages, as understood through the Laadli Media Award, highlights a conviction of addressing systemic patterns as part of processes of change.

Reflecting on difficulties in regard to directing social change, Navneet argued: "You can't expect mindsets to change overnight, not everyone would be aware of these things" (Navneet 2013). In connection with the assumed power of advertising, Navneet saw the intertwining of the production sites of commercial advertising and the social sector as a great opportunity due to the role of advertising in socialisation processes. They reflected on their personal experiences creating advertisements that contained a reproduction of sexist patterns:

> I may show a Maggi ad, and I have met many of them when I was in advertising, and I never realised this, they were great ads they gave me awards, they had this chubby looking son, boy in all of them, I never cared to show a girl. Though it is not blatantly telling you, look this family has only a boy, but for a person, who is already wanting boy, they keep seeing this happy family which has a boy only, so it becomes deeper (Navneet 2013).

Besides, the power structures inherent in advertising production through hierarchical networks of decision-making that can obstruct, for example, choices representing agendas of gender equality, the confirming attitudes and non-reflective stances can further complicate the ambition to change mindsets and thus the possibilities of change processes. With the collaboration between the UNFPA, the NGO Population First, and media practitioners, adapting to the idea of reaching audiences and spreading ideas on gender through commercial advertising, the Laadli Media Award represents a project that provides opportunities for deliberation and reflection. The perspectives grounded in various 'dis-

courses of change' enrich the production context and thereby influence the 'politics of change'.

Ultimately, with the idea of normalising certain content, the intertwining sectors become the basis for directing social change. As the Laadli Media Award exemplifies, the advertising industry is utilised for its potential in greater discourses. At the same time, the social sector displays multiple functions in initiating and increasing campaign reach. In order to build on the belief of commercial advertising's power and to influence systemic patterns by inspiring changes in personal attitude and influencing future choices made by media practitioners, intertwining between sectors is encouraged and sought out.

Parallel to the idea of influencing systemic patterns through the producers of advertising and thereby normalising particular perspectives, respondents expressed the idea of advertisements being inspirational in and of themselves. Navneet experienced the continuous debates visible in media as a catalyst for debates on gender and social change, essentially also normalising the topic of gender disparities and equalities (Navneet 2013). The campaign for Gillette razors created in early 2013 by BBDO India, founded in 2008 with offices in Delhi and Mumbai, encouraged individuals to participate in activism while promoting a commercial brand (see Fig. 3).

The campaign was reminiscent of the circumstances of the Nirbhaya case, with black and white photographs of young female-coded individuals in-front of or in a bus where the assault of Nirbhaya occurred. The text underneath the picture read: "Soldiers wanted. Not to guard the borders. Not to go to war. But to support the most important battle of the nation. To stand up for women. Because when you respect women you respect our nation. Gillette salutes the soldier in you. Gillette, the best a man can get". The slogan fused current debates on gender and social change with nationalist belonging. Respondents saw the importance of a specific campaign in enabling conversations about previously undiscussed topics. Therefore, commercial advertising is essential in normalising specific topics (Navneet 2013). Karam described an encounter with a friend who had previously not engaged in debates on gender. Discussing the Gillette campaign, they realised they agreed, and both found the message paternalistic and problematic (Karam 2013). As part of the aftermath of the Nirbhaya case and comment on how to engage with these issues, this campaign thus figured as a conversation starter and exemplification of current debates. This mirrors the environments and discourses present while providing a platform for conversations regarding processes of social change. This idea of commercial advertisements playing a significant role in social change is reflected in Haynes' study of sex tonics advertisements. Haynes argued that advertising campaigns that were printed in large numbers from the early twentieth century opened up discussions on previously silenced topics (Haynes 2012, p. 800). As such, they

Fig. 3. "Soldiers Wanted", Gillette, BBDO India (2013). Courtesy of BBDO India.

can be seen as inspirational in personal reflections and engagement in processes of social change. The intertwining of commercial platforms and social endeavours is hence seen as a way to inspire individuals to reflect on issues usually not considered part of their daily life while connecting to the discursive power of repetitive and pervasive communication. Different media outlets, e.g. news shows on television, articles in newspapers or magazines, or fictional stories, contribute to gender debates sparking turns in discourses, as well as being the output of discourses. While contrasting voices exist and are part of the discussion in the analysis in greater detail, commercial advertising is largely considered particularly powerful in normalising debates on gender through media content, in line with trends in academic studies and debates regarding the role of media in society. The respondents' perspectives include considering advertisements as conversation starters and inspirational while acknowledging the diffi-

culties in challenging systemic patterns as part of cultural, social, and institutional settings, including mindsets and fundamental power relations. Nonetheless, most respondents consider the intertwining of commercial and social content in messages to be helpful with the normalisation of specific topics.

4.1.4 Intertwining as the Basis for Junctions of Arenas and Platforms of Discursive Struggle

To recap, detailing the intertwining captured by the individual, the institutional, and the communicative level illustrates that advertisements are produced in environments that facilitate encounters of diverse arenas and, thus, perspectives. The personal experiences, backgrounds, and context of the producers, in that the realities of each individual are influenced by previous discourses encountered, stand as essential aspects of the entanglements present. The respondents' identification as "misfits" or their histories of seeking alternate career options thus marked their diverse career paths. The tendencies to engage with social projects in various ways and shift between the private and social sectors are equally central. While the involvement in social causes by NGO workers is evident, the frequent cases of professionals in commercial marketing engaging with social causes establish very diverse debates regarding social change. The career shifts hence establish production sites of advertising marked by diversity in the form of skill-sets and perspectives in regard to 'politics of change'. While respondents presented certain commonalities, these led to significant diversity as part of the production sites of advertising. The characteristics of urban living in Delhi and Mumbai intensify the particularities of these environments. The physical proximity of the different sectors provides opportunities and access for interaction and partnerships. At the same time, discussions fueled by current events provide spheres of unique intertwining. The Nirbhaya case, for example, inspired a range of meet-ups, talks, workshops, and activities and, thus, vibrant debates. The urbanities thus serve as a knot of 'discourses of change', further enriching the intertwining of the present arenas. With the understanding of production sites of advertising as junctions of 'discourses of change', the collaborations and deliberation processes in creating campaigns thus facilitate arenas with conflicting 'politics of change' and thereby provide settings for discursive struggle.

As the intertwining on the individual level enables platforms of discursive struggle, these spheres are intensified by existing institutional networks and collaborations. Through the common connections sought out of personal interest in contributing to social change campaigns or in relation to the agencies or organisations they affiliate with, the deliberation processes in the creation

process contain various perspectives. Thereby, the deliberation and decision-making – in many cases incorporating ideas and agendas from different arenas – can be viewed as discursive struggles taking place during the production of campaigns. The extant intertwining cannot be simplified by an understanding of collaborations and networks. The individual, institution, and communicative levels illustrate the complex entanglements that entail encounters between 'discourses of change' and thus not only enable platforms of discursive struggle but provide ideal circumstances for these to take place.

Debates regarding the role of advertising in processes of social change, as detailed in chapter two, pointed towards the differentiation between changing patterns of individual behaviour. The probability of influencing directions of change in social advertising stands in opposition to the normalisation of systemic patterns through repetitive statements and unintentional directions of change as part of commercial advertising. However, respondents saw commercial advertising as an opportunity to be influential regarding normalisation processes and, thus, processes of social change alongside the possibilities of inspirational content based on isolated campaigns. At the same time, while certain content of commercial advertising figured as opportunities for debate, the acknowledgment of systemic patterns was highlighted as an obstruction to change processes. Respondents thus highlighted their consideration for systemic patterns. The dynamic between personal reflections and viewpoints and patterns of power plays a vital role in the communicative level of the entanglements of social and commercial elements in advertising. Within the production of advertising, the 'discourses of change' are thus marked by the existing intertwining, drawing on, as well as contributing to the debates of an intricate web of individual activism, institutional networks, and messages challenging existing norms. The producers of advertising are set amid these arenas of intertwining. In the second part of this chapter, I detail the perspectives presented during my conversations with the respondents regarding advertising and change processes. The insights gained are structured along the individual, institutional, and communicative levels while centring processes of change.

4.2 Centring Producers' Perspectives regarding Processes of Change

In this part of the analysis, I focus on the research questions given in chapter two. In the interviews with respondents, I centred strategies and approaches considered beneficial for inspiring change, that is, 'politics of change', but also delved into perspectives regarding change and progress in India as experienced by the respondents. The conversations hence touched on the understanding of

change processes, how changes in society are brought about, and how current changes are perceived. As previously pointed out, I then concentrate on respondents' perspectives and ideas about the role of advertising in relation to social change. Further, I discuss their self-perception of their position as advertising producers regarding processes of change. Building on the intertwining of the advertising industry and the social sector, I have here detailed these perspectives in relation to my theoretical framework and conceptualisation. The intertwining illustrated above continues to be central in laying out the interlinkages of the gender-media-change dynamics.

Throughout collecting material, differentiations of the individual, the institutional, and the communicative levels were present and thus became practical in restructuring the statements and perspectives gathered. This division aligns with the previous section and represents different aspects of advertising production. With the understanding of processes of change, the individual level contains discussions on the understanding of their role in the production of medialised messages as well as the environments of inspiration relevant to the creative process as well as self-perception. The institutional level revolves around agendas present, including lobbying for specific perspectives and debates that drives activism and inspires the production, while the communicative level deals with the strategies in relation to these agendas, i.e. the content choices that illustrate current dominant debates and perceptions. The core of each of the three levels contains discussions regarding ideas of change processes situated between personal reflections and systemic patterns, power relations as the most prominent aspect of dynamics within discursive truth, and an interplay between media cultures and processes of change. These aspects are revealed in the form of individuals' personal involvement as agents in a powerful position of influence and their position as consumers parallel to producers of medialised communication, dynamics between solidarity and struggles in connection with the institutions and their agendas, as well as the strategies and content considered in their role in 'discourses of change'. While each level displays specifics of its context, they also connect to the other levels through the core themes. In the following, I detail how advertising producers interpret salient elements in processes of change and social change. This section is followed by a discussion regarding change processes as part of gender-media-change dynamics.

4.2.1 Significance of Individuals and Personal Journeys in Processes of Change

Regarding the individual level in connection to change processes, I identified three noteworthy aspects among the respondents. Firstly, building on the con-

viction of advertising as a powerful device, the self-image of advertising producers as 'change-makers', i.e. individuals who see themselves in a position to direct change processes (Drayton 2006, p. 82), cannot be overstated. Secondly, the role of media cultures as inspiration and exposure plays an integral part in socialisation processes alongside personal experiences and family background. Exposure to ideas through medialised communication, media technologies, and the internet, in particular, take up a central role. Due to the importance given to medialised content, respondents' media practices point towards the advertising producers as 'prosumers', i.e. individuals who consume as well as produce media content. Finally, the place of individuals in processes of change is signified by the interplay between internal change processes and systemic change. Internal change processes entail reflecting on personal realities and experiences and critically assessing these circumstances. These considerations become central in individuals' attitudes, understanding, and behavioural choices. This exchange is played out in production circumstances and, as such, in this sphere of knowledge production. Individual reflection is thereby seen as fundamental in changing discourses and, thus, in processes of change. The interplay links individuals' processes of self-reflexivity to systemic change. In the following, I detail these findings.

The Assignment and Responsibility of 'Change-Makers' between Empowerment and Ownership

In line with Nehru's belief of medialised communication as a valuable tool in social change processes and an essential part of state plans regarding national progress, India's media cultures frame, especially producers of medialised communication, as essential participants in processes of change. With the assumed power of media, media producers and advertising producers were, therefore and are still inherently trusted with responsibilities in the processes of social change. During conversations, respondents expressed the sentiment of taking up a role of guidance and the opportunity to be part of a process to influence audiences. This self-perception follows the viewpoint conveyed by Rajagopal, in that the conditions in the course of the Emergency, including restrictions imposed by the government, the failing strategies of poverty reduction in the following decade, and subsequent dissent with state institutions, led employees of the advertising industry in particular, to actively take over responsibilities as described in chapter one and thus be central in the role of influencing audiences (Rajagopal 1998, pp. 28–29). Navneet illustrated this attitude in describing their work: "I think that a lot of work that I do has some relevance and some basis and is good and powerful. Not because I draw well but because I read a

lot. What I do is connected to a larger vision and a larger understanding" (Navneet 2013). The core element in this quote reflects principles fundamental in the idea of 'change-makers'. 'Change-markers' are, in the context of social change initiatives presented as "the contemporary heroes and leaders" (Ziegler 2009, p. 2). The idea of 'change-makers' arose as part of discussions of social entrepreneurship that entail independent initiatives targeting social issues. Ziegler describes social entrepreneurs as having "innovative solutions to pressing social problems; they are characterised as ambitious and persistent; they are said not to rely on business and government for the realisation of their ideas, and to aim at wide-scale, systemic change" (Ziegler 2009, p. 1).[110] The field of social entrepreneurship hence centres individuals as the driving force of structural change with a wide range of input, including management professionals, independent business owners, and different academic disciplines such as Political Science, Economics, and Sociology (Drayton 2006, p. 82; Ziegler 2009, pp. 2–4). This focus leads to the idea of 'change-makers' as influential actors of social change. 'Change-makers' are described as "humans who know that they can cause change" (Drayton 2006, p. 82) and either "work individually on person to person basis, or affect thinking and strategic choices within the organisation they work in, or act as a group for better impact" (Mehta & Gopalakrishnan 2007, p. 98). This designation of being a 'change-maker' thus intensifies the focus on individuals at the centre of change processes. In the context of production sites of advertising, the respondents' self-image situated in discourses of the powerful position in the production medialised messages and thus knowledge production solidifies advertising producers as 'change-makers'. While this position aligns with Nehru's vision, it also reflects the discourse of duty-bound citizens within the pedagogical project of nation-building initiated by the state that contained the idea of each individual's responsibility to further society. Each individual seeks out opportunities to engage with processes of social change, either through personal projects and thus on an individual level or the affiliation with the network of an agency or organisation.

The idea of 'change-makers' is a strategy commonly found among NGOs and international organisations in particular and therefore figured regularly in different forms during the conversations with many respondents. The respondents spoke of "owners of change", "agents of change", "champions of change" or talked about training trainers and multiplicators (Karam 2013; Navneet 2013). While discussing strategies and campaigning following the Nirbhaya case, Navneet described how the messages used on posters during the marches and protests shifted the discourse. The debates regarding gender and sexualised vio-

110 For more details on this concept, see W. Drayton (2006) and R. Ziegler (2009).

lence changed from a focus on demanding the death penalty towards the right to freedom, which to them, illustrated the success of the medialised messages and, thus, their campaigning (Navneet 2013). Similarly, the sentiment of influencing audiences was present among the respondents from advertising agencies. The appeal of advertising was partially to create something that is seen broadly and reacted upon, as Suhas described: "what you do is seen, your work is seen outside" (Suhas 2011). In contrast to Mazzarella's findings that the primary concern in advertising was to cater to the clients, respondents in advertising agencies described a sense of pride in having produced something that stayed with people, that is remembered or has influenced audiences, and in setting "standards in retail" (Suhas 2011). They described advertising as a space where people have the power or function as an extension of themselves and thus took on a role of influencing audiences through advertising based on personal reflections and positions. Besides enjoying a creative process, they expressed the conviction that medialised messages have effects and described a successful advertisement as one that evokes a response and moves people (Suhas 2013). While not uncritical of the role of commercial advertising in society and promotion of consumption (Suhas 2011), a significant part of their work was also having power in order to be inspirational, and as such, gave "a kick" (Suhas 2013). Similarly, Suhas highlighted the appeal of including a social aspect and reflecting the social change in commercial advertising. We met at Café Coffee Day, a popular franchise found in Delhi and many other cities in India, and almost immediately started an engaged conversation. We have a range of similar interests, such as creative painting and engaging with social change. They talk about their work with children and the drawing classes they organise as part of the application process for higher art education but also in the context of an organisation for children with physical disabilities. They are very attached to keeping this work parallel to working in commercial advertising, which they see as a space where they can unfold their creativity. In order to exemplify the possibilities of connecting their interest in social causes with a paid job that allows for certain freedoms in its practice, they drew on examples from current commercial advertising that promoted a product while at the same time addressing a common issue in India, e.g. corruption (Suhas 2013). Suhas described the production process in commercial advertising as something that does not have a fixed format. The absence of a formula was particularly appealing to them and an opportunity to think creatively about the themes included, and thus able to incorporate messages of social change (Suhas 2013). This perspective connects advertising producers' role with the possibilities of being a "force for good" and having "social relevance" (Roni 2011), linking their position in producing medialised messages with a role as a 'changemaker'. The importance of cultivating good relations with clients in creating

commercial content, as argued by Mazzarella, does not exclude reflections on their work concerning audiences and self-expression. As mentioned, the interplay between advertising and social change processes assigns advertising producers with specific responsibilities. At the same time, producers associate producing medialised communication with the said responsibility. This idea was noticeable in Navneet's experiences in connection with the Nirbhaya case:

> I think this year is completely a different ball game because of what happened in December. It is unfortunate that it is because of that we are on the street. We are not on the street because we wanted to be. But we are and I guess now is the time to lead this somewhere or the other (Navneet 2013).

Their description of the circumstances and their role in social change highlights a self-perception of responsibility and the ability to influence processes of change. Additionally, the dynamic in social entrepreneurship and respondents' engagement with social change illustrates the characteristics of realities and lives lived as part of urbanities. Meeting with Suhas in a busy marketplace illustrated these characteristics. The marketplace space around us displayed the presence of medialised communication, consumption, and audiences, people passing to shop, enjoy themselves, or run errands. Suhas described what they liked about commercial advertising: creating and executing powerful ideas. With reference to the Nirbhaya case, Suhas shared ideas of creating applications to address sexualised violence and safety. With 'women' as a group highly affected by these circumstances but also wanting to be independent and mobile, Suhas thought about the possibilities of registering autos one hired and tracking travelling in the city, thereby addressing the safety issues. The medialisation processes at hand provide growing opportunities for creative initiatives in the form of expanding technologies and platforms, as Suhas describes in connection with commercial advertising, while pre-liberalisation mediums dominating the communication channels were television, radio and print, now OOH and ambient media, as well as social media platforms incl. Facebook and Twitter gave way to a "360 degrees kind of advertising" (Suhas 2013). Amidst this increasingly media-saturated environment of urban living in combination with the possibility and responsibility of media producers, Suhas represented the connecting link as part of arenas producing these medialised messages that promote brands, products, and social ideas. Their role as 'change-maker' in such settings thus reflects the circumstances of urban living that are entanglements of medialised processes and debates of social change that provide opportunities for businesses and social entrepreneurship.

Parallel to producers of advertising obtaining a notable role as 'change-makers', the sentiment that anyone can partake in directing processes of change is highlighted as a strategy for directing social change. This is captured

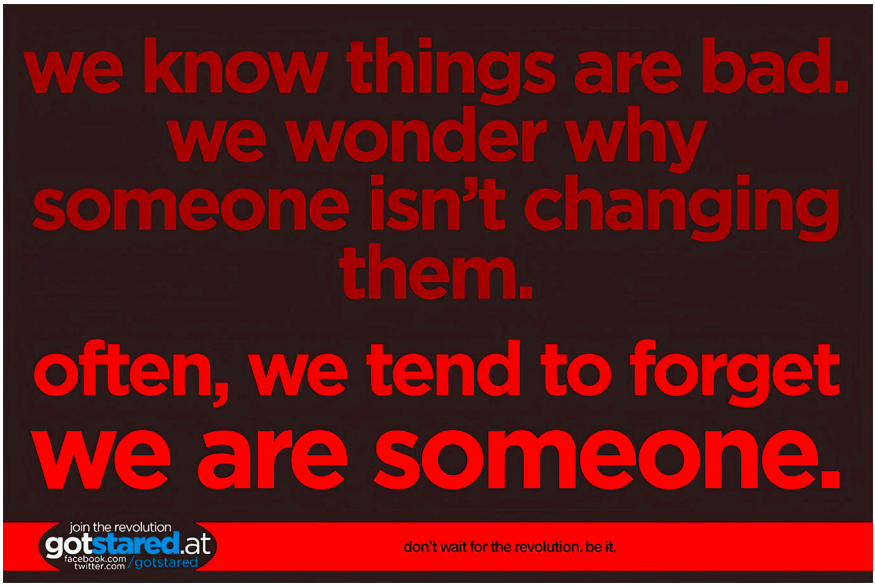

Fig. 4. "Be the Revolution", Gotstared.at (2012). Courtesy of Gotstared.at.

by the following poster published on Facebook and designed by the activists in the social initiative Gotstared (see Fig. 4).

By pointing out that "we are someone", each person is associated with having responsibilities in the processes of change. As part of the message insisting that everyone is "someone" able to engage with social change, influence the directions of change, and be part of a revolution, the advertisement provides a space for empowerment by identifying as 'change-makers'. In this sense, Karam, for example, expressed being someone during their time as a student in college. As part of a campaign "backed by a women's group", they would use paint to blacken out billboards that carried messages they considered sexist. "I have actually always noticed the ads, and for years in college, three years, we used to sit and have discussions and the [...] one that I remember very clearly [...] was actually times of India banner on matrimonial for women. And at that time, it was on this big sort of thing again: fair, lovely, virgin, slim, all of that, beautiful. And I remember blackening it. You just take paint, we stood on these stairs. [...] Its always very exciting." (Karam 2013). As part of a group, Karam thus exercised their power to engage in a debate on gender and chose to voice their opinion as a 'change-maker' in this way. Navneet described that prompting the feeling that "you could do something, whoever you are, [...] it did not leave anyone out, it was not like, you know that person can do it, or politicians can do it, or someone, police could

do it, you felt you could be a part of it. I think that is why [the campaign] was so successful" (Navneet 2013). The importance given to a role as a 'change-maker' thus connects ownership with feelings of empowerment. Establishing personal ownership was often mentioned as an important aspect of addressing social issues and, thus, a useful strategy in campaigning and initiatives for directing processes of change. This sentiment was noticeable as part of the aforementioned Safe Delhi campaign. The investment in making public spaces feel safe was connected to the community residents' personal interest as "they use bus stops every day, if it feels safe, it makes life simpler" (Navneet 2013). Ownership was connected to personal interest and seen as a way to inspire each person to take action (maybe just calling officials to fix a street light). These strategies, as part of certain 'politics of change', represent discourses found in development initiatives and practices of development. They align with discussions and the publication of the Paris Declaration, as outlined in chapter one, in that ownership as part of development initiatives was intensified. Thereby, this strategy and understanding of processes of change are linked to transnational' discourses of change' alongside the sentiment introduced by the nation-building project that highlights individuals' responsibilities in the discussions of social change processes. The interest in engaging in social activism among employees of advertising agencies illustrates their self-identified role as having responsibilities concerning social change. This engagement reflected ownership over their work and actions, and as such, brought together ideas from the development field, state-initiated agendas, and personal engagement in social causes, and centred each individual in change processes and as 'change-makers'. Respondents were adamant that a critical aspect of the interplay between responsibility and ownership was a self-reflective attitude. The self-reflection inspired by daily and often personal experiences was displayed through the choices made and set in an understanding of ownership and responsibility, not only engaging with oneself but also creating advertisements that addressed social issues. As Karam explained regarding their beliefs about change processes in relation to patterns of gender and sexualised violence: "So we need to recognise that all of us are responsible". This perspective was mirrored in a leaflet campaign they were part of creating by calling for realisation on "how we raise our children, to either be aggressive as boys or to cope with aggression and violence as girls, that creates this kind of 'rape culture'" (Karam 2013).[111] Accordingly, respondents described choices made in line with critically assessing

111 The term 'rape culture' describes the inherent presence of sexualised violence as part of systemic patterns of sexism.

their position and circumstances concerning processes of social change, such as shifting to the social sector. Navneet, for example, described how they witnessed practices of sexualised harassment among their peers towards a female friend. This experience led them to reflect on the expectations and consequences of not only refraining from joining this often jokingly framed power display but also inspiring engagement in the social sector (Navneet 2013). Similarly, Suhas established an independent advertising agency to provide increased decision-making power and enable making ethical choices with products and clients after starting a family and thinking about the society their child would grow up in (Suhas 2013). While Suhas conveyed the sentiment that respecting 'women's' freedoms and treating them as equal was connected to being "a better person for it" and hence carried "status" (Suhas 2013), self-reflective critical thinking and taking responsibility was part of respondents' personal experiences.[112]

Considering advertising producers as 'change-makers' includes discussing extant power relations. On the one hand, respondents' position in advertising production figures has a unique role in change processes as leaders and influencers who, through personal engagement, set out to challenge inequalities and encourage change. On the other, the use of 'change-makers' as a strategic element in change processes is based on the understanding that everyone can be a 'change-maker', as Ziegler (2009) points out in "An Introduction to Social Entrepreneurship: Voices, Preconditions, Contexts". Regardless of whether identifying oneself as a 'change-maker' or having been provided with this title, the role contains power in that this group is associated with specific knowledge to be passed on to groups not possessing this knowledge while at the same time proclaiming that everyone can become a 'change-maker'. Quoting Drayton, Ziegler describes these power relations as "tensions between an elite and a democratic ideal of equality, between an exclusive network and an inclusive vision" (Ziegler 2009, p. 2). I describe what Ziegler terms as a paradox as the realities of multidimensional lives lived by producers in advertising. The circumstances of their role in creating medialised messages enable each individual to engage in a position of power. The role of 'change-makers' is set as a fundamental part in relation to processes of change, and hence has a significant role in 'discourses of change'. Thereby, these individuals enjoy an opportunity given to all in this field and are given a unique position. However, the responsibility allocated to each individual meant to take ownership as a 'change-maker' does not consider existing systemic patterns and dominant

112 The importance of self-reflexivity in institutional dynamics and as an essential strategy will be touched upon as part of the communicative level.

discourses that inhibit possibilities due to institutionalised power relations. On the one hand, the sentiment of the 'change-maker' is framed by empowerment and each individual becoming a vital individual in directing processes of change by, for example, passing on information, on the other, it contains a paternalistic approach assuming one type of knowledge is valuable in comparison to other knowledge. As noted by critical voices regarding development practices, the idea of the knowledgeable teaching certain information sets one part in a position of power and another in the position of lacking information, without concerns for limitations due to extant power relations, e.g. limited access to information due to class, age, or gender. The importance given to critical thinking and self-reflexivity by Navneet, in particular, deals with this dilemma and proposes an understanding of extant power relations. As an aspect in 'discourses of change', the idea of 'change-makers' as central in change processes is strengthened by perspectives that reflect an awareness of struggles to consider power relations. With reflection in accordance with extant power dynamics, the allocation of power accordingly can be ensured to a higher degree. This intricacy is highlighted by consideration for gender relations as part of the central position of 'change-makers' in the direction of processes of change.

Gendering 'Change-Makers' while Reproducing the Binary Understanding of Gender

The aspect of gender in discussions of 'change-makers' contain noteworthy perspectives. During the conversations, the topics regarding gender and social change often centred 'women' at the forefront of change or the 'change-makers' regarding gender inequalities, as well as the focus among initiatives concerning gender and key in building an equal society (Navneet 2013; Suhas 2013; Karam 2013). Accordingly, the responsibility of social change was often allotted to 'women' and issues regarding gender dynamics was conflated with "women's issues". These perspectives are reflected in the article "Thinking (again) about gender in Asia" by M. Stivens (2006). Comparable to the tendencies in the discussions on the role of commercial and social campaigning concerning social change in India, Stivens argues that to activists in Asia, 'gender' often reads as 'woman' (Stivens 2006, p. 5). I experienced this trend during my visits to advertising agencies and social organisations alike as part of current campaigning and interview exchanges. Female colleagues were assigned to gender departments, or questions were redirected to female coworkers when asking about gender stereotypes. While it might be sensible to consider their perspectives due to experiences of harassment and discrimination, this also excludes male

counterparts and directs responsibilities in gender dynamics towards 'women' instead of the complex nature of gender relations, including the opportunity of considering the gender spectrum and experiences by gender non-conforming individuals, e.g. people belonging groups beyond the binary. However, the conversations with respondents also revealed that these greater complexities were present, including the role of 'men' and opportunities of challenging the binary understanding of gender.

In the context of social change initiatives and social campaigning, individuals engaging with gender topics often focused on 'women', making 'women' the "owners of change". This was illustrated through empowerment schemes and programs in rural areas initiated by NGOs and governmental bodies that supported 'women' "to think for themselves and also know where to go for help" (Navneet 2013). The concept of empowerment was described as enabling 'women' to have a voice, have a place apart from the family setting, participate in society and be respected as persons (Navneet 2013). Empowerment was said to include "political, economic empowerment as much as addressing violence against women" (Karam 2013). Centring 'women' as agents and representatives of change regarding gender inequalities frames 'women' in relation to the sexist patterns present. It acknowledges the realities and experiences of being affected by marginalisation and discrimination such as sexualised violence or un-freedoms. Despite the acknowledgement of this as an issue, as described by Karam: "Often posters or advertising become just women-centric. […] The responsibility for change is on her" (Karam 2013), the empowerment of 'women' continuously takes centre stage in social change debates and is expressed in the form of equal opportunities of participation and freedom from violence.

Strategies of commercial advertising point towards normalising the presence of 'women' and 'girls' in visuals and imageries. Between the office cubicles and work desks amid a transnational advertising agency, Suhas described the importance of this focus as follows:

> If I talk of say issues that is more concerned with the society or social issues, like… India is very prone to female foeticide, child marriage, that happens and are prevalent in the country. So as an agency, it is our CSR initiative to promote more and more girls, more and more females. And give them an image that is little upwardly mobile. They should be empowered, so as far as gender issues is concerned, what we are doing I believe all the other agencies are also following, because somewhere down the line, when you are working on social issues, you need to empower females (Suhas 2013).

According to Suhas and Navneet (2013), producers of commercial advertising were thus increasingly concerned with the representation of female-coded per-

sonas as an aspect of rectifying gender-based discriminatory patterns.[113] As Suhas described, by choosing a 'girl' child in commercial advertising, they address that "there are a lot of problems in India such as girl foeticide and it is still a problem. So, they try to present that there is no harm in having a girl child" (Suhas 2011). The examples of commercial advertisements from telecommunication, insurance, banking, and auto-mobiles to Maggie noodles, changing gendered representation had, according to Navneet, no bearing on sales, but the imageries connected to this change enabled new narratives of "positive imaging" (Navneet 2013). This normalisation of choosing female-coded individuals in commercial advertisements hence represents the participation in debates on advertising and gender representation by increasing the quantity of female-coded figures. While the focus on 'women' as part of social campaigning is connected to a specific goal of challenging gendered dynamics of sexist patterns by addressing these patterns directly, debates regarding representation in commercial advertising are connected to normalising specific imageries without calling out the problem itself. Later in this chapter, I elaborate on the question of representation as part of the communicative level.

The approach and discursive narrative of centring 'women' in gender thematics as well as allocating responsibility accordingly usually set 'men' in the role of perpetrators. This viewpoint enables detachment from these issues by those not directly affected while also adhering to a binary understanding of gender. NGO workers, in particular, were aware of the connotation of 'gender' meaning concerning 'women', and thus 'men' as protectors had become a more common perspective included in strategies of social change initiatives. Many social organisations hence targeted male audiences as an important and fundamental element for changing gender dynamics. The Bell Bajao campaign, for example, addresses a diverse target audience in their audio-visual campaign and, from 2013, made 'men' central in their global launch campaign with the slogan: "One million men. One million promises" (Breakthrough 2015). The website states: "Men know they are part of the solution. Men are seeing violence against women as not 'just' a 'women's' issue but as an expression of inequality that holds *everyone* back. Men know their actions add up and have impact. Men know their power to influence other men" (Breakthrough no date). Alongside

113 They mentioned multiple examples of this trend. "For instance, there was an ad, where the father was tinkering with an old car, trying to fix it, and his daughter was sitting there, maybe 23–24 year old daughter, or maybe a little older, she says why do you not buy a new car? He says, do you know how much that costs? She says, I will buy you one. He says, where do you have the money from? She says, I am working. Little things of that kind" (Navneet 2013).

the advertisements, ground actions contributed to the outreach of the campaign. Navneet described the "video van intervention" that included trained volunteers engaging with audiences throughout urban and rural districts as follows:

> You know the thing was in the public spaces in India a lot of men are there, the van was the messengers and communicators with the men were also men. So it worked very well for men to be role-models and to be seen as communicators talking to some other men about ending violence against women. So it worked very well in that space (Navneet 2013).

This strategy hence saw 'men' as role models and 'change-makers', actively pledging to engage when witnessing violence against 'women'. While 'men' were included by encouraging respectful behaviour or acting as protectors, as seen in the Gillette campaign (Suhas 2013; Navneet 2013), other spaces and events illustrated the incentive to challenge the very understanding of masculinity in order to address gender dynamics (Karam 2013). In early 2013, activists and volunteers belonging to the Must Bol campaign[114] organised an event at Ambedkar University that stood out in questioning gendered behaviour and exploring masculinity in particular. With initiative from the School of Culture and Creative Expression and one of the students who had previously done an internship with ComMutiny, Must Bol was contacted to share their material and insight. The event consisted of several stations that asked, "What is masculinity?". I and all other visitors walked through the area, stopping at the posters and interactive instalments (see Fig. 5–8). A poster exhibition contained a range of advertisements created by the Must Bol members alongside posters that were enlarged pages from "A little book on men" (2007) by R. Roy, A. Chatterjee, and S. Dastur that deals with questions of manhood, and photos of personal reflections regarding the meaning of masculinity, was the centre of this event.[115]

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114 Must Bol or Let's Talk is embedded in a coalition of organisations across India named ComMutiny – The Youth Collective promoting youth leadership. The campaign uses short films, online campaigning, and public actions, creating platforms for discussion (UN Women 2012a; Partners4prevention 2019). Around 30 volunteers engage with the campaign each year and discuss gender and sexuality. ComMutiny – The Youth Collective has since 2008 grown to create a network of solidarity consisting of volunteers, social organisations in 19 states, governmental institutions, UN agencies, corporate representatives, and individuals from academia (ComMutiny – The Youth Collective no date b+c).

115 The program also included a screening of the film titled "Majma" (translation from Hindi: performance) from 2001 by R. Roy, discussing intersections of masculinity, class, and public space, through two main characters and spaces: a wrestling trainer and a hawker selling remedies for sexual problems. A talk with the filmmaker followed the screening.

Fig. 5–6. "Exploring Masculinity", Ambedkar University, Delhi. Photos by M. Gabler (2013), courtesy of ComMutiny – The Youth Collective.

Fig. 7–8. "Exploring Masculinity", Ambedkar University, Delhi. Photos by M. Gabler (2013), courtesy of ComMutiny – The Youth Collective.

While I sat with some of the volunteers from Must Bol, I observed the other participants. The surroundings and themes displayed inspired discussions among them, some planned to post images on their Facebook wall and others chose examples of slogans to have discussions in class. One of the volunteers shared a story with me regarding the struggle for self-expression on the university campus and the following initiative to challenge the administration, another their experiences feeling more free walking at night and presenting female in Mumbai. The discussions seemed multiple and uninhibited, my presence played no role in the exchanges. Not only did the exhibition and interactive tools address the power relations of gender dynamics and the question of how 'women' can claim rights and freedoms when the rest of the environment would not support this change or, in the worst case, obstruct it (Karam 2013), but it provided reflections regarding the understanding of gender itself. The participants related to the content and aspects of gender being discussed and thus displayed initiative of getting involved, finding their way of engaging and becoming 'change-makers'. Comparably, Suhas critiqued the imageries and narratives of commercial advertising in its reproduction of normative ideas of gender and longed for a more creative expression of the relations and representation included. In Suhas' words: "I feel that it is used very unimaginatively, the whole female thing is usually in one context, it's very boring, it's the same context that we have been using them for hundreds of years now. […] You can easily put a family context that is not interesting enough, or the brother and the sister love each other, or couples have kids together, or you have the mum and son context, which works in certain categories such as toothbrush hygiene, health, food nourishment, you know, those things, medicines and then, of course, you have the boy-girl angle, that's also with social premises, you would never showcase a ménage à trois unless in a funny or sarcastic ad, but yes, you would never show it as the thing to be" (Suhas 2011). Despite these efforts to question the understanding of gender, the perspectives seeing 'women' in the role as 'change-makers', 'men' playing a supporting role at most, and other gender identities not having a part at all were dominant.

Some saw the debate on sexualised violence in the aftermath of the Nirbhaya case of the respondents as a starting point for talking about the systemic patterns of gender dynamics through which individual critical thinking could be encouraged instead of allotting the position of 'change-makers' to 'women'. This position was displayed in the sentiment of Navneet: "In Delhi, some men met and put up these posters that we are very sorry for the rest of us. And like they don't have a choice right now. They don't have a choice" (Navneet 2013). They pointed to patriarchy and economic conditions as important factors of the problem but also called out education for not providing information to deal with these difficulties. At the same time, the so-called "woman question" provi-

ded the discursive foundation for continuing a tradition that did not dismantle systemic patterns of gender dynamics. The focus on 'women' as the bearers of tradition and culture, allotting responsibility and agency to 'women' and the imagery of 'the Indian women' in the form of goddesses or mothers was strategically used in order to redefine what constituted India's tradition and culture as outlined in chapter one (Chatterjee 1989, p. 630; Chaudhuri 2001, p. 379). This narrative also found its way into conversations during my visits. The engagement with gender was often framed through an understanding of behaviour towards one's mother, sister, wife and girlfriend functioning as a guideline towards behaviour in general (Suhas 2013; Karam 2013).

When issues regarding gender dynamics become "women's issues", gender dynamics and power relations are put aside. Consideration for the lived realities of 'women', the current oppressive and discriminatory patterns in place that include political, legal, and social inhibitions, are combined with expectations that existing issues will be solved by 'women' and excludes issues of 'men', trans- and non-binary individuals being, for example, affected by sexualised violence. This is illustrated in connection with commercial advertising in the study by Munshi. The female-coded persona of 'the new Indian woman' is reminiscent of the colonial discourse of 'the Indian women' in that, again, 'women' are given the responsibility of development and progress of society in the form of modernisation without 'westernisation' (Munshi 2001, p. 585). In the context of contemporary consumerist cultures and agendas of development, the interplay between discourses regarding gender identity, femininity, national development, and liberalisation strategies re-set ideas of the role of 'women' as agents in the endeavour for progress (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 147). At the same time, female consumers have increasingly gained focus in commercial marketing and have, in commercial advertising, been identified as the latest, most important target group (Munshi 1998, p. 578; Chaudhuri 2014, p. 148). The re-figuration of feminine identity and interest in female consumers brought together debates on the representation of female-coded personas in commercial advertising and responsibilities in change processes in the form of 'women' as bearers of culture, making decisions about household purchases seen as societal participation and making 'women' powerful consumers. Similarly, the aforementioned representation of the female CEO contains an understanding of processes of change regarding the roles and positions of 'women' in society (Chaudhuri 2001, pp. 375–376). During various conversations, Navneet, in particular, portrayed contrasting perspectives regarding the portrayal of gendered imagery in advertising. While social change initiatives and processes centring on 'women' entailed increased difficulties in challenging systemic patterns as "women have been politicised" (Navneet 2013), there can also be benefits to creating dialogue without challenging the status quo. Including a female-coded child instead of a male-coded child in commercial campaigns, for

example, is not pushing messages that make things seem unreal but instead flow nicely, not confronting the norm to an extent where it might be rejected. In Navneet's words: "Let our campaign be gender-sensitive, not about gender, but gender sensitive" (Navneet 2013). Thereby, they expected greater possibilities of directing processes of social change. However, the chosen representation might challenge specific ideas about gender while reproducing other systemic patterns. This is similar to Munshi's take on commercial advertising for washing machines that enables personal empowerment but does not challenge the systemic setup of gender patterns (Munshi 1998, p. 580). These seemingly conflicting perspectives regarding gendering 'change-makers' highlight the possibilities contained in 'discourses of change'. Further, the awareness of producers in commercial advertising regarding their position in normalising certain imagery is connected to the conviction that 'women' are the ones mainly affected by inequalities and are central in processes of social change. This point of view illustrates the entanglement of 'discourses of change' from different arenas, i.e. feminist debates, marketing spaces, and discourses of development. The debates shared by respondents as part of extant discourses perfectly intermingle gendered expectations and social change processes with the medialised communication strategies found in both commercial and social advertising. In one way, opportunities and participation are part of the discourse regarding social change and gender in connection with economic growth and neo-liberal consumer culture. In another way, the normalisation of 'women' as agents with certain responsibilities left the understanding of 'women' and hence the stereotypical representation of 'women' as fair-skinned, able-bodied, thin, young, and stereotypically beautiful unchallenged. These perspectives provide consideration for the complexities of discursive struggles. With these struggles being potentially highly personal and dependent on each person's contextual settings, similar to experiences of empowerment (Sadan 1997), and at the same time figuring as part of dynamics of normative discourses, the position of 'change makers' is equally complex.

While the focus on gender as "women's issues" is historically and contextually charged and thus had a dominant place in these discussions, the perspectives among the respondents portrayed a diverse debate regarding the role of gender as part of the 'politics of change'. 'Women' gaining importance as a target group and as decision-makers in the context of commercial advertising links a changing understanding of 'women' to representation of female-coded personas. The idea of 'men' as the 'change-makers' distances itself from 'men' as perpetrators. Through a connection to 'women' as their mothers, sisters, or wives, 'men' gained the role of protectors while 'women's' position continued to be related to their connection to 'men', thus reinforcing paternalistic and heteronormative perceptions. In a few cases, masculinities themselves were central in addressing systemic sexism, while the binary understanding of gen-

der was rarely challenged. Respondents' role as 'change-makers' was connected to the understanding of being in a position of power as part of advertising production and thus influencing audiences and, in many instances, creating social change. In the social sector, the idea of 'change-makers' was prominent as a strategy and a way to inspire ownership and hence responsibility. At the same time, Suhas described how similar engagement with community and work was common among producers of commercial advertisements. While social organisations might strategically use the title to a higher degree, it serves as a self-obtained description in the commercial sector. Therefore, producers across boundaries shared an interest in influencing audiences and saw themselves in a position of catalysing change. Respondents illustrated various approaches in addressing gendered aspects of 'change-makers' and a range of perspectives concerning their role in directing processes of change. Respondents' rationale regarding the 'discourse of change' thus reflects diverse viewpoints as part of change processes. Through aspects of empowerment, ownership, and responsibility connected to critical thinking as central, these different perspectives generate a vibrant discursive sphere of knowledge production.

Global Media Cultures as Source for Inspiration & Producers as 'Prosumers' of Media

Media presence in India has been growing since the 1970s when satellite television brought TV sets to a growing number of homes. Similarly, technological advances like the spread of mobile phones and increasingly affordable and available online plans alongside general digitalisation have expanded access to online spaces. These elements of medialisation processes were often described as entry points to the whole world and a way to share and gain experiences (Navneet 2013; Suhas 2011). Suhas described the role of the internet, TV channels, and news media as a way for various audiences to become "more aware of their rights and choices and preferences, and obviously with the country opening up and the brands coming in and foreign investment" (Suhas 2011; Suhas 2013). As such, these processes and elements are pointed out as influential in the understanding of social change. Similarly, Roni highlighted the internet, particularly digital media, as a channel "making a big dent into the traditional mainstream ways of communicating" (Roni 2011).

Respondents especially discussed the internet as providing exposure to new ideas and perspectives. Access to internet content was seen as inspirational and an important factor regarding their career paths and personal choices. As Roni said: "knowledge can become free because we are living in the creative age" (Roni 2011). Accordingly, Karam shared how the intersection of personal

realities and internet access were fundamental factors of inspiration to engage with specific topics such as non-heteronormative identities: "That sort of opens you up to a lot of ideas of gender, that you are then able to access because the internet was not big when I was young" (Karam 2013). At the same time, the role of digital media was considered for their role in social change in that the "internet is the new education system" (Navneet 2013). Digital platforms and spaces were thus seen as useful inventions for finding access to these shared experiences and support and highlighted as playing a pivotal role in personal as well as strategic choices. With the spread of mobile phones that enable internet access and more schemes for affordable mobile phone access giving more people the possibility of being online, the number of potential audiences reached is growing. While access is still dependent on abilities and practices of using media devices as well as literacy and language barriers, medialisation processes are considered to have resulted in increased presence and pertinence of media cultures through digitalised or 'new media' in particular.

With this increasing presence of medialisation processes, global media cultures such as TV channels and online media, in general, must be regarded as major factors in personal experiences and important sources of inspiration. While Roni mentioned exposure to international media and advertising through international travels, such as visiting East-Asian countries (Roni 2011), respondents drew inspiration from outside India for ideas and expressions in many ways and saw this as an asset (Suhas 2011). In the context of advertising agencies, respondents described media content such as movies from Europe or the USA as a way to get exposed to different kinds of aesthetic expression and approaches. Global media cultures were equally experienced as fueling connectedness and inspiring creativity, particularly regarding challenging set rules. As Suhas described:

> The ability to laugh at yourself and take your culture and make funny ads out of it is part of a whole consciousness collectively. Even the ability of Indians and Indian ad agencies and communication people to start taking their culture and making it into cool ads is because they have been exposed to other countries doing the same, like if you look at Brazilian ad or far east, from like Thailand and stuff, they are not trying to copy the west, they take their own culture and make really cool ads and that has in a way inspired Indian ads (Suhas 2011).

In advertising production, the possibility of accessing media cultures from other regions thus enabled self-reflection and inspired changes in strategy, including being humorous about one's own culture. Similarly, exposure to international discourses and movements is referred to as a way to realise other possibilities, for example, concerning gender norms. Navneet pointed out that,

> by the end of college, you are like, what am I playing to? […] This extreme demand of a child to act in a certain sense. Boys are supposed to act in a certain sense and women are supposed to act in a very hard kind of rule. When you are exposed to global culture and movements, that is when you realise it is not so black and white there is so much grey (Navneet 2013).

Accessing global media cultures thus plays a significant role in respondents' experiences and, as such, was influential in their understanding of processes of change and hence' politics of change' as well as notions regarding gender dynamics. The exposure to international discourses was noted to broaden ideas about gender norms and contain inspirational ideals. At the same time, respondents expressed the sentiment that stereotypes of gender and questions of equality and, thus, representation followed similar lines. Therein, realisations of roles given to 'women' and 'men' and dynamics of gender not being specific to India but connected to worldwide issues were prominent (Navneet 2013; Suhas 2011). Respondents hence saw the influence of global media cultures as a way to reflect on diverse opportunities, connectedness, and homogeneity.

In accordance with the perception of global media cultures' presence, media content frequently figured as reference points when discussing social change. In conversations with respondents and during observations at various events, mainstream and independent movies, TV shows, and advertisements were often referred to in order to reflect on the role of media in the creation and reproduction of gender roles. For example, during an open talk titled "Understanding Sexual Violence: Meaning and Attitudes" organised by a Delhi-based NGO in February 2013 as a reaction to the Nirbhaya case, participants shared feelings, perspectives and steps for action. As part of these discussions, the movie "Inkar" from 2013, telling the story of sexualised harassment in the offices of an advertising agency, provided ample opportunity to discuss the story, the filmmaker, and the film's relevance to social structures. Drawing analogies to the storylines and representation, the discussions enabled debates on sexualised violence and social changes in India. Referencing a movie plot framed the discussion that mirrored existing debates and established connections between shared experiences. Using media content as reference points was thus a common occurrence in order to clarify or describe points of view. This illustrates media content as a constant factor in daily life and discussions. Moreover, it points to individuals in media production simultaneously producing and consuming media content and figuring as 'prosumers'.[116] The term 'prosumers' in this sense acknowledges how individuals are in a position to

116 The term 'prosumer' has been defined in various ways. In the book "The Third Wave" by A. Toffler (1980) on the transition from the industrial age to the information

create media content at the same time as consuming media. The emergence of 'new media' in particular is noted to involve a growing interactive public and thus increasingly established media practices of 'prosumers' (Chaudhuri 2015, p. 28). With the environment of growing global media cultures that generally serve as inspiration and input, as discussed above, individuals in marketing and advertising production are not separate from audiences but are essentially audiences as well. As seen in chapter two, debates on the responsibility and role of media producers in social change processes not only homogenise media producers but also assumes boundaries between producers and audiences, particularly when discussing individuals in the commercial advertising industry. However, in the multidimensional lives and realities of the producers, media content is vital in the form of information, entertainment, or as a constant presence in their lives. The environment of urban living exacerbates these circumstances. The characteristics of urbanities provide proximities of social organisations and associated events, opportunities for medialised entertainment in the form of film and advertising festivals alongside regular movie programming, and commercial establishments, for example, advertising agencies and brand companies, as well as shopping malls. As such, the scope of being exposed to various medialised communication, e.g. social and commercial advertising and other media outlets, is prominent. With the importance given to media content and affiliated institutions in change processes and discourses, producers must thus be considered media consumers similarly to audiences. The imagined boundaries between media producers and media consumers and hence audiences of media content are non-existent. The rise of 'prosumers' is connected to changing technological advances and medialisation processes, as pointed out by Schneider and Gräf:

> With the beginning of the 21st century came Web 2.0, also known as social media or social networks. These expressions identify a new generation of internet technologies allowing users to create content themselves, with the term prosumer describing this new mixture of producer and consumer of information (2011, p. 13).

During conversations, the linkages between social media platforms and processes of social change were pointed out as important elements in these new ways of medialised communication. Roni, for example, described the opportu-

age in so-called developed countries, 'prosumers' are defined as "people who produce some of the goods and services entering their own consumption". As part of commercial marketing in India, S. Srivastava describes 'prosumers' as individuals that promote certain brands or products, as they are someone that others look up to and thus influence consumption without necessarily buying a specific product (Hegde 2010).

nities given by social media as "a move towards celebrating and being a force for good, everyone wants to achieve something, social relevance" (Roni 2011), highlighting each individual's possibility of contributing with their perspective. Discussing the implications of these 'new media' cultures for policymakers, Sundaram acknowledges the growing complications as "the older divisions of producer and consumer get constantly blurred as more and more people generate media through personal electronic objects" (2013, p. 5). For example, an online platform enabled a compact collection of voices and perspectives amid the outcry and protests for change following the Nirbhaya case. Bangalore-based illustrator and visual artist S. S. Suleman established this collective to inspire artists of any kind or anyone interested to contribute their thoughts, feelings, and perspectives through self-created posters. The Fearless collective thus gave a voice to more than 250 individuals creating visual expressions published on Facebook, a separate website, and house walls. It consisted of individuals contributing and processing their personal environment and certain events by using media production as an outlet, making audiences who were usually in the category of media consumers into producers of media content that was again spread through poster exhibitions online as well as offline.[117] While the internet and social media were thus frequently mentioned as a vital element in the strategies utilised as a part of the 'politics of change' (Navneet 2013), other forms of media technology also figured within this spectrum. As part of a campaign launch in December 2012 to End Violence Against Women initiated by the UN Secretary-General, UNWomen, for example, organised a photo competition and exhibition titled: "Freedom from Violence" (UNWomen 2013). This type of photography was often employed in campaigns to draw attention to its messages, attract participants, and spread the ideas of said campaigns. Such activities contained photography in print, as part of exhibitions, or solely through social media. Similarly, telecommunication was a way beyond online environments to encourage participation and contribute with perspectives. As an essential part of the aforementioned Close the Gap campaign, medialised messages encouraged people to call a hotline to contribute with their perspectives. Posters and billboards called for audiences, i.e. media consumers, to react and share their thoughts, feelings, and comments to be recorded. The system was constructed by facilitating callbacks or Interactive Voice Response (IVR) and enabling participants to also listen to the messages others had left. Many individuals had recited poetry or sang songs

117 For more details, see the article "Creating Art and Weaving Magic: Shilo Shiv Suleman's Art is Changing the World" by H. Din (2014) or "How Street Art is Empowering Fearless Women to Reclaim Public Spaces" by S. Hussain (2018).

besides reacting to the previous messages that hence resembled conversations (Navneet 2013). According to Navneet, they had received around 6000 calls in early 2013, mostly from rural India, which illustrates the campaign's outreach. As Navneet described:

> it's a strong level of engagement. Because for those people, that is the first level of engagement. This sort of stuff takes a long time. People want to live their lives and going through life just doing stuff, they want go to work and eat food and go to sleep that is what people want to do. And the aim is to break up that routine, I want you to call this line. I don't wanna call that line, I don't want to do anything to make them uncomfortable, but if you make them comfortable and you create a cultural change where people interact and engaging constantly in a political process, people will going to have to respond (Navneet 2013).

The media consumers hence engaged with the campaign and became part of the production of media content by essentially joining a debate on gender and inequality. Despite the importance given to 'new media', 'prosumers' are thus not a product of the emergence of 'new media' channels and platforms. I argue that the role of 'new media' is found in its ability to heighten extant opportunities and expressions through medialisation processes and thus entail the intensification and spread of medialised communication through its presence. The role of media channels and global media cultures, including internet platforms, in combination with perspectives regarding discursive knowledge and self-reflexivity, builds on existing media practices situating 'prosumers' as part of 'discourses of change'. This aspect of useful strategies in directing processes of change ties into an understanding of advertising producers as 'change-makers' and their responsibilities in that they are inspired to engage and contribute with their perspectives.

The use of social media, in particular, creates a dynamic in which consuming media content can also involve distributing it: the posters shared by NGOs through social media platforms can reach further through the "share" button. The use of online platforms represents current practices in media culture and a possibility of increasing outreach by sharing posters more widely, alongside encouraging self-reflection. Subsequently, the poster addressing a social topic is connected to the organisation and the person sharing it further. Navneet described these practices as a way of engaging people in debates through the element of ownership. As the message is now directly connected to the person sharing the NGO's design, they are, to some extent, expected to defend the "post" (Navneet 2013). Not only does the media consumer hence become a media producer, the isolated advertisement in the form of an online poster points towards each advertisement being thought of as able to inspire a

thought process within each individual through engaging each person's willingness to own the message and discuss it.

In the aftermath of the Nirbhaya case, discussions of gender-based violence figured widely in mainstream and news media and became central in social change discourses. Respondents generally described the debates on gender becoming more prominent and mainstream, particularly noting the impact of the Nirbhaya case protests (Navneet 2013; Suhas 2013). Suhas and Navneet explained how in their experience, voices had become stronger, but more importantly, discussions had become more present and expression about these topics was multiplying, and in connection with the changing media practices, creating more dialogue (Navneet 2013). As explained by Navneet:

> This is a reality that is going to be in front of us. It is happening continuously, it's been happening before and it's continuing since then. And I think what has changed from that incidence is that a lot of more people have started taking ownership for this issue. They have started saying, listen this is not a disconnected issue, even if I am a guy, if I am a girl, whoever I am, this is my issue (Navneet 2013).

The central role of ownership and self-reflection thus becomes part of the linkages between these media cultures, 'discourses of change', and processes of social change. Take the case of Navneet, who experienced frustration with behaviour and debates on gender and thus initiated a campaign to counter these circumstances. As media consumer, they entered into media production through a feeling of responsibility based on a belief in media cultures' influential power. Ownership is here not only a part of strategies in social change initiatives but is also a scenario experienced in respondents' personal life, while the current media cultures allow for greater participation. Significant elements of change processes include exposure to global media cultures, personal experiences, and reflections thereon rather than being taught by more knowledgeable people. As Suhas describes it while discussing the importance of transnational media cultures:

> I think it's a collective consciousness of a country is getting better, you can't take a single client out, because of whatever he stated. Because of the internet and people travelling, people as a whole – which includes clients – have a slightly better aesthetic sense which is more collective, because of exposure, which is getting upgraded, but it's not in isolation (Suhas 2011).

Therein, media cultures and internet access serve as tools for interaction between production and consumption practices, and thus each individual figures as a producer and consumer. Therefore, audiences and producers are roles to inhabit and not separate individuals as part of the developments present.

Just as media content often figured as reference points in discussions to explain certain viewpoints, the available media content enabled producers to grasp current topics and debates of interest. According to Roni, online content often served as secondary research alongside current films, TV, and magazines in producing commercial advertising. In the creation process of commercial campaigns, the producers sometimes sought reactions and feedback from target audiences as part of market research. In some cases, this took place in collaboration with clients or specialised research agencies (Suhas 2011; Roni 2013), while social media served as a helpful tool in determining success by acknowledging the presence of comments, "shares", and "likes" in connection with social campaigns online (Navneet 2013). Similarly, producers of advertisements might use online material as inspiration for social campaigns, as seen during ad hoc sessions creating posters for, for example, the march of International Women's Day.[118] Both commercial and social campaigning thus gained insights into audiences' perspectives or engaged in interactions with media content as well as debates present. Media cultures hence facilitated research, participatory practices, interactions, and intertwining of conversations. With the growing presence of social media and the utilisation of these channels, the line between media producers and media consumers has become increasingly permeable. Additionally, debates as part of news media, weekly publications from private media groups or social sector organisations etc., are part of the discourses the respondents are situated in. While media cultures and 'new media' have thus increasingly provided platforms to engage with, discourses concerning technological advances, medialised communication and social activism enable processes of social change to be carried further and include heterogeneous participants.

In the light of the fluidity between media consumers and media producers in the form of 'prosumers', the trends of media producers shifting across perceived boundaries and engaging in diverse fields of media production points to individuals as being part of shared 'discourses of change'. Thereby, respondents were not only embedded in each of their disciplinary discourses regarding processes of change or the role of media therein but also existed as part of certain commonalities. This is captured through the current media cultures in India being marked by intermediality in the form of greater proximation and overlaps of different channels and technologies, thus containing the production of media content becoming available to growing audiences (see Titzman 2015, p. 90). Media producers are thus part of existing change processes: a generation

118 More details on this poster-making session will follow, describing the institutional level.

of media producers growing up in a post-liberalisation economy and the related changes in the media cultures, including the intensification of visuals as part of socialisation processes. Accordingly, 'discourses of change' contain an understanding of the role of media content as a new form of knowledge production. As such, media producers are not oblivious to existing debates on social change, in particular concerning gender, as mentioned in chapter two, but are able to incorporate particular perspectives of these debates into their work. While Chaudhuri argues that market research plays a vital role in these trends (Chaudhuri 2014, pp. 147–148), I see this exchange as more constant interaction with available media cultures and, thus, awareness regarding extant discourses. This scenario challenges the perception of media producers as separate from audiences and the idea of media producers' unique position in directing change processes. In contrast, the extant media cultures and understanding of media producers as media 'prosumers' shifts the focus to greater participation through medialised communication, albeit not without power relations in place. Based on the implications above, in the following, I discuss the role of the individual in processes of change.

The Individual's Place in Processes of Change

With the extant media cultures as inspirational in individuals' processes of self-reflection, paths taken, and choices made, access to information or ideologies create dynamic relations between individual change and each individual's role in processes of systemic change. The personal processes or internal change includes exposure to ideas, thoughts, and debates and subsequently being inspired by these insights to reflect on oneself or adopt critical thinking towards established discursive truths. This self-reflection and critical thinking can be understood as part and parcel of a discursive struggle taking place in that conflicting or multiple truths are acknowledged, i.e. hybrid discourses emerge and lead to a change in the understanding of realities on an individual level. Through the understanding of change processes detailed in chapter three, self-reflection and individuals' experiences become an initial step towards this personal or internal process of change. Processes of socialisation, educational paths, and personal experiences are all factors in respondents' decision-making regarding their careers and engagement in social change initiatives, but also in each person's understanding of processes of change themselves. Each person engages with diverse arenas that are fundamentally significant to the paths taken: expectations and values instated by the family, but also underlying structures present in the home that serve as markers to distance themselves from or take as inspirational role models, as well as personal interests and realities. As

described by Roni: "How we define ourselves is also based on what we use and the world we create around us" (Roni 2011). The exposure to certain circumstances influenced each respondent's path and worldview. Within these paths taken, various discussions regarding processes of change and social change come to be present in respondents' experiences. This process is exemplified by the experiences of Navneet, who described situations that sensitised them to topics and perspectives they had previously been unaware of. Activists in their group or engaging in a project alongside them shared experiences and insights that led Navneet to shift their own perceptions. The confrontation with experiences, viewpoints, and insights previously invisible to them thereby leads to an internal struggle. Navneet highlighted how critical thinking, self-reflection, and thus the internal struggle in reaction to social campaigns during the protests in connection with the Nirbhaya case was thought of as an essential part of change processes:

> You are in movement and you are very active, and you are willing to think about that thing, so this is very important to even think, because we were never forced to think about that thing. But this is the importance about the movement (Navneet 2013).

Similarly, these processes included realisations about personal circumstances and behaviour,

> on one hand we have this full politicising and discipline of patriarchy through our childhood and adolescences, and from adulthood in colleges we find such kind of progressive politics. So we were […] a little uncertain, now how to act. And in this movement, at that juncture, this kind of political approach gives us ways to receive. This slogan, either you have to go for this progressive […] or you will again return to patriarchy. I will engage in a movement but I will not allow my sister to go out. […] This is how these slogans and these visuals has been received among male persons (Navneet 2013).

The importance of self-reflection was an ongoing topic and thus also became present in campaign strategies. Through the facilitation of offline discussions, respondents saw each individual's reflections as essential and fundamental in processes of change. Navneet described the meetings initiated by their organisation as a way to have "open discussions" and highlighted the value of inviting all perspectives to be included by encouraging all to share their thoughts and feelings. In Navneet's words:

> We will meet every month to just have conversations and expand the network so that we can have representations of all sections of society in the discussion space soon enough. […] And we will have an open conversation,

> not a particular debate or a session where we have to conclude with some points, we don't need to do that, we need people to be exposed to different kind of thinking, different kind of ideas that are outside, that is basically it (Navneet 2013).

Getting together for open discussions was thus a significant part of their strategy for directing change processes. Every participant was invited to share their perspectives, contribute to, reflect, and discuss the topics at hand. This included the initiators themselves, who acknowledged how their own role in these meetings was not to convince anybody but allow for these discussions to happen. Being part of these conversations as part of change processes entails each individual contributing with their discursive truth and thus a sphere that enables discursive struggles through the debates happening. Accordingly, Navneet pointed to the importance of learning and building a space where people can learn by themselves, which entailed that

> people will automatically – even if they do not admit it – they will pick up something from that day. If there is something that makes sense to them they will pick it up. Maybe they say: listen you are wrong at that point, because I have to prove my point. But they will at least listen, and I think that is how it works. It is about changing mindsets yes, but I don't know if it is my own or somebody else's. It is a place to talk, and you will figure out which mind set you want to connect with. (Navneet 2013).

As Karam stated: "You start from there, start from yourself and your own community" (Karam 2013). Thereby, they highlighted self-reflection for mindset change, including one's own, which was also mirrored by Suhas, who pointed out that educating oneself is the key to changing mindsets (Suhas 2013). Within the conviction of self-reflection as a critical element in change processes, respondents across the board highlighted that social change processes depended on "mindset"-change. The idea of mindset change contains a shift in each individual's attitude and thought process, but to have any impact would entail a multiplication of this shift and ultimately result in a change of systemic patterns.

In light of the medialisation processes of independent India and, in particular, expanding media cultures post-liberalisation, the interaction of changes in society and the role of media cultures enabled platforms, exchanges, and discussions to a higher degree. Media cultures not only serve as inspiration for processes of internal change but also establish a fundamental component in change processes regarding systemic patterns. Alongside the importance given to each individual in change processes as promoted through the state's nation-building project, the conviction of media's influential power and usefulness in directing change processes is re-invented through the efforts to include diverse

voices and perspectives. Finally, each person is part of social and cultural patterns as well as technologies, policies and regulations which create the circumstances media production exists within. Thereby, economic reforms, medialised debates, personal realities, etc., are all parts of creating media content and, thereby, facilitating change. The role of individuals in processes of change provides a juxtaposition of each person's duty and responsibility as an important strategic element in the nation-building project, with this responsibility being re-invented as occupying a powerful position when incorporating this attitude into processes of social change and connected to discourses of media's influential role. Acknowledging that everyone has a perspective to contribute through dialogue enables internal change that entails discursive struggles and opportunities for mindset changes. Thereby, individuals' reflections are connected to systemic patterns by changing the understanding of circumstances and thus shifting socialisation processes (Suhas 2013). The question of the significance of individuals in these processes, connecting each person's thinking with broader behavioural patterns, hence illuminates an interplay between individual change and systemic change. I thus conclude that respondents saw an individual's role in processes of change and social change being formed through the exchange between their position as 'change-makers' who take ownership and responsibility and the role of media cultures made up of 'prosumers'. With the importance of self-reflectivity and critical thinking, interactions as part of current media cultures are constituted to enable immediate and diverse participation to a greater extent. Despite the uncertain scope of change and challenges dependent on extant power relations according to, for example, socio-economic class belonging, gender dynamics, and other power relations, the diversity of voices participating, including perspectives from urban and rural realities, reflect opportunities of discursive struggles and thus change processes.

4.2.2 Power and Discursive Struggles as Part of Institutional Conditions and Connections

With the complexities of individuals' positions in processes of change in mind, I here build on the respondents' experiences and perspectives regarding the institutional level. Centring processes of change, three major facets came to light. Not surprisingly, individuals are situated in negotiations of power which depend on the institutional agendas, ideologies, and ideas present. These dynamics are marked by institutional-specific expertise as well as interlinkages containing discursive struggles and competitiveness. Within these power negotiations, recognition and visibility are essential factors in determining positions of power and success in directing processes of change. Additionally,

institutional networks are often a way to establish bonds of solidarity enabling empowering experiences alongside practical collaborations. Based on the insights shared, the existing power relations that play out in the production and implementation of campaigns were a constant factor and a critical element in the role of extant advertising networks. In the following, I detail the respondents' understanding of these factors and their place on the institutional level through a prism of power.

The Presence of Power Relations in Defining Discursive Truth

With the central aspect in directing processes of change being the power to define truths, respondents conveyed discursive truths as part of their specific field. Their experiences of deliberation saw these negotiations as important factors in production processes. Collaborations and partnerships between institutions in particular, brought out an interplay of discursive truths due to differing agendas and understandings. Beliefs about professionalism and expert knowledge were hence essential elements in claiming a position to define truth. The ability to claim expert knowledge depended on the contextual arenas and the networks present reflecting discursive struggles.

In the production of medialised communication, individuals in the advertising industry contribute with their skills in marketing, including particular knowledge about how to direct processes of change alongside design skills. As I set out to probe respondents' conviction about the strategies employed in advertising, it is not surprising that producers in this context conveyed particular knowledge regarding 'politics of change' or what strategies would work best in order to influence audiences, for example, noting that different types of advertisements and media channels are distinct from each other and entail different strategies accordingly (Suhas 2011; Suhas 2013). Respondents regularly commented on the quality of advertisements, including social campaigns, as Suhas explained: "A lot of the advertising campaigns trying to bring about social issues are poorly crafted and executed" (Suhas 2013). In addition, their insights about the development of the advertising industry in India and their role as professional advertising producers positioned them as keepers of knowledge on how to change attitudes and behaviour legitimised by institutional belonging and principles. While discussing different aspects of advertising, including strategies and channels, confidence in having this expertise was evident. Suhas, for example, saw themselves in a position of power concerning the individual level, thus possessing specialised knowledge. One aspect thereof was their role in processes of regionalisation and professionalisation and their self-identified position between urban and rural life. With the evolving advertising

industry throughout the 20th century, as outlined in chapter one, Suhas found themselves able to offer specialised knowledge in communicating with audiences fitting this description. While the commercial advertising industry had long been dominated by English-language advertisements, often translating messages directly to regional languages, the shifts towards harnessing advertising professionals originating from India gradually gave way to localised expertise. Apart from language skills, these producers of commercial advertising were allocated a specific power to define the truth about regional cultural implications or how to reach rural markets best (Jeffrey 1997, pp. 58–70; Haynes 2017, p. 77). Suhas described the historical development of the advertising industry as a shift away from the dominance of the big agencies, which they saw as "ivory towers" that excluded many, and towards increasing possibilities of participating (Suhas 2013). With the expansion and academisation of the advertising industry, more schools and courses in this field were established. The idea of a closed group was deconstructed, leading to more inclusion and diversity. Suhas experienced this in their time in advertising agencies, describing themselves as "a city boy with a rural soul", which was seen as an asset in creating campaigns as it contained a diversity of perspectives (Suhas 2013). Besides the divide between urban and rural belonging, the specialisation in this field blends the expertise given through education and experiences with the idea of being situated in a position of power to influence audiences. This perspective reflects the idea posed by Mazzarella, who argues that infusing discourses regarding the professionalisation of the advertising industry and market research, in particular with scientific methods of communication, was a way for advertisers to associate their role in creating medialised messages with a power of expertise (Mazzarella 2003a, pp. 27–28). The institutional development thus entails a growing acknowledgement of expertise through the academisation and professionalisation of the advertising industry. The shift towards regionalisation and localisation of media cultures in the form of multiplying languages thus represent negotiations and competition for the power to define truth and, as such, the struggle to define discursive knowledge.

As part of the advertising industry, advertising producers with social change incentives were similarly connected to their expert knowledge regarding communication strategies. According to Suhas, these messages were often connected to the CSR departments of the agency. In exchange with this department, Suhas, for example, saw an opportunity in representational choices to challenge normative patterns of gender (Suhas 2013). Therein an interplay between institutional support for engaging in debates regarding social change, discourses of social inequalities and gender dynamics, and responsibilities and power in creating medialised messages is apparent. On the one hand, the idea of their responsibility and engagement corresponds to debates regarding nor-

mative patterns of gender through representation and the role of institutions of the neo-liberal market in the pedagogic project of educating audiences, as argued by Rajagopal (Rajagopal 1998, pp. 28–29). On the other, institutional belonging is not limited to specific knowledge of marketing but also enables a position of engaging in social change initiatives and thereby provides discursive knowledge on more than one aspect. Advertising producers situated in the context of an advertising agency creating commercial advertising thus draw on current debates and an understanding of the role of advertising in society as powerful and relevant. As part of the production processes of commercial advertising, 'discourses of change' become visible in the form of expertise based on institutional affiliation. At the same time, producers of commercial advertising engage with ideas of social change through institutional structures and figure as powerful decision-makers with the responsibility and power to influence audiences and social structures.

The knowledge associated with social sector institutions usually revolves around expertise regarding processes of social change. Affiliation with social organisations such as international organisations enabled respondents to function as stand-ins for expert knowledge in this field. This standpoint is exemplified by Navneet and Karam, who describe the role they played in influencing specific discourses regarding gender. In the reactions and debates in the context of the Nirbhaya case, directing discourses away from centring the death penalty as justice and towards a focus on 'rape culture', as mentioned in the previous section, was a key factor in feeling successful.[119] Alongside fundamental studies and experience, affiliation with organisations engaging with social change functions as the legitimisation needed for establishing their expertise and ability to determine valuable strategies. As experts on social change, they thus possess discursive power in defining knowledge that, again, entails the power to influence discourses. The institutional network of social sector organisations enabled respondents to engage in debates reflecting discursive struggles and influence directions of change processes while securing their position as 'change-makers'. In contrast, deliberation amongst the staff, activists, and volunteers reflected discursive struggles in the form of deliberation and decision-making processes. The institutional belonging in itself represents opportunities for discursive struggle and thereby highlights intra-institutional dynamics as

119 Similarly, the UNFPA in India set out to influence discourses on sex-selective abortion by changing the terminology in slogans used from "save the girl child" and "let the girl child live" to talking about "missing girls". This shift was an attempt to redirect an understanding of abortion that did not focus on abortion as killing fetuses (Navneet 2013).

an essential factor in social change. This is exemplified by the production of placards for protests. In preparation for the 2013 International Women's Day march, I was invited to join collaborative efforts to create campaign posters. A social organisation situated in South Delhi hosted their members to create posters for the march in their office space consisting of two rooms of about 16 square meters each, with couches and chairs along the walls and a big coffee table in the middle. Entering the space, this arrangement was set on the right taking up most of the space, while the far left corner had a desk and shelves to store materials and publications. The other room was usually also used as storage and workroom but was temporarily out of use, so everyone gathered around the low table and sat on the couches or stood among the chairs. A diverse group of activists gathered for the ad hoc creation of advertisements promoting distinct standpoints of useful messages. The group of around twelve to fifteen individuals from different generations included some that had been part of the organisation for many years while others had joined recently. One participant said, "mothers brought daughters, and daughters sent their mothers". There were students of Political Science, NGO workers, journalists, artists, and former university teachers. Some mainly spoke Hindi, others mostly English. In the session, a list of slogans to use was pulled from internet sites and for each suggestion, the group deliberated about whether that message conveyed the perspective that the group wished to communicate. Some drew on current debates, such as those about the death penalty as justice and concerns about police violence. Others related to other campaigns, for example, messages posted from the Fearless collective mentioned previously. In choosing the slogans to carry with them during the march, individuals voiced their perspectives and gave attention to allowing all to speak. The conversation seemed easy-going and informal, discussing the importance of being clear and the risk of satirical strategies and symbolic choices due to possible misunderstandings, ultimately choosing a broad selection of topics focussing mainly on violence and safety. After that, cardboard placards were made available, and whoever felt confident started writing and drawing the discussed messages, ensuring they covered slogans in English and Hindi (see Fig. 9–10).

In the creation process, it was evident that current debates were a prominent factor in discussing the choices and messages. Existing networks like the Fearless Collective were used as inspiration, and 'politics of change' were considered, for example, in discussions about how to phrase messages. This in-house deliberation of each slogan thus incorporated the role of current convictions of useful strategies as well as debates surrounding the topics in question. Participants drew on different institutional connections and re-used existing slogans and campaigns that reflect the 'discourses of change' prominent at that time. The process of making choices regarding the message represents a discur-

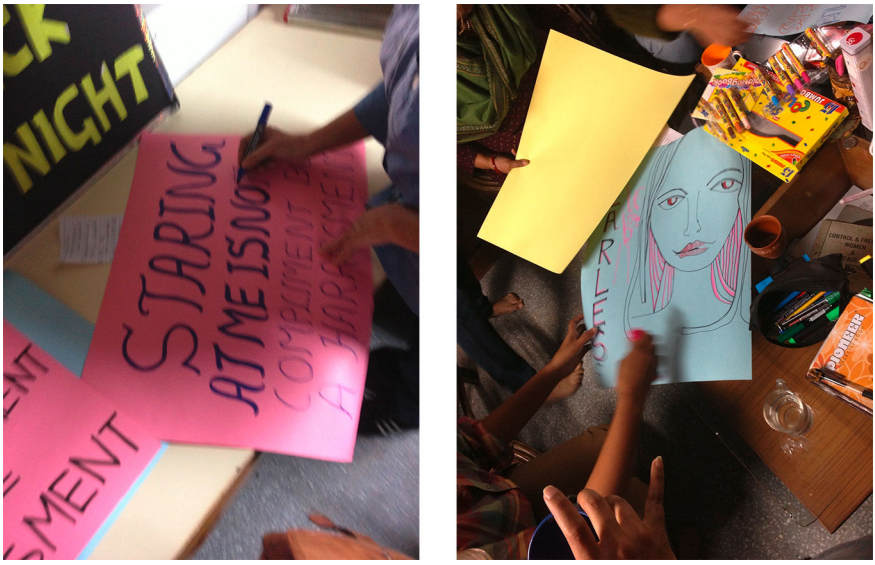

Fig. 9–10. "Poster Making for International Women's Day march", Saheli, Delhi. Photo by M. Gabler (2013), courtesy of Saheli Women's Resource Centre.

sive struggle in that each person engaging was welcomed to share their perspective and argue for or against certain strategies they deemed useful or counter-productive for directing change. The messages, in particular, were central in these deliberations, while design and pictures did not figure in the initial deliberation process. These parts were discussed among two or three people during creation. The central concern was making sure that messages were not misunderstood. The participants of this gathering displayed a conviction of the power of these medialised messages while also having fun and being social. Especially due to the expected media coverage at the march due to the current debates surrounding the safety of 'women' following the Nirbhaya case, the impact of chosen messages was expected to be impactful.[120] Though Colle distinguishes between strategic development communication and the "ad hoc practice of designing an occasional poster or radio spot for a given cause" (Colle 2008 [2003], pp. 96–97), I argue that the session of creating posters represents social advertisements without a broader marketing plan. The event illustrates the role of institutional networks in enabling a gathering for people with shared interests to engage in producing medialised communication. The participants sug-

120 In the section on the communicative level, I include an example of the outreach of a poster that was included as a communicative tool as part of the march.

gested each poster as a way to communicate their convictions in congruency with the institutional agenda. The organisation provided the space, the material, and inspiration, while also providing the basis for certain knowledge and expertise. Thereby, the connection to an established institution provided social sector activists with resources as well as discursive power.

In line with the knowledge of what approaches of certain campaigns would be more successful, respondents also criticised design and communicative strategies. As professionals in the social sector, Navneet and Karam, in particular, thus, commented on campaigns seen. Navneet, for example, pointed out shortcomings of governmental advertising and how these campaigns should have included reflection on the audiences and target groups, which led to subpar quality in their design and communication strategy (Navneet 2013). While Navneet described campaigns by NGOs and other social advertising as generally valid, other advertisements were described as "defacing walls". Commercial advertising, specifically, was demonised compared to social advertising (Navneet 2013). This perspective is reminiscent of an India-based quantitative study by P. R. Varadarajan and P. N. Thirunarayana (1990) titled "Consumers & Attitudes towards Marketing Practices, Consumerism and Government Regulations: Cross-national Perspectives". According to this survey based on input from consumers in India, the authors conclude with the observation of "a high level of consumer scepticism regarding the operating philosophy of business [and] discontent with marketing practices" (Varadarajan & Thirunarayana 1990, p. 21). The attitudes among respondents hence follow a common and ongoing discourse. Not all respondents had enjoyed institutionalised education or training in the field of marketing strategies. Still, their experience creating campaigns in social settings contained confidence in defining truths about successful strategies. As Navneet mentioned in connection with their own design: "I thought it was important to use some symbols, […] which were recognised by the people we were reaching out to. So the goat is a very accessible symbol" (Navneet 2013). Navneet's confidence in their strategies was evident when discussing the effect of campaigns and the power to direct discourses. With these points of view, producers of social advertising set themselves in a position of power to define what is useful advertising and what is not, on par with producers of commercial advertising.

To recap, in many instances, the respondents' expressed discursive knowledge in the form of expertise in areas apart from their institutional affiliation. Employees in advertising agencies conveyed expertise regarding the role of medialised messages in processes of social change, and producers of social advertising demonstrated knowledge of communication strategies. Association with a given field and institution did thus not limit 'politics of change' to their respective arena. Instead, it allowed for the expertise and, thus, the ability to

define discursive truths in several fields. However, this expansion of expertise was again minimised when representatives of social organisations guided the creation of social campaigns with a team from advertising agencies. The aforementioned side effect that respondents experienced as educational and reflects the intertwining of communicative aspects that give way to discursive struggles is, as part of the institutional level, a display of the power relations present in the production processes. Navneet described the sensitisation occurring during the briefs and points of deliberation as a way to make sure problematic representation and design were eliminated. The NGO representatives essentially acted as experts on social change and thus, in their feedback, created awareness by criticising the choices made by the design team of the advertising agency. This was seen in connection with the Bell Bajao campaign initiated by a prominent NGO, supported by governmental bodies and international organisations, and designed and produced by a transnational advertising agency. As mentioned earlier, agency employees found a better understanding of domestic violence through the exchanges (Suhas 2013). While marketing professionals are included for their expertise regarding 'politics of change', social expertise is connected with the NGO representatives – essentially the clients commencing social campaigns – as well as international organisations. Thus, each participant is set in a position of power dependent on their specific knowledge. When talking about the production processes, respondents described an interplay consisting of briefs and feedback regarding the chosen content. Navneet described how extensive deliberation in the creation processes of a campaign led to reconnection with the marketing professionals:

> [the suggested strategy] could have actually worked detrimentally also towards the cause. That was the reason, why we decided to not go with that. And we went back, and we gave them feedback, that this is the reason why we don't want to go with something like this (Navneet 2013).

Collaborations and meetings thus provide intersections of social sector representatives, including employees of NGOs and other social organisations, staff of advertising agencies, and other stakeholders such as state officials. The role of institutional belonging here then represents particular expertise affiliated with their respective institution. While in many social campaigns, training and creating awareness are part of the package and are often seen as essential to successful campaigning, for example, the sensitisation of bus drivers through workshops as part of the Safe Delhi campaigns to create safer environments in public spaces and public transportation, the unintentional sensitisation respondents described became part of collaborations and represented discursive struggles taking place. Nevertheless, in these exchanges, the relations of power that entail one part having knowledge that is conveyed to the other

part is apparent. Respondents thus expressed expertise in several fields, and at the same time, the relations among institutions pose opportunities for negotiations of power that again draw on particular institutions with particular expertise.

Within these discursive struggles, the power relations present lead to potentially unsatisfactory outcomes. Navneet described an incident where their design was included in a campaign but altered in line with the ideology of the publishers. The advertisement with the slogan "Save the girl child" portrayed a drawing of a female-coded child created by Navneet. While they did not reference religious belonging, the end design included a symbolic marker for Hinduism. This case exemplifies a discrepancy between a representative of the social sector who focused on addressing audiences from diverse religious belonging and a person promoting ideas of Hindu supremacy (Navneet 2013). The unequal power relations enabled one part to reflect an ideology against the creator's wishes. The direction of change processes is thus always dependent on extant power relations and does thus not guarantee an equal exchange of ideas. Similarly, respondents described how the campaign's outreach contained competition over territory. Karam, in particular, described this aspect of unequal circumstances. We sat in their office space surrounded by papers, books, and older and current campaigns stacked beside mountains of t-shirts, calendars, and other products conveying the organisation's message or ideology. Despite this extensive archive of medialised communication in various forms, Karam was adamant that the organisation's outreach played a prominent role in the success of their campaign but that the possibilities of a social organisation entering mainstream spaces were limited. As Karam stated:

> I think we need to somehow start creating windows of opportunity to put out our material in mainstream spaces: magazines, billboards, that kind of stuff. I think we really need to do that. Because we are competing with the advertising world, which interestingly, even social sector organisations are now using, but what they create outside that advertising agency's work, they don't seem to share. So, when you hire Ogilvy & Mather and do some campaign, that material will be out in the mainstream. But if you have created something in-house, which might be equally or as good, that is not reaching that space. I think there we really need to crack it. I think sharing the material is very very important. […] Material is getting created by the social sector, but we need to enhance its outreach and we need to create more Hindi material than we are doing. We really need to do more Hindi material. Because it is those people who can understand or read Hindi that we must reach (Karam 2013).

This quote expresses the frustration with creating campaigns that are not reaching audiences compared to commercial advertising that is "out in the mainstream" and

thereby reaching much further. With this problem, Karam mentioned media technologies as helpful in making messages more available to more audiences. Especially, the utilisation of 'new media' channels were expected to give way to growing equal ground in competing for territory, as Karam described:

> it is possible to do a social media Hindi campaign because a lot of urban marginalised young people are on the internet with their mobiles. They are all on Facebook in India Orcut or wherever they are, but that is the next step for us (Karam 2013).

However, respondents saw other factors limiting their ability to reach audiences. According to Navneet, commercial marketing had shifted towards focussing on the image of brands instead of selling products based on information, while social marketing had to be factual. Focussing on promoting brands was connected to design choices that highlighted some form of "glamour" that produces envy. In contrast, governmental advertising was not dependent on "glamour" and thus did not need to be successful in the way commercial advertisements do (Navneet 2013). The competition between commercial and social advertising is thus perceived in terms of their financial possibilities, their status, as well as the strategies and format utilised as commercial advertising sells through intangible values and shiny glossy aesthetics. Commercial advertising was thus considered more successful in spreading its messages than social initiatives.[121] The campaigns initiated by governmental institutions that do not adhere to this type of aesthetics were seen as less successful (Karam 2013; Navneet 2013). The power relations associated with the opportunities of outreach are thus often connected to differences between the sectors – financial limitation is often cited as an important factor – and thus, the institutional context was seen as either providing or limiting power to reach audiences.

With the ability to define truth regarding 'politics of change' entailing negotiations of power within institutions and across institutional boundaries, common for institutional attachments was the legitimisation of defining discursive knowledge. As described above, each sector legitimises particular knowledge regarding the production of advertisements and the role of medialised messages in processes of social change, and the respondents expressed

121 This perspective does not exclude the possibility of institutions within one sector competing. Advertising agencies, for example, create profiles and ideologies as part of their work philosophy and in order to sell themselves to clients, essentially drawing on an understanding of commercial advertising as a commodity in itself (Suhas 2011).

expertise beyond their current field. Additionally, the negotiations of power and struggles in the form of sensitisation or competing for outreach contain consideration for clients and audiences. The study by Mazzarella on the context of marketing Kama Sutra condoms led to a realisation regarding the interplay between employees in the advertising agency and their client, the private company, that situated clients in a position of power. According to Mazzarella, the main concern for employees of advertising agencies was to cater to the clients (Mazzarella 2003, p. 149, 169). Establishing good relations illustrates a need for financial gain and long-lasting collaborations, reflecting the power of clients. As Navneet described: "At times they need to do what the client asks them to do. The client also has, a big budget client, has a huge pressure on them. We want skimpy clothed girls, so that is it" (Navneet 2013). Describing the process of deliberation between a client and the employees of an advertising agency, Roni pointed out how the clients' wishes would be distilled into a "strong visual" in order to accommodate "an idea and identity of the brand's identity" (Roni 2011). These perspectives were in part confirmed in the conversations with Suhas. However, with the various departments and segments involved in commercial advertising, client approval was only one aspect. Another aspect containing struggles of power was displayed in the exchange between client servicing, account management, and creatives, and thus yet another facet of power negotiations. As Suhas described, servicing was considered the "worst job" as one is caught between the different segments and the client, trying to accommodate wishes from all sides (Suhas 2011). Within the institutional set-up of commercial advertising, negotiations of power were thus present between the agency employees and clients and among the agency employees.

In connection with an interest in engaging with social objectives while providing satisfactory work, as mentioned in the first part of this chapter, employees of agencies illustrate the power of internalised responsibilities. With NGOs, international organisations, and governmental institutions as clients, advertising agency employees cater to various incentives and ideologies. While representatives of social organisations are thus in a position to influence media producers' understanding of social issues such as patterns of gender and its representation, these encounters also carry discourses that influence the attitudes towards the creation process. The ongoing support regarding social change initiatives connects to the historically significant involvement of advertising agencies in social change agendas, as highlighted concerning the production of edutainment serials as part of the governmental nation-building project. While discussing the production of government advertising, Suhas connected the social messages with the conviction of its influential power, which led to a sense of responsibility.

> When you are working on a government ad, you are kind of carrying some kind of social responsibility on yourself. Because whatever you are communicating you will affect masses, but with private or corporate ads, even if you are showing an illusion it entirely depends on the person to accept it or not. But with policy, it holds good for everyone. So you have to be very careful what you are saying. Whatever you are saying it should not be misunderstood be anyone (Suhas 2013).

This illustrates how the dynamic between agency employees and client is not only upheld through stringent client demands but is also internalised by the advertising producers. Contributions to social change initiatives as part of the private sector's tasks hence involve discourses on societal responsibilities. I thus suggest that power relations in place as part of producing advertisements entail various interactions that are not limited to exchange between sectors or between clients and advertising producers.

In conclusion, negotiations of power entail a variety of dynamics between institutions as well as within. Discursive struggles hence depend on the power relations present, for example, through the extant hierarchies in advertising agencies. Alongside conflict and power relations played out as part of collaborations as well as moments of interaction between sectors, respondents saw competing for attention and impact through outreach opportunities as a display of power relations between institutions. Similar to the differentiation between sectors pointed out in chapter two, these differentiations framed the struggle to engage with audiences. However, the various production scenarios illustrate power negotiations and opportunities for social change processes. While production sites function as platforms of conflicting or differing perspectives and, as such, deliberation regarding 'politics of change' reflecting discursive struggles, these junctions are not only established through institutional intertwining. The institutional level is linked to the individual level as it provides discursive struggles through the diversity of individuals' backgrounds involved, as described in the previous section, i.e. copywriters, social workers, artists, and journalists are online marketers. However, alongside the varied expert knowledge containing different skill-sets and each person's professional as well as personal experiences, the variety of departments within institutions and interaction across sectors equally give way to opportunities for discursive struggles. The production process thus entails discussions of existing briefs, including strategy and design suggestions and feedback exchanges relevant as part of discursive struggles.

All in all, 'discourses of change' are reflected in the deliberation processes that include views that might clash when 'politics of change', in the form of particular messages and visuals in advertisements, are discussed. The decision-making is based on the discussions had and displays the power relations

present. The struggle found in spaces of producing medialised messages and addressing relevant target groups thus entails a negotiation to achieve discursive power and, thus, the power to define discursive truth. While in some cases, the position of clients is central in decision-making, in other cases, expertise in design or processes of social change is highlighted and backed by institutional affiliation. The 'politics of change' of what works, what needs to be included, what should be communicated, and what it should look like are hence influenced by 'discourses of change', i.e. a discursive truth of how processes of change work. The question of who the experts are and who is in a position to define this truth includes beliefs in the power of medialised communication to influence audiences. The perceived limitations of medialised communication resonate with struggles of competing for territory and attention depending on power relations. The following section will touch upon this aspect and the linkages between financial power, recognition, and visibility.

The Power of Money, Recognition, and Visibility

As previously described by Navneet, on an individual level, financial stability resonates with personal independence and empowerment and comes with opportunities to make choices apart from societal expectations. On an institutional level, respondents saw financial strength in connection with specific institutions. The private sector and advertising industry hence provided opportunities on a personal level but were also associated with a position of power due to finical means in contrast to the social sector. Brand communication and commercial advertising were understood to promote products and make profits, while social campaigns need money to reach audiences (Karam 2013). Investing in advertising, in general, was seen as helpful in spreading messages. At the same time, respondents connected to the social sector also saw financial means as an obstacle to investing in and entering 'mainstream' spaces and thus posed difficulties in reaching audiences, as mentioned above (Karam 2013). However, social marketing in the form of products produced with logos and slogans printed upon them, e.g. cups, calendars, postcards, pins etc., is common in campaigning. Besides carrying the social slogans further to become more widely visible in other contexts, these products generate income to invest further.

Regarding advertising, visibility was generally of great concern in competing with the extant scope of campaigns. Relating the visibility of commercial advertisements to regulations, Suhas pointed out that more regulations would enable brands to be more visible, "when the city looks clean, then the brand looks clean too. In a clutter, it won't be so visible, all the brands won't be seen" (Suhas 2011). This idea reflects that visibility is prime in reaching audiences and

that visual pollution would distort possible viewing of the campaigns. This point of view was present talking about social campaigns published on social media, where images have to cut through an overload of messages and visuals and stand out against all other messages. Particular strategies are then put in place to attract attention, sometimes just by choosing a bigger size, as explained by Roni:

> More and more people are going for larger size of ads in Indian context, it is a big change, […] so many things are being advertised, there is a clutter now so you need to actually differentiate yourself, and the size give you that little push (Roni 2011).

In many cases, the production or design is undertaken with a particular channel and the need to be noticeable in mind (Suhas 2011), which I discuss more in the section on the communicative level. Karam similarly connected the successful impact of social campaigns to visibility in and of itself. A campaign against gender discrimination initiated in 2011 supported by UN Women and the governmental body National Commission for Women established in early 1992 featured satirical cartoons and was launched with placement on lines of the Delhi Metro (UN Women 2012b).[122] With UN Women taking over UNIFEM operations, this campaign was described as a creative and different way to introduce the organisation and its work in India (Karam 2013). The organisation was therefore not only concerned with the visibility of the message of the campaign itself but also the visibility of UN Women. Subsequently, UN Women published a calendar in which each of the twelve cartoons represented one of the months and focussed on specific scenarios depicting gendered issues in society, e.g. unequal opportunities for land ownership and unpaid work as housewives. According to UN Women, the campaign and the organisation received positive feedback and praise for successful implementation from commuters and the Regional Programme Director of UN Women South Asia A. F. Stenhammer (UN Women 2012b). Walking through the UN Women offices in Delhi, Karam mentioned that many visitors would take pictures of the cartoons framed and displayed in the lobby. After the calendar's publication, representatives of different organisations would ask for a printed copy, and UN Women would send these across India. The popularity of and reactions to this campaign illustrate its widespread visibility and outreach achieved. The cartoon campaign engaged in a struggle for power in the form of competition for territory within the landscape of medialised communication as part of the public spaces in Delhi. At the

122 The 12 illustrations were created by known Indian cartoonists, among them S. Tailang, N. Banerjee and J. Banerjee (UN Women 2012b).

same time, the struggle also contained an element in solidifying the presence of the UN and its institutions. Thereby, this particular campaign provided visibility for discussion of gender equality and the recognition of the social organisation in and of itself. Visibility was by respondents considered a significant factor in the success of campaigns and hence their opportunity to influence audiences. However, as exemplified by the cartoon campaign, the success was not only dependent on the visibility of the medialised communication but also the institutional visibility enabling opportunities of creating more outreach.

The linkages between finances, recognition, and visibility become clear when addressing the role of awards in advertising. Award shows, single awards, and prizes often connected to potential awards contain attributes of publicity and visibility. Awards that come with financial prizes are of particular interest to social organisations. They can generate needed financial resources, have a part in increasing outreach, and are useful in recognising individuals as experts in a particular field. A range of national and global awards are given to commercial and social advertising alike, for example, in connection with the annual Goafest or by the TATA Institute, awarding both social and other institutions. While an aspect of winning awards is to impress with work done, respondents also saw awards as certifications of skills, international recognition, or securing approval from parents, family, or peers (Suhas 2011; Navneet 2013; Suhas 2013). A career in commercial advertising, particularly, but also social engagement, was often not seen as work to be taken seriously or enabling sufficient income. Thereby, the power of financial stability linked with recognition through awards has a prominent position. International recognition and global appeal also played a significant role in discussing awards. Sitting with Suhas in their office sipping chai, this topic took up some space. Between the view through a big window, the oversized desk with current work and their office computer, and shelves of books on advertising, Suhas would occasionally turn to the computer screen and show advertisements they had been part of creating. During these presentations and the ongoing conversation on the development of the advertising industry in India since the turn of the last century, Suhas described Indian advertising as a new talent in this field, progressing from previously looking up to "Western" role models in producing commercial advertising to finding a solid footing in the transnational advertising industry, to Indian "TV advertising being on par with international TV" (Suhas 2011; Suhas 2013). They expressed involvement as part of the jury and presence at, for example, the Cannes Advertising Awards as desirable and important:

> My family wanted me to become an engineer, but I could never fulfil that. But the good news is that I haven't done badly in ad since taking it up as a

> career. I am on the Cannes jury this year for the direct marketing category and that doesn't happen to everybody (Suhas 2011).

They hence connected these opportunities with a certain power of being the one in charge and having decision-making power over quality. They linked this position to personal success and international recognition. Despite the sceptical attitude towards advertising, the transnational connections within the institutional network give way to accepting and acknowledging solid employment. In the article "'Very Bombay': Contending with the Global in an Indian Advertising Agency" (2003b), Mazzarella argues that the presence of cultural inferiority results in a "resistance to any kind of overt localization in [commercial] advertising images" (p. 59), and thus centres the efforts to connect to global culture and international recognition. Alongside the growing diversification and regionalisation present in the advertising industry, the aspiration of producing and representing a "world-class" brand and presenting imagery of world-class Indian consumers, as could be seen in the 1990s, was based on the dynamics of post-colonial realities in the advertising industry and attempts to connect with 'modernity' (Mazzarella 2003b, p. 59). This outward-facing perspective can be contrasted with adjustments in advertising to express connectedness to "Indian (read Hindu-)ness", as noted by Rajagopal (1999a, p. 93). Ideas and aspirations for Indian 'modernity' in comparison to the rest of the world were, according to Rajagopal, set in an interplay between nationalist populism promoting imageries based on "culture in danger", a controlled economy and developmentalist agendas, and an inferiority complex stemming from ideas of 'modernity' existing under colonial rule (Rajagopal 1999a, pp. 61, 93). As described in chapter one, advertising following liberalisation strategies entailed imageries of modern global Indians alongside national identities, a juxtaposition captured by the imagery of "the new Indian woman" combining traits of 'modernity' and tradition as detailed by Munshi (1998). This interplay was present in recognising advertising institutions as part of discourses of social change and international recognition. The visibility and recognition in international networks functioned as a stamp of approval, demonstrating an organisation's relevance and validity and serving as encouragement to carry their work further. As Navneet said:

> So we got international focus, we got people in USA and Canada talking about it. We had this hashtag going 'it's not her fault' and they really loved it. So we were like, we have to do a lot of thing with it (Navneet 2013).

At the same time, Navneet described challenging the status quo as part of social change initiatives as a gradual process that entailed acknowledgement of resistance. As part of the Laadli Media Award for Gender Sensitivity mentioned above, for example, the importance associated with awards was connected to

opportunities to normalise gender-sensitive representation through institutional networks:

> Now if the advertising world themselves decides to give and have a category on gender [for example at the Goafest] then every agency would at least know that there is something called gender. That is a good starting point. So that is with them (Navneet 2013).

With confidence in award shows, advertising agencies and their clients were expected to adjust to the idea of categories regarding gender representation gradually. Institutional networks between social change initiatives and commercial advertising are thus relying on circumstances in the form of winning awards considered valuable in the advertising industry and thus useful in directing processes of change through recognition and visibility.

As pointed out in connection with the Nirbhaya case, the debates regarding gender, gender-based violence, and sexualised violence had come to the forefront of much of the news media from late 2012 onwards. Many feminist discussions and perspectives became present as part of these debates (Chaudhuri 2015, pp. 19–23). My conversations with advertising producers in 2013 following this incident included thoughts and comments on the visibility and the ongoing medialised debates on gender. Respondents voiced that the media reactions and current debates only found traction due to this case's extreme circumstances and actions. Respondents' experienced the coverage as an increased visibility. Suhas described the media visibility concerning the Nirbhaya case as "media-hyped" and a momentary trigger, motivating short-term effects without a more profound impact (Suahs 2013). At the same time, respondents expressed that news media had become more sensitive in reporting and thus had become a voice for debate, "leading to some kind of action" (Suhas 2013; Karam 2013). Suhas, for example, described how they attended candlelight marches in their neighbourhood and outside the capital. While media coverage was non-existent in certain localities outside the main events in the centre of Delhi, Suhas welcomed the coverage of media as a way to represent the voice of 'women': "If media is supporting an issue like this and if media is putting all their resources in a positive way in this issue, whatever the women of the country are demanding for, they will get a lot of strength, because media becomes your voice then" (Suhas 2013). They saw medialised debates as a sign of,

> growing concern with societies inequalities. Where before the front page would have headliners on cricket and rapes only mentioned marginally now the event was a full pager. The coverage of news media has also heightened the awareness (Suhas 2013).

In addition to the changes in news coverage, the greater media landscape in India reflected the increased visibility of debates regarding gender and sexualised violence. Alongside the changing reporting from news media, talk shows, entertainment shows, and advertisements included elements in response and, as Chaudhuri states: "Gender justice did become a key issue in public discourse" (Chaudhuri 2015, p. 30).[123] During a conversation with Karam between stacks of campaign material and discussion papers on their desk, the computer screen in the middle was turned on and was ready for searches and presentations. The search browser window was on display, and MSN dropped a banner on the top of the screen with the slogan: "Women restore the balance in the world, respect them". Such examples of diverse media institutions joining the debate after the Nirbhaya case were visible across the media landscape during my stay in Delhi in 2013. The interlinking of media cultures and social causes thus presented itself in the form of intensified intertwining, with comments and messages in commercial advertising in particular, as, for example, the Gillette campaign discussed previously. Many respondents saw the role and significance of media visibility concerning gender-based violence, particularly sexualised violence and 'women's' safety, as a welcome shift that centred the discourse in media culture in various forms. At the same time, feminist organisations and other groups organised many talks, presentations, and workshops, adding to the present discourse. Media institutions and social sector organisations participated as part of the increased visibility of the debates on gender and 'women's' safety from late 2012 onwards throughout media cultures. However, Karam expressed scepticism towards the role of visibility: "I mean, I am not being pessimistic but I am saying it is still not enough." (Karam 2013). This perspective resonates with the continuous engagement with social change and gender in particular, and thus the continuous necessity of social change initiatives. Gender issues in the form of, for example, sati and widow remarriage practices, child marriage, age of consent, and education for 'women' have historically been central to India's public discourse on gender (Chaudhuri 2015, pp. 25–27). As described in chapter one, social organisations and the 'women's' movement in India have actively promoted these debates. With a retreat regarding these debates with independence and a resurgence during the 1970s, feminist debates in India have been a continuous affair with peaks of increased attention in connection to cases like the Nirbhaya case (Chaudhuri

123 In January 2013, the "Indian musical reality TV show" Sa Re Ga Ma Pa, running since 1995, included a midway section where one of the judges performed a song on 'women' being strong and powerful, and a sand artist drew pictures referencing the event and demonstrations following the Nirbhaya case (Zee TV 2019).

2015, p. 27). At the same time, more recently established organisations, such as Gotstared.at, that mainly use social media platforms for their cause, received increased attention after the Nirbhaya case, as Navneet described. However, debates about social change have been part of public discussion beyond this event. According to Chaudhuri, "media played an active role in raising questions of gender justice with regard to this case" (2015, p. 27). Reminiscent of ICT's usefulness in social change processes, the growing presence of media cultures enabled greater participation in these debates. Accordingly, respondents considered media channels as a substantial strategy for increasing public participation, supportive in the form of media coverage as seen in the aftermath of the Nirbhaya case, useful in the production of socially conscious content, and a tool in giving space to debates and attempts to influence social change. Therein, visibility is linked to awareness or is seen as a way to give voices to specific groups previously denied their say. Nevertheless, the utilisation and participation of media cultures are not without power relations (Titzmann 2015, p. 85). Chaudhuri, for example, questions the power of 'prosumers' as "there is a clear ideological content that is emerging from specific sites of knowledge production" brought about through, for example, growing media convergence in the form of cross-ownership of media institutions (Chaudhuri 2015, p. 23). In particular international institutions, global think tanks, and corporate research organisations enjoy a growing influence in media cultures (Chaudhuri 2015, p. 31). While often the heterogeneity of media producers and diverse perspectives present as part of broader discourses is overlooked, the extant power relations in the form of institutional and financial inequalities can hence not be overstated.

As part of the institutional level, respondents often pointed to 'new media' and the internet as important factors in creating platforms for increased visibility and outreach of campaigning. At the same time, respondents pointed out the importance of using a variety of media technologies in order to increase visibility. Campaigning thus often includes a range of media channels that, in turn, leads to institutional overlaps and thus intermediality, e.g. audio-visual social advertisements are shown in cinema halls alongside commercial advertising (Navneet 2013). Looking at photo competitions as part of social change campaigns exemplifies the intense intermediality in combination with the proximation of social and commercial agendas: TV shows promote a social campaign while referring to specific brands of cameras, and social media is used to collect contributions. As pointed out, public discourses are thus circulated through interdependent channels, leading to greater congruity and "similar narratives" (Schneider 2006, p. 824). For example, social topics are incorporated into commercial advertising on par with many social campaigns, as seen in the aftermath of the Nirbhaya case. At the same time, the intermediality present

also facilitates the spread of content and hence enables greater visibility and outreach (Titzmann 2015, p. 90).

As part of the importance given to visibility and representation in social change processes, media cultures figure as ongoing processes. Accordingly, current debates build on previous surges of increased visibility in the form of growing media coverage and public debates on dowry, rape and legal rights of women in the 1970s and the discourses regarding gender and feminism from the 1990s (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 146). The events of the Nirbhaya case were thus part of broader change processes. At the same time, particular circumstances made this incident distinct from similar occurrences in that 'new media' supported the organisation of protests and other activities and, combined with the media coverage and medialised debates, increased the presence of these circumstances. As described by Navneet:

> I think social media has also a big role to play, a big big role to play. Because I saw so many events happening at that time happen only through social media. You know the only way that this campaign was happening was through social media, you know someone put something up on Facebook and everyone would be there. A lot of that happened (Navneet 2013).

Media institutions and practitioners were part of the attention given to institutions' and activists' involvement, including broad sections of society, including university students. As Chaudhuri points out, while the relationship between free media cultures and democratic practices is not so straightforward, and media institutions might not solve extant problems, they certainly play a crucial role in making the discussions current and relevant (Chaudhuri 2010, p. 58; Chaudhuri 2015, p. 37). With the landscapes of digitalisation and the emergence of 'new media' alongside transnational media convergence, transnational discourses find space through negotiations of global debates in localised debates. Suhas, for example, pointed to debates regarding gender dynamics in India as connected to global discourses of social change and gender. Just as advertising practices and social change initiatives are related to global trends of 'discourses of change' (Suhas 2011; Suhas 2013), representation of gender roles and dynamics in many advertisements were seen as a global phenomenon: just as patriarchal patterns are found in Kolkatta and Delhi, they are also found globally (Karam 2013). Accordingly, I understand the role of media institutions in India to be closely linked to global media cultures in the form of transnational discourses as well as institutional convergence. The increased presence of 'new media' provides an intensification of events and debates as part of ongoing regional and transnational processes of change.

The dynamics of the power of money, recognition, and visibility hence play out in a complex web of recognition in the form of individual self-esteem

as well as the importance given to international awards and prices, utilisation of media culture for visibility as valuable, and media convergence and intermediality contributing with a growing presence of discourses. The institutional network producing advertisements contains not only the advertising business, their clients, and audiences but a mesh that is part and parcel of extant media cultures, private and social sectors, current events and trends. While both localised and transnational power relations affect which perspectives are carried further and whose perspective receives attention, the visibility of certain themes in diverse forms of media plays a vital role in the direction of deliberation processes of further media production. In other words, those themes that are given attention and figure as important factors in directing change processes are further included in the deliberation processes of creating medialised communication. Additionally, the visibility of dominant discourses depends on the broader contextual and historical setting. Therefore, the importance of media institutions provides negotiations of the role in providing visibility and as part of greater processes of change. In the next part, I deal with the role of powerful alliances and solidarity through institutional networks.

Framing Solidarity and Social Bonds through Institutional Networks as Empowerment

The institutional intertwining present as part of the advertising business in India, also in the form of collaborations and networks, illustrates the personal connections formed between individuals as an essential factor of these connections and the engagement in social endeavours in particular. Besides the individual career paths that facilitate connections to previous work colleges and social endeavours connected to business models, respondents highlighted social bonds and solidarity as part of these institutional networks. These connections often support the feeling of empowerment. The network of NGOs and social organisations in Delhi has created a local connectedness as a strong base for further engagement. Navneet described working in the social sector in Delhi as follows: "We know a lot more organisations and a lot more people in this social activism field. It's a huge network. But as soon as you step outside, you realise it's a very small network" (Navneet 2013). They thereby conveyed the feeling of connectedness as substantial and, at the same time, acknowledged the limitations of their bubble. The network in-between various social organisations and other activists was often fundamental in work collaborations. In many cases, collaborations served to distribute work according to the strengths of each organisation, e.g. international organisations have better financial opportunities and collaborate with social organisations that were considered to have

greater access to grass-roots activism and could function as a bridge to reach audiences (Navneet 2013).

Having joined the advertising industry initially due to family ties to this industry as well as for financial stability, Navneet shared their journey in connection with personal issues. A family member introduced them to a social organisation in order to be supportive of their family issues, and the importance of this institutional support ultimately inspired Navneet to engage with the group more intensely. Their connection to this social organisation ultimately became pivotal in their further path. This institutional connection provided a safe space and strength in personal difficulties and thus became a network of solidarity that provided emotional and practical support, enabling personal experiences of empowerment. This connection led Navneet to get involved in this particular organisation, be part of a supportive network, and create social campaigns (Navnett 2013). In many instances, I witnessed this solidarity as a meaningful element of events, workshops, and other gatherings addressing social issues. With the wish among producers of commercial advertising to engage with social causes and campaigns, respondents found community connectedness as part of their social engagement. Suhas, for example, described how they joined candlelight marches as part of protests following the Nirbhaya case in their neighbourhood. This gathering "that happened within our locality where I stay" thus signified connectedness to their community through showing solidarity with J. S. Pandey, aka Nirbhaya, and taking a stand against sexualised violence (Suhas 2013). I experienced this form of community feeling, especially during an event during the week of International Women's Day in March 2013. While other events had levels of social togetherness, the Take Back the Night event at India Gate stood out in that the people gathered included different generations of activists singing and dancing to take a stand for 'women' in public at night. The evening, which started at 9 pm, slowly turned from a feminist rally into a gathering of familiarity and nostalgia. A core group of activists shouted slogans and demands and eventually also initiated feminist protest songs. A few participants put up banners and posters on the barriers blocking the path towards India Gate, which was guarded by police. The police officials did not get involved and let everyone continue the gathering. Newcomers were greeted through songs and hugs, reminding me of a celebration cultivating social bonds. One of the participants brought a booklet with songs to sing, and while initially, the group seemed small, everyone joined in and gained a great deal of attention due to the noise produced. At some point, the song choices included samples from popular Hindi films, extending the feeling of coming together and enjoying each other's company. At its peak, the gathering comprised a few hundred people, including spectators and media crews covering the happening. Posters were handed out and held up towards the cameras.

At around 10.30 pm, one of the core activists starts organising taxis for everyone to ensure safe travels home. I joined a ride that was destined for the neighbourhood I stayed in. While the gathering clearly promoted feminist ideals and debates, the immediate connection and solidarity between the participants seemed just as important as the activism itself. Institutional connections, especially within the social sector, thus function as support for individuals in difficult situations in the form of networks of solidarity but also provide or strengthen the community bond. Feelings of empowerment, as described by Navneet, were a central aspect of this. In other words, being associated with a group or organisation provided validity in personal perspectives while the social bonds among the community members strengthened the community feeling, similar to bonding over personal interests within the advertising industry. In some situations, networks of solidarity appear as counter-reactions to institutional displays of power. As Karam described, students of Ambedkar University organised a gathering in which they held hands to create a heart-shaped formation in reaction to the campus caretakers' interference regarding the public display of affection and separation of gender in classes. This example highlights power relations between students and the university administration that eventually caused students to be banned from campus. As Karam pointed out, the possibility of successful actions and networks of solidarity taking effect can depend on groups being established as representatives of social change and thus owning power (Karam 2013).

As a supportive network, institutional settings, therefore, function in multiple ways. They might contain an element of sensitisation and influence while encouraging engagement or creating networks of responsibility towards the community through solidarity and social bonds. These networks and social bonds hence contain dynamics of individual levels of engagements and community or institutionalised levels of connection. Therein negotiations of power in the form of empowerment and extant power relations influence the direction of change processes. As part of the production sites, these networks of solidarity not only build on the intersections of commercial arenas and solidarity with social agendas due to partnership and collaborations, as outlined in the first part of this chapter. The existing connections also provide a feeling of solidarity which was established as an important factor in creating campaigns and, thus, 'discourses of change'. Individual strength and power were ultimately linked to the institutional support and affiliation that provided social bonding and legitimised personal agendas. These networks and collaborations fundamentally function as solid foundations for projects and, in many cases, as campaign support. The communicative level builds on the discussions of the individual's role in change processes and institutional networks as part of negotiations of power.

4.2.3 What Works and Perspectives on Communicative Aspects in Processes of Change

Against the backdrop of the relations between advertising and social change, and the role of producers and production sites, the communicative level represents features of advertising that take up considerable attention. This level represents the respondents' views on advertising strategies and content concerning its role in influencing audiences. As detailed in chapter two, concrete strategies and approaches of advertising displayed in its content play a significant role in reception studies and media content analyses. As such, the communicative level largely consists of discussions of the 'politics of change' present as part of the institutional agendas and individual viewpoints. However, in relation to processes of change and social change in particular, the communicative level also deals with ideas and perspectives about the fundamental role of advertising in processes of change. It thus expands this discussion concerning 'discourses of change'. Strategies chosen in advertising thus reflect discursive knowledge of what works and how change processes can be purposefully directed, and audiences successfully influenced but also unlocks the underlying understanding of media's role in change processes. Key dimensions concerning media and change on this level include the connections sought with audiences, attempts to inspire engagement and debates as successful strategies, and the importance of normalisation as part of social change. These themes and their different aspects are embedded in an interplay between the relevance and relatability of content to audiences, entailing discussions regarding class belonging and 'modernity' and challenging or inspiring new ideas and critical thinking as part of processes of change. In the following, I present the respondents' perspectives along these dimensions.

Connecting with the Audiences – Discussing Class Distinctions through Relatability and Relevance

As part of the most prominent strategies respondents mentioned as particularly useful, making messages relatable or relevant figured as reoccurring themes. An initial point of this aspect was to cut through the clutter of medialised communication. While the pertinence of visibility on an institutional level was connected to an institution's agenda, visibility on the communicative level was noticeable. This included consideration for the design of messages, visuals, and imageries in an "attractive" format or having a visual "appeal" or making audiences think by, for example, including controversial elements in order to stand out (Suhas 2011; Karam 2013; Navneet 2013). With the importance given to image and intangible values from the mid-twentieth century onwards and espe-

Fig. 11. "Proud Allies", Gotstared.at (2013). Courtesy of Gotstared.at.

cially from the 1990s, as mentioned in chapter one, tangible benefits were described as "icing on the cake" (Navneet 2011; Roni 2011; Suhas 2011). Navneet described this strategy as follows:

> We try to make [… the advertisements] visually appealing, we try to make them a little funny, we try to make them very very bold and opinionated. Underlining that very opinionated and bold poster is a subtext, there is always a subtext, which is talking about inviting opinions. The bold posters are really used to attracting attention (Navneet 2013).

The subtext or imagery in the campaigns is then exposed after attention is attracted through the controversial statements, as seen in the poster published by Gotstared. (see Fig. 11).[124]

While the execution of visuals, text, layout, and composition was connected to the ability to attract attention and thus to successful communication with audiences, the thematic principles of relatability and relevance as part of these 'politics of change' served to underline the advertisements' objective to create connections and promote the intended agenda (Suhas 2011). In Navneet's words:

124 While the bold statement attracts attention, the poster clarifies its point in the box underneath: "Don't give preference to hate over love. Love and let love. #ProudAllies".

"it is really about this split-second capturing people's attention and getting them there" and subsequently engaging with the "conversations" contained in the advertisements (Navneet 2013). These themes enable medialised messages to create a connection and thus be influential. According to Roni, these strategies are a necessary adjustment in reacting to changes in India:

> People are becoming conscious, you can't corner consumers any more, they are very intelligent, they know when a brand is talking shit, so you have to create relevance, you have to create meaning in their lives, that's why, I think that's why visibility, more than visibility, interaction, it's more important (Roni 2011).

They pointed out: "For it to stick, it has to create meaning in my life" (Roni 2011). Respondents hence saw the meaning of the content as dependent on how recognisable or useful it would be to the audiences.

With the diversity of languages in India, the basis for being recognisable and useful is found in the chosen language to communicate in. Both commercial and social advertising have increasingly found ways to diversify their communication in this regard, albeit with very different backgrounds. In connection with commercial advertising, regionalisation processes gave way to diversifications of languages in relation to regional contexts as part of post-liberalisation and displayed the growing importance of regional-specific communication in contrast to and in competition with homogenisation processes associated with multi-national networks (Jeffrey 1997, p. 84; Jeffrey 2000, p. 111). This shift was built on increased consideration for regional cultural implications and discourses regarding expertise and language skills, as described in chapter one. Commercial advertising professionals originating from India were no longer only useful for their language skills but experts on the extant market. Similarly, individuals from small towns were hired for their understanding of other markets and languages from the 1970s onwards, as mentioned above. A. Chaudhuri (2014) describes this change as a growing influence of Indian languages beyond English and played a role in respondents understanding of the advertising industry and the importance of Indian languages in advertisements (Chaudhuri 2014, pp. 366–367; Suhas 2013). Similarly, the sole use of English in social campaigning has often been critiqued with the intent to acknowledge diverse language use among audiences. As Navneet explained, centring English has been regularly pointed out as problematic and a sign of an elitist movement catering to, for example, the internet population and thus being detached from individuals not speaking English (Navneet 2013). This critical stance mirrors an understanding of existing power relations and points out the reproduction of these unequal relations. In other words, social activists are seen as being in a place of power due to financial stability as well as access to higher educational institu-

tions and media technology, in comparison to targeted groups with fewer opportunities. Navneet's reaction to such criticism entailed the conviction of their work's relevance in various settings while acknowledging the need to speak to diverse audiences (Navneet 2013). They pointed out that in the context of challenging gender-based violence, for example, harassment and sexualised violence did not adhere to certain socio-economic strata or localisations: "People are saying the problem is in the rural areas, but that is not true, the problem is everywhere, it is also in the urban areas. What makes it so, that we have to start with the rural areas" (Navneet 2013). The need to diversify language was thought of as a way to insert these discussions across socio-economic belonging (Karam 2013). Accordingly, social campaigns often show the use of multiple languages, as seen in the posters created by B. Thapar for a literacy campaign initiated by the Delhi-based NGO Jagori in the 1990s that included messages in Hindi, Urdu and English. Diversifying language as part of medialised communication is present in the field of commercial advertising. It reflects the development in commercial advertising while creating social advertising in diverse languages stands for considerations for extant power relations. Therein lies a differentiation for communicative strategies between relatability and relevance. Creating communication that audiences can relate to or be relevant to is hence differentiated according to a distinction of each sector's objective. In contrast, other communicative elements display a differentiation across the two sectors.

As part of the strategies considered successful, respondents pointed out three elements: the use of celebrities, humour, and emotional content. Respondents mentioned framing the content around recognisable figures in the form of film or sports celebrities, as seen in the Hero Honda Pleasure campaigns discussed in the introduction, which aligned with a common trend in advertising in India (Ghosh 2013, pp. 82–85; Hussain 2019, p. 2). As pointed out by Navneet: "Media is interested when celebrities are there and then if media is interested then people hear about it" (Navneet 2013). Social and commercial advertising alike uses celebrities to draw attention to campaigns. As such, movie superstar S. R. Khan was the face of Tata Tea amid the debates following the Nirbhaya case during International Women's Day in 2013. Khan joined the campaign with the slogan "Jaago Re" (translation from Hindi: wake Up) created by the advertising agency Lowe Lintas that addressed various social issues, including gender equality. In the particular advertisement, S. R. Khan took up most of the image holding up a cup of tea and standing next to a lengthy text with the title "Women Should not be Equal to Men", going on to explain why they should in fact "always be ahead of them". The text displays S. R. Khan's point of view and a promise to "always put female co-star's name before mine". The role of this celebrity's attitudes is thus used in order to be central and inspirational. Similarly, Oxfam India secured Indian movie celebrity R. Bose to promote its mes-

sage as part of the Close the Gap campaign (The Hindu 2013). Accompanying the launch, Oxfam India organised an event inviting former Director General of Police and activist K. Bedi and movie celebrity and activist N. Das among others, to speak on gender equality (Stephen 2013).[125] The presence of prominent figures was, according to Navneet, a way to attract attention, while R. Bose's appearance not only endorsed this campaign but was the recognisable element visible on flyers and posters, giving the campaign a face to relate to (Navneet 2013). Another strategy frequently mentioned was including humorous elements. Besides being entertaining and relatable, humour was seen as a storytelling device that "sticks" and thus aids in making products and messages memorable (Suhas 2013). Sitting outside a roadside cafe in the south of Delhi surrounded by advertisements for soft drinks, Navneet described humour as a way to attract attention and connect to audiences:

> If you just completely keep it serious people will not pay attention, […] activism does not have to be completely serious, you can still have fun, you can still joke around, and your point can still be put forward even though you are not completely forward, even when you are not completely serious (Navneet 2013).

Framing the content through emotional narratives was equally crucial among the choices to promote medialised messages. Respondents used the words emotional, sentimental, and speaking to an "Indian's heart" (Suhas 2011) to describe necessary strategies in advertising. Similarly to the humorous content, this strategy was described as an entry point to engage the audiences with the advertisement while pointing out the connections sought based on naturalised regional characteristics.

Each strategy provides negotiations of its relatability and relevance. The role of recognisable elements in the form of, for example, celebrities, on the one hand, contained inspirational potential but, on the other, was connected to a certain impressionability. As Suhas explained: "If you put a celebrity there, it makes it much easier for people to ID with a product because you look up to them" (Suhas 2011), and everybody "grows up watching celebrity films, and everyone has some sort of restrictions, some dreams that they keep watching, like I used to like [the cricket player] K. Dev a lot, and I always used to think that if I get the opportunity, I would like to be K. Dev" (Suhas 2011).

125 For other examples of incorporating celebrities into social marketing campaigns, see the article on an HIV/AIDS prevention campaign in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh (Challapalli 2003) and the campaigns against dehydration among children due to diarrhoea initiated in 2000 (Sadh & Agnihotri 2010, p. 50).

Movie celebrities were equated with religious deities or role models, and audiences were expected to relate to celebrities from movies and sports as heroes and aspirational figures. Besides portraying existing life dreams, these personas were thought of as inspirational regarding certain behaviour and engagement in social causes, sometimes alongside promoting a product or brand, for example, in the case of the Tata Tea advertisement (Suhas 2013). At the same time, Suhas saw differences between audiences in that audiences in metropolitan areas were considered less likely to idealise celebrities (Suhas 2011). Similarly, Navneet saw humour as helpful in introducing topics: "People who don't want to talk about gender can just share that poster, it's funny" (Navneet 2013). They also described sarcasm, cynicism, and humour as a vent for frustration, "we can't yell on the internet, but we can be sarcastic" (Navneet 2013). While this strategy is visible as part of the UN Women's campaign on gender equality using cartoons to highlight gender inequalities, this idea stands in contrast to previous statements or worries of being misunderstood, as discussed during the poster-making session in preparation for the 2013 International Women's Day march or presenting factual governmental content (Suhas 2013). Being satirical was rejected here as a possibility for carrying a message. In the midst of debates on sexualised violence and gender, humour was thus, on the one hand, seen as an opportunity and reaction to existing sexist conditions and, on the other, as a distraction from specific agendas and potentially faulty in directing the discourse. While many respondents highlighted these strategies as useful, different perspectives allowed for opportunities for deliberation. Within the themes of connecting to audiences, the importance given to specific strategies and thus 'politics of change' varies and reflects discursive struggles that are part of extant 'discourses of change'. These understandings of processes of change are not dependent on institutional belonging but display multiple perspectives. As part of the third strategy highlighted among respondents, the emotional connection to advertisements was valued and considered successful. Social campaigns, in particular, often included artwork in order to invoke this connection (Navneet 2013). Moreover, producers would recycle existing paintings, photographs, poetry, and common sayings. Apart from the emotional component, this strategy focuses on recognisable signs to attract audiences' attention and make medialised communication relatable. Campaigns might thus include elements that are frequent in daily life, such as using shapes and colours similar to road signs as in the Safe Delhi campaign, relating pictures or texts to existing proverbs, or using abstractions like a jigsaw puzzle that, according to Karam, can be equated with society's structure but are also something many can relate to (Karam 2013). In order to connect to audiences, these campaigns hence draw on known elements that are often emotionally charged through artistic expressions, while commercial advertising draws on sentimental stories telling (Suhas 2011; Suhas 2013).

While respondents centred relatability as a way for both social and commercial campaigns to attract attention and thus be successful, the descriptions regarding relevance pointed to various audiences being different from each other. This is exemplified by a campaign published in 2008 promoting the daily newspaper Mail Today. One of the campaign's advertisements created by Capital Advertising centres on a male-coded individual in a kitchen setting. The persona stands in front of shelves with jars and jugs and behind a stove. With one pan on the stove and another in hand, flipping a pancake mid-air, they look towards the action, ready to adjust the landing with a spatula held in the other hand. Central in this print is the apron worn with the text "super mom" boldly printed across the chest. With this as the advertisement's title, the underlining text reads, "I'm not just Daddy. I am not yesterday". The picture and imagery stand in contrast to the sexist stereotypes often seen in commercial advertising centring female-coded personas in kitchens cooking and managing family needs and thus connect to a target audience that experiences a disconnect from gender norms and confirms this scenario as a valid possibility. With the slogan "News for the new Indian", Mail Today portrays itself as a progressive newspaper with audiences conceptualised as equally progressive (Suhas 2011). It connects to social changes and how audiences relate to these, as perceived by the advertising producers and their clients. The campaign proposes an idea of gender that challenges norms of gender roles, thus mirroring the broader presence of this topic and connecting the brand's image to a sense of 'modernity'. Suhas described this type of communicative strategy following the clients' brief as an intent to "reflect the changing person, the changing man, the changing woman of today, and that's the audience we want to talk to, the more progressive audience" (Suhas 2011). This 'modern' Indian was seen as part of a

> new breed of Indians [that] are more educated and they want to grow, they want to achieve. They will not stop just because of what would my family or my neighbours say. I want to achieve something in life, I want to stay with that person, I will… and it's changing (Suhas 2011).

Freedom of choice is thus connected to processes of social change and aspirations of belonging to the financially-abled, as Suhas continues:

> I wear something new, some brand item, something new, some t-shirt, some new car, this has uplifted society thinking, people have started to think, understand, the income level has gone up, purchasing power has grown (Suhas 2011).

This statement not only reflects the desirability of "something new" but also illustrates the linkages seen between experiences of economic growth and increasing awareness. Through these linkages, the thematic subtext of the cam-

paign connects processes of social change and dynamics of gender, in particular to the aspiration of joining financially-abled groups and, thus, the idea of the 'middle-class'.

A noteworthy factor in considering the 'middle-class' narrative in this campaign is the differentiation between relevance and relatability. The message is relevant to audiences wishing to belong to the 'middle-class' but also relates to audiences already experiencing changes and thus addresses an audience differentiated by class. The message thus connects to the ambition to expand this group as part of a nation-building project and the investment in a consumerist culture where the new 'middle-class' had a central role and became increasingly present with the economic growth of the 1980s as described in chapter two (Mankekar 1999, p. 9; Rajagopal 2011a, p. 1045). While the 'middle-class' is understood to contain great diversity and identification as 'middle-class' does not guarantee financially-abled circumstances and stability, "those who were barely middle-class nonetheless aspired to middle-class status via the acquisition of consumer goods" (Mankekar 1999, p. 9). Accordingly, the connections between aspirational messages and desired 'modernity' continues to link social change with consumerism. However, with the continued economic growth and processes of change, respondents reflected that these messages also functioned through their relatability to audiences already belonging to the financially stable 'middle-class'. Roni described this scenario while discussing advertising for luxury brands. On the one hand, the content would create aspiration and ideals, but on the other, "it's also grabbing eyeballs of elite high affluent audiences" (Roni 2011). The relevance is thus found in audiences' aspirations of adhering to certain luxury ideals but is also relatable to groups already living the luxury ideal. The communication strategies utilised as part of commercial advertising thus provide opportunities to be relatable as well as relevant and thus address diverse audiences. Moreover, the message creates tension between recognising oneself in a campaign and thus relating to it and, at the same time connecting with audiences who aspire to belong to the group addressed and finding it relevant in adopting these new ideas. The strategies and approaches thus entail ideas of inspiring audiences that relate to existing change processes and thus centre aspirational longing while at the same time mirroring audiences that are depicted as inspirational. Audiences' reactions are thus expected to vary between perceptions of relatability and relevance, while 'discourses of change' usher these messages to negotiate the audience's experiences between aspiration and inspiration along class distinctions.

Concerning the strategies respondents mentioned as successful, this distinction of audiences becomes particularly noticeable. The importance of humour, in particular, serves as a palpable example of this debate. Respondents connected the idea of 'middle-classes' as financially-abled and 'modern' to possibilities of

leisure, pleasure, and fun while discussing processes of changes in India and the ability to laugh at oneself through commercial advertising. In Suhas' words:

> India as a country is evolving, becoming a more mature country. More and more people are able to afford things. This is linked to so many things, like when India first became independent 60 years ago, the bulk of the country was under the poverty line, then people don't have time to laugh at things, they have day to day things of life, but now India has a huge and vast middle-class (Suhas 2011).

Accordingly, representation in commercial advertising reflects qualities connected to this group as described by Suhas:

> We are talking to a certain set of people, so a certain kind of lifestyle being shown was important, which is why we had that woman of a certain social background, she is confident, smiling, laughing, she is at a party (Suhas 2011).

The elements of pleasure, i.e. having fun "at a party" in connection with the idea of belonging to a particular socio-economic class, is part of commercial advertising and embedded in the understanding of the growing 'middle-class' as the audience for medialised communication. The choices and ideas of including fun as part of communicative strategies and creating humorous advertisements were thus seen as being relatable to audiences in recognisable situations and relevant as aspirational messages of joining the 'middle-class'.

Noticeably, convictions of the value of these strategies were equally prevalent in commercial and social advertising. The need for laughs and uplifting advertisements was linked to portraying and connecting to certain 'middle-class' audiences. Similarly, Navneet described humour as a valuable expression of frustration and an entry point to debates, for example, posters about sexualised violence created following the Nirbaya case pointing out: "Asking for rape is an oxymoron. If you believe you can ask for rape, then you're a moron. There is NO justification for sexual assault. Nobody 'asks for it'." (Gotstared.at 2013). As a communicative element, the moment of being relatable or relevant again depends on audiences and begs the question of who is in a position to laugh and why? Who relates to humour, and who is humour relevant to and in what way? The similarities in strategy choices in different types of advertising reflect the interwoven debates based on a shared understanding of 'discourses of change' despite various perspectives. Moreover, in accordance with the stance put forth by Hall (1973; 2011), senders or producers of medialised messages might find humour valuable and relatable in medialised communication. As discussed in chapter two, Hall points out the importance of keeping the complexities of each individual's contextual setting in mind. Despite the notion of

medialised messages' influential potential in processes of change as part of socialisation, the direction of these processes is dependent thereon. The influence of medialised communication is hence not only dependent on media content but on the environment and context of the audiences, that is, the discursive context they exist in. Respondents clearly ascribe to this stance and point out that the way different audiences might either relate, find it relevant and aspirational, or not connect at all, depending on each person's context and reality (Roni 2011; Karam 2013). Therefore, while the idea of humour in advertising thus displays a shared aspect of 'discourses of change' that creates a distinction of class, other factors might confound the expected reaction.

As part of the thematic complex of connecting to audiences through relatability and relevance, the three central strategies (celebrities, humour, and emotions) contain intricate dynamics. Relatability is present in the form of recognisable content, for example, through connecting to experiences of change and challenging norms. Its relevance is set by associating brands and products with audiences' aspirations of 'middle-class' and 'modernity'. At the same time, campaigns for social causes are made to draw in the audiences and initiate the change process. As part of these differentiations, advertising producers are positioned as part of financially-able 'middle-classes', and the 'discourses of change' present among them are thus connected to their experiences of change alongside disciplinary backgrounds and sectoral affiliation. Respondents' perspectives reflected the media cultures' role in increasing the presence of 'prosumers' and the importance of personal realities connecting individual levels of context and participation with communicative levels of communication. At the same time, respondents highlighted the importance of relating to content themselves and saw it as relevant. As Karam explained: "One very important principle with which I create material personally. It might not always work for everybody else, but I think it works most of the time. […] I create material, as a user" (Karam 2013). Navneet described scenarios that were frustrating to them that eventually led to realisations about, for example, their understanding of gender and creating campaigns with these experiences in mind (Navneet 2013; Roni 2011). Similarly, thinking of the creation process, Suhas described how,

> you meet different people and you express yourself in different scenarios and different manners. I think advertising also gives you a different space and mediums to do that. […] If you look at more of the campaigns, they are funny. Or they have this kind of insightfulness, which is very deep rooted and they are fun. They are like me. If you see most of our work it also reflects a lot of me (Suhas 2013).

Respondents thus described how personal experiences and the opportunity for personal expression, starting from oneself and focussing on one's own reality,

played an important part in creating medialised messages. Regarding relatable and relevant content, the approaches were hence discussed with an awareness of producers' personal connection to and identification with the message and, thus, interpretations of their contextual setting and realities. The discussions regarding the interplay between chosen content and audiences thus entail 'discourses of change' that are infused with these realities and, in turn, influence 'politics of change' as part of the production of medialised communication. Despite the similarities of producers: belonging to 'middle-class' groups with higher educational and socio-economic status, wishing to contribute to initiatives of social change, and expressing personal ideologies of non-conforming individuals through their work, the diversity of backgrounds and upbringing, as detailed in the first section of this part of the analysis, is expected to be connected to the communicative strategies.

Media Practices and Opportunities of Outreach – Media Cultures as Entry Points and References

On the institutional level, respondents framed media cultures and particularly 'new media', as institutions that play a significant role in interacting with audiences. As part of the communicative level, they see these structures as a foundation for providing opportunities for discussions and engagement. Extant media practices and formats, such as watching documentaries and movies or utilising social and commercial advertisements as part of workshops, training sessions, or meetups, serve as entry points to inspire debates, reflection, and critical thinking. Respondents in the social sector mentioned this as a widespread strategy. While some social organisations produced their own short films, others chose existing material to initiate conversations and discussions. The chosen material displayed expressions of particular worldviews, exposed power relations, and promoted challenging systemic patterns. For example, this strategy was present in various ways as part of the event on masculinity at Ambedkar University. As mentioned, the campus served as space to exhibit the advertisements produced by the Must Bol campaign alongside the photo project inspiring reflection, the exhibition of posters from reproduced book pages and a movie screening with a subsequent discussion. Thus, the campaign entailed diverse ways of engaging and encouraging discussions, highlighting the use of different types of media content and the importance of exchange and dialogue.[126]

126 During the focus group discussions with students at JNU and JMI, I, too, used media content as inspiration for discussions. After introducing my project and purpose, the topics

As part of the strategies used to direct processes of change, engaging in conversations was seen as a way to encourage critical thinking (Suhas 2013). Sitting in one of Delhi's historically significant, busy coffee houses hidden away between the equally busy streets and areas of Connaught Place, Navneet pointed out the importance of dialogue. Amidst the patrons, staff, and medialised messages on the buildings visible from the rooftop, Navneet describes how this place especially had served many meet-ups. In Navneet's words: "The more conversation you have, the more people are in the questioning mode or trying to understand things. And that is our aim. Just talk to people" (Navneet 2013). Respondents hence talked about advertising as a way to be inspirational to these discussions and saw the success of a campaign when it "shakes you up in any way. Prompts you to talk about it or think about it in any way. Or take a step" (Karam 2013). Concerning elements of being relatable and relevant, Karam further pointed out:

> A successful poster would be something that will appeal to some kind of personal experience that some people are having, […] it will create a personal connection. And I think it will prompt people then to respond to it. Because for us the work is not jut in making the poster and putting it out, its about looking at what people say about it and then engaging in a conversation around it (Karam 2013).

Social campaigns, usually produced in-house, were thus described as entry points to addressing agendas of the social sector. While Suhas acknowledged the element of commercial advertising that plants "seeds of discontent" to create aspiration and thus provoke particular choices of purchasing behaviour (Suhas 2011), Navneet saw commercial advertising as equally capable of inspiration on par with social campaigning. For example, the aforementioned Gillette campaign gave opportunities to discuss gender and sexualised violence with peers that previously did not engage with these debates (Navneet 2013). Navneet also described the comment section below published posters as opportunities that led to conversation offline and personal connections, e.g. through workshops, meet-ups, or rallies. The initial online contact would therefore encourage participation in further discussions organised throughout the city. The incentive to inspire audiences as part of social change processes is thus inherently part of social advertising. It contains calls to engage in movements and debates and encourages reflection on changing attitudes and behaviour. At

discussed were based on the reactions to certain advertisements I had chosen. I thereby aligned myself with a common strategy to inspire debates and illustrate particular standpoints.

the same time, commercial advertisements are, in many ways, considered an effective communicative element in relation to social change.

Connected to the importance of 'new media' on the institutional level, increased internet access through phone technologies and use of social media, online platforms played a significant role in enabling connections with audiences and facilitating dialogue as part of social campaigning in particular. According to the respondents, especially 'new media' and social media play a central role in enabling discussions and thus influencing audiences and direct change processes by increasing the outreach of medialised messages. The internet, in general, was mentioned as playing a major role in creating new ideas, offering new experiences, and enabling more awareness. Roni described this trend as follows: "The internet or digital media is kind of making a big dent into the classic traditional mainstream ways of communicating […] and the advertisers are already starting to use it in India, in the Indian context" (Roni 2011). According to Karam, the connections between online platforms and dialogue is present regionally but also as part of a global network:

> We have access to that technology now we should share it across different medias, cause we can do that now. […] So if it stays, it gets circulated. Somebody somewhere will use it. And that is what you want. Because you don't have the resources to reach out to the entire world. But the technology has the resources to reach out to the entire world (Karam 2013).

As previously discussed, respondents thus considered digitalisation and 'new media' highly valuable in enabling greater participation and dialogue.

The emergence of 'new media' platforms as a central factor in the process of medialisation included social media in particular. Navneet, for example, experienced these platforms as especially potent in reaching and engaging with more previously unreceptive audiences. Campaign posters could thus not only be shared by posting them on websites online but also spread easily through Facebook (Navneet 2013). However, respondents from both the social sector and commercial campaigning pointed out the use of multiple channels in their communication. While 'new media' in the form of, for example, WhatsApp, social media platforms and especially Facebook continuously play their part in campaigning and mobilisation, respondents highlighted the necessity of "360 degrees kind of advertising" (Suhas 2013). This type of 'integrated marketing' would hence adopt messages into TV and radio commercials, in print through magazines and newspapers as well as flyers, OOH and ambient media alongside social media such as YouTube, Twitter and Facebook (Suhas 2013). Similarly, social sector communication finds expression in the form of multiple channels, e.g. audio-visual advertising, OOH posters and billboards, print and social media campaigns alongside giv-

ing out stickers, badges, flyers, or booklets at protests, events, or other grassroots activities (Navneet 2013). With the historically anchored utilisation of media cultures as part of social change processes, the communicative level is strongly connected to the importance of media channels on the institutional level through the variety of technologies utilised and the visibility and outreach they provide. The growing presence of diverse media institutions and channels, including 'new media', has thus been significant in providing platforms and communicative channels.

Between the attention given to social media in particular and the inclusion of multiple media channels as a strategic communicative element, respondents shared insight into current media practices. Media cultures were seen as becoming a normalised part of everyday life and a globalised world: "All these things are a normal part of our lives, not just in an ad, but also just normal people that want to be part of it all, right up there and know what is going on in the world" (Roni 2011). As Suhas explained: "[new forms of media technology and channels] opens up huge possibility. You don't have to spend money getting things on TV, just doing something randomly stupid, somebody will 'youtube' it" (Suhas 2011). Respondents generally pointed to media practices in connection with 'new media' and social media, e.g. the use of online resources such as Wikileaks and Google as a fundamental part of peoples' everyday lives and realities (Roni 2011; Suhas 2011; Navneet 2013). Media cultures were thought of in terms of their presence among people, "a place to unwind" and express oneself, as seen through the Fearless collective, and enabling opinionated aspects of oneself on social media platforms. These growing opportunities between inspiring engagement through relatable and relevant content, as detailed above and ensuring greater participation in the form of 'prosumers', respondents described how they adjusted their communicative practices in order to be able to engage with the audiences. The chosen strategies connect practices of media culture with current debates and traction, i.e. debates of social change in connection with 'prosumer' practices led to,

> Developing that kind of language to talk to young people on their own terms in their own language, that is something we have been very consciously and work hard on doing. And it has happened because young people are leading that dialogue, so if there is something made by young people then it is in their language. Out of their experience (Karam 2013).

The adjustments to utilise social media platforms entailed specific skills that had to be acquired as,

> a lot of the conversations are happening on Whatsapp, and it's nothing… we did not even think of it trying it out last year, but now we have it. Because

> it's there, it's on the phone, and that is how people talk. So that technology is something we have to figure out (Navneet 2013).

For example, posters published on Facebook are, according to Navneet, aligned with a meme-based culture that creates opportunities to engage through an increasingly accessible media culture that figures as a tool for multiplying and spreading messages in a short time across far distances by "going viral" (Navneet 2013). This illustrates the convergence of online campaigning for social change and common communication practices of online platforms and among current media cultures. In connection with particular strategies considered successful, a humorous poster discussing gender dynamics, for example, would be shared online because it was funny and ultimately reach a greater audience, including individuals that previously had not discussed topics of gender (Navneet 2013). Being able to "share" or "post" available posters on social media has hence become part of relevant media practices among producers and audiences alike. 'New media' thus links the greater presence of 'prosumers' and the importance of ownership with opportunities to inspire engagement and participation. However, it also serves as an influential component in adjusting communicative strategies. Advertising thus connects social media practices of 'sharing' content to social change processes that aim to influence audiences in relation to current debates. On the one hand, current media cultures provide opportunities to be part of social movements. On the other hand, they influence the communication practices of commercial advertising.

In congruity with the idea of a range of media channels being part of communicative strategies, the reach of messages can be unexpected and far-reaching. A poster created with association to All India Student Association (AISA) was included in the International Women's Day march I attended in 2013 (see Fig. 12).

Karam, the artist of the painting, used the recognisable symbol of the hand. Some related this symbol to a common proverb about how five fingers are alike but not equal and provided an interpretation that communicated that even though individuals are different, all have the same rights. As Navneet described it: "We cannot be identical, but we can be equal. And then this face of woman, she ascertained from that argument […] she has ascertained her right" (Navneet 2013). The media coverage then led to broadcasts where the poster was visible as part of the News Network NDTVs reporting, followed by the bi-weekly English language magazine Frontline using an altered version of the painting on the cover of the issue published January 25th 2013, with the headline "Prisoners of Patriarchy". The front page was held in bright red without the dramatic colours in orange, yellow, and purple and the reference to asia. The print of the hand with the expressive face within was central and underlined

Fig. 12. "The Hand", artist: Bablu Paul, AISA, Delhi. Photo by M. Gabler (2013), courtesy of ASIA.

with the headline and the text: "Indian women's increasing demand for freedom and equality meets with violent resistance from conservative social forces reinforced by neo-liberal policies and socio-economic processes. The Delhi gang rape is a case in point." Navneet explained this development as follows:

> It was more catchy and interactive this visual and a lot of people took it. NDTV started running that and then Frontline. We were not expecting that this will happen. These visuals did a lot of thing to change the discourse also of the movement. (Navneet 2013).

Not only was the outreach of this poster highly unpredictable and unexpected but it also was shared across different media channels apart from 'new media'. While it eventually was circulated on social media as well, the use of other media institutions and technologies as part of social messages is still relevant, as exemplified through the aforementioned Close the Gap campaign. While the participation of a wide range of audiences as 'prosumers' is enabled through the use of telecommunication, as discussed in the section on the individual level, this also highlights the role of the institutional level regarding communicative strategies. Linkages between participation, outreach, and media practices illustrate the presence of 'new media' alongside other media channels to spread medialised communication. Additionally, while 'new media' took up much attention in discussing communication strategies for advertising and, in particular, campaigns for social change, the use of media content as reference points during conversations and as an inspirational element to encourage debates reflects media cultures' significance as a whole. These circumstances place advertising and popular media as part of the fabric discussing change processes and gender dynamics. As already argued, I thus emphasise the importance of 'new media' as part of extant media cultures rather than as separate from it.

The normalisation of 'new media' and the practices associated with this particular part of media cultures connect these debates to ideas of 'modernity'. Within the experiences of 'new media' utilised in advertising and the presence of media content as a mirror for processes of social change, ideas of 'modernity' contain discussions regarding medialisation processes as well as traditions, culture, and consumerism alongside ideas on gender dynamics and change processes. The experience of becoming out of touch with cultural and religious traditions intersects with a 'modern' life signified by 'new media' (Suhas 2011). Therein social changes set confident and ambitious 'women' in opposition to the persistent conservatism of 'men' (Navneet 2013). The diverse communication channels available and the intensification of media cultures as part of everyday living provide intersections of 'modernity' and media cultures present. While the role of 'new media' is significant in social activism, the use of media technologies, the internet, and social media is not only a way to reach more audiences but part of the fabric of existing discourses and ways to communicate. Similar to the emergence of satellite TV and its role as a symbolic stand-in for 'modernity' as described in chapter one, engaging with 'new

media' was, despite critical stances of the role of media as too influential, described as a desirable way of interacting. The interplay present thus highlights the existing discourses on media, gender, and change that audiences, producers, and 'prosumers' are continuously part of and involved in.

The importance given to medialised communication spread by social media platforms as a way to reach audiences, inspire debates, and increase its outreach, alongside the conviction of the ultimate success of campaigns ascribed to spaces that facilitated conversation, illustrates the integration of 'new media' into practices of social change initiatives. The exchange between online communication and face-to-face meetings was seen as fundamental in facilitating dialogues. This is exemplified by a range of social campaigns, e.g. the Safe Delhi campaign, through which the NGO employees, in collaboration with an advertising agency, created the campaign material in the form of posters and stickers, as well as pocket booklets with phone numbers to use in emergencies. Representatives of the NGO engaged with public transport conductors, bus conductors, and auto-rickshaw drivers and conceptualised campaigns with this type of diversification in mind. As Navneet explained, the NGO strategies consisted of actions related to mainstream media as well as capacity building:

> we have the internet, we have social media, we have community-based engagement and mobilisation activities, we have training and leadership capacity, and partnership running through all of them, so this strategy, our five point strategy is much more clear and we understood how it works together to really enhance the impact (Navneet 2013).

The significance of online spaces did thus not exclude facilitating meet-ups, open discussions, and the importance of workshops and other events. Just as posters and banners in place for events and protests function as communicative tools, creating face-to-face spaces in order to encourage critical thinking in the form of, for example, educational settings in cafes or schools, was facilitated through the growing access to social media platforms alongside campaigning through other medialised messages. While the role of media was highlighted, and media culture was considered a vital and effective tool in directing change processes addressing social issues, the modes of engagement included a range of activities considered vital in successful campaigning. With the elements of communicative strategies outlined above (celebrities, humour, emotions), the relation between advertising and change processes illustrates interlinked aspects of media cultures, marketing, and social change. While commercial and social advertising objectives differ, engagement, production sites, and strategies overlap and connect. The field of media, gender, and social change especially, displays the negotiations between the advertising industry, the social sector and its campaigning through discussions of representation and directing pro-

cesses of change. In the following, I present respondents' interpretations and perspectives regarding the representation of gender and the possibilities of challenging gender norms through visual representation.

Reflections regarding Gender Representations – Possibilities of Normalisation

In conversations with respondents, perspectives regarding gender commonly centred on identifying "women's issues" and promoting female empowerment in line with efforts in development initiatives. Respondents mentioned, for example, early marriage and sex-selective determination as critical issues in India, alongside the history of "the various traditional subjugation of women, like sati and dowry and widowhood of women and how they are treated and ostracised" (Navneet 2013) that took up a central position in much of the development work. Suhas, for example, also pointed out: "India is very prone to female foeticide, child marriage, that happens prevalently in the country, so as an agency, it is our CSR initiative to promote more and more girls, more and more females" (Suhas 2013). At the same time, discriminatory patterns were recognised throughout: "I mean right from our childhood we are told that being girls you need to be back home early" (Suhas 2013). Accordingly, debates regarding sexualised violence and the actions taking place following the Nirbhaya case were present among all respondents during interviews in 2013. As part of social change initiatives, campaign strategies were in some cases discussed with regard to the experiences of female activists, and debates on 'women's' safety acknowledged how gender contained different experiences and hence insight (Navneet 2013). As part of social change initiatives addressing gender inequalities, some projects contain intersections of, for example, violence and HIV stigmatisation connected with gendered systems "largely based on women's vulnerability to the infection and male responsibility" (Navneet 2013). Other campaigns address institutionalised sexism, such as the Close the Gap campaign, which deals with gendered inequality by pointing out that 'women' are less represented as CEOs, parliamentary seats, and employed in the police force. The respondents' viewpoints display wide experiences and awareness regarding debates on gender-based and sexualised violence towards 'women' and 'girls' and other social and cultural phenomena rooted in sexist systemic patterns, illustrating the presence of discourses from the social sector that centred on gender dynamics. While the Nirbhaya case was seen as a key occurrence in change processes, respondents in the social sector in particular, pointed out that this was not a new issue and that due to the events, their position as representatives in this discourse had become more prominent, even

though they had engaged with these debates before this particular case. In relation to questions and choices of representation, these themes were present in the form of an increased presence of female-coded personas in commercial advertising. According to producers of commercial advertising, gender-sensitive representation had often been part of the deliberation process. At the same time, commercial advertising was generally connected to normative ideas regarding gender and described as a space for creating imageries that were

> very very gender biased and polarised, you see that all the time. The sister or the girl child is told that she is supposed to be graceful and this and that and this is what she learns in her life. And the guy is told, that they have to be strong and out there and street smart and so on (Navneet 2013).

Furthermore, Suhas, for example, connected gender with the given product advertised, thus portraying normative ideas about gender, e.g. products for menstruation were considered to be for 'women' (Suhas 2013).

The emphasis on the representation of female bodies and the assumption that gender topics consisting of questions about 'women's' role in society were persistent and in line with academic studies regarding commercial advertising and central themes in developmental initiatives, as introduced in chapter two. These aspects hence continued to be central in discussions of gender, media, and change.

As part of the dynamics of inspiration and aspiration in the form of relatability and relevance, isolated campaigns often stand at the forefront of the debates regarding the role of media content in processes of change: At the same time, respondents illustrated an understanding of multiplying messages connected with gender equality in order to normalise particular representation and thus participation in society. Potential normalisation was connected to the power of visual representation, perspectives regarding gendered bodies, and concepts of discursive repetitiveness. Discussing the power of advertising with Karam, they stated that "any visual imaging is part of a process of change, because of what you see you always remember. What you hear you can sometimes forget" (Karam 2013). Discussing the 'politics of change' of medialised messages thus came to entail an understanding of directing change processes that included an interplay between self-reflection and systemic patterns, as discussed in chapter two. In connection with the productive power of discourse, an essential part of these change processes involves the repetition of similar visuals and imageries. Accordingly, while the portrayal of female bodies, in particular, takes up most of the space in the conversations regarding visual representation, respondents also displayed how the debates regarding the representation of female bodies have become increasingly layered. The interaction between the relevance of content due to aspirations and relatability linked to

self-recognition is described by Suhas concerning representational changes in commercial advertising:

> Things have changed, earlier, you never found so many child artists which were girls. Nowadays you know… that is there. And even all the agencies are promoting female talent. But at times when you are working on brand or products, they tend to use more of the female characters to get more eyeballs (Suhas 2013).

On the one hand, portraying female-coded personas was thus seen as a shift towards inclusiveness, reflecting changing debates and an incentive to promote gender-equal representation and thus contribute to processes of social change. On the other, the representation of female bodies as objectified and sexualised and in stereotypical gender roles exists parallel to these and was recognised as a strategy to attract attention (Navneet 2013; Suhas 2013).

While ensuring that female children were cast to promote female representation and participation, Suhas described how the choice of centring the role of the housewife as a caretaker could be interpreted as pointing out the important and respectable role in the family distinct from stereotypical representation. As Suhas explained: "a typical housewife [of the 1980s], a smart well-ed housewife who could talk about how this detergent is better than the traditional ones. And that from there on started an image…" (Suhas 2011; Suhas 2013). This perspective aligns itself with the idea of empowerment argued by Munshi in reconceptualising housework as scientific knowledge requiring specialised skills (Munshi 1998, pp. 583–585). A critical perspective of including this type of female-coded character in commercial advertising points towards private companies' wish to appear socially conscious and merely adjust to the growing presence of female consumers and 'women' as an important target group, as described in chapter one. The debates on gender dynamics were deliberately included in messages of commercial advertising in the form of 'femvertising' as seen in advertisements published in connection with International Women's Day. Promoting female characters adhered to the idea of having female representation normalised and thus increasingly "casting a girl child" (Suhas 2013) in commercial advertisements. This trend aligns with Chaudhuri's observations of the working 'women' and female CEO that became more common in commercial advertising. It can be connected to advertisements mirroring societal change to be relevant to their audiences (Chaudhuri 2001, pp. 375–376). These perspectives hence acknowledge the incentive to cater to audiences interested in stereotypical representations of gender while creating aspirational content and addressing audiences with an interest in alternate gender norms. Accordingly, Suhas described how they experienced more confidence in 'women', such as refusal of arranged marriage proposals and making the first step in dating or

wedding nights and referred to commercial advertisements that conveyed these changes (Suhas 2011). Suhas pointed out a TV advertisement for the bi-weekly magazine Femina India from 1991 that included a role "it's a woman taking the first step, she takes the initiative, you know, so normally you expect the guy to do that. […] There's a lot of that kind of stuff, its happening, that's India today, it's changing and it's being shown!" (Suhas 2011). They described the changes in advertising and society as follows:

> in today's current scenario you'll find most of the ads very progressive. Because that's how the India is also changing. You will find most of the women are working women. They go out. Because we are a culturally traditional country. Maybe it is still true if you go to remote and rural areas but if you're talking about cities and metros, women are working. When you see ads, they're very aspiring to everyone and you see that women are going out and working (Suhas 2011).

The changes experienced were thus reflected in advertisements and included identification with said representation. According to Rajagopal,

> advertisers tend to seek appeals that are familiar and recognisable, and that avoid arousing the prejudices of their audiences. At the same time ads inflect the socius with a new set of possibilities and connections, and offer new circuits along which individual desires might travel (Rajagopal 1998, p. 17).

Navneet mirrors this perspective: "We find insurance, banking, auto-mobiles, many of them simply switching and changing the boy with a girl. […] So it was not pushing the message to make it seem unreal. But it flowed very nicely" (Navneet 2013).

While the discussion of representation in social campaigning has been limited, respondents expressed the importance of this aspect. Navneet shared their observation in connection with ongoing public health campaigns in the form of immunisation advertising: "Everywhere you see male children being given immunisation, used to, that's changing now, but I don't think that it is universally there" (Navneet 2013).

Accordingly, Navneet highlighted the importance of considering the representation of female figures in social campaigns, a perspective largely absent in studies of social advertising.

This point of view came to the forefront when discussing the mirroring of violence as a common strategy. A range of social campaigns focuses on portraying the existing violence, pointing out the patriarchal patterns of sexism in place. Navneet describes it as follows: "So these hands are male hands. Stopping women, to shut your eyes, shut your mouth, and shut your thinking power.

That is what it means" (Navneet 2013). However, social change campaigners illustrated a realisation to be critical of the content they produced, and respondents thus pointed out how reproducing this imagery is problematic. It was seen as a factor in creating and reproducing a violent gendered culture, gender dynamics, and sexist patterns, as well as reflecting on their role in creating these systems of oppression.

This aspect is exemplified by the abovementioned campaign using cartoons published by UN Women in 2011. The campaign with the tagline "It's time to change your attitude towards women" addresses ideas on gender equality, 'women's' empowerment, and sexist patterns by highlighting unjust situations, e.g. denial of land ownership and political exclusion, each cartoon depicting a typical scenario of gender inequalities (UN Women 2012b). One picture shows a female-coded person standing in a kitchen corner, cooking, doing the dishes and caring for a child simultaneously, with laundry and cleaning waiting. This person's face is turned, looking back at the husband and dripping in sweat to signify stress connected with being solely responsible for the household tasks. The male-coded person, in contrast, sits in a lounge chair with a hot drink and feet on a stool watching cricket on TV with a smirky grin on their face eyeing the wife out of the corner of their eye. A yellow line, resembling police tape, divides the two with the words in Roman script: "gender line do not cross", repetitively written in black. A speech bubble from the male-coded person reads: "Of course we are equals… but I'm the first among equals", suggesting a sarcastic tone. A picture on the wall is reminiscent of a traditional Hindu wedding. This narrative highlights the discrepancies of a heteronormative relationship through the unbalanced burden of the household. It displays a setup clearly attempting to critique gendered dynamics and hierarchies in place in many homes. Similar to the discussions of satirical content as part of the poster-making session for the International Women's Day march, satirical content can reproduce representations of unequal relations. While the UN campaign draws on cartoons to display sexist patterns, the intent of using satirical humour to promote gender equality illustrates this communicative dilemma. The debates regarding the depiction of diverse representation illustrate 'discourses of change' with various perspectives and negotiations between 'politics of change'. Accordingly, the question of satirical humour as a useful communicative strategy stays challenged in the light of reproducing sexist representation.

The reproduction of sexist patterns through the cartoons described above further highlights the importance respondents gave to normalisation processes and the influence of representation. Accordingly, Navneet pointed to "positive imaging" and presenting role models as a better option to challenge gender inequalities:

> In a situation and a country where most people are illiterate, where you are not able to read the message you only see something, the image that stays in your mind is a woman who is battered, who is bruised who is crying. […] The image that comes, that stays in mind has to be the image of a person, of a woman who has the right to be. She is not necessarily militant, she is there. She is not holding roses in her hand, she just is. I don't want to keep showing her a being battered, even the posters on violence (Navneet 2013).

With insights from the advertising industry, Navneet, who had later in life shifted to the social sector and saw the importance of addressing the imageries in commercial advertising as part of directing social change, stated: "At least know the negative impact you can have by giving subtle messages which promote son preference" (Navneet 2013). This perspective represents a sense of realisation, responsibility, and accountability, while socialisation processes and the normalisation of systemic patterns are the basis of change processes.

Some respondents expressed scepticism of commercial campaigns, including themes addressing social change: "I really feel sad because while everyone is jumping on it, what is changing? On the ground, in families, in homes, the people who are perpetuating that violence. I mean, I am not being pessimistic, but I am saying it is still not enough" (Karam 2013). However, the belief that systemic patterns are woven into the very fabric of societies, for example, in the form of interpersonal relations based on cultural and social concepts as well as institutional setups, persisted. As Navneet explains:

> You can't just take patriarchy out of the system, […] that does not work. Should not work, I guess. And that is the thing, it can become very cultish, the social media meme-culture.[127] The people forget about what is the ground reality and focus on this particular image and get affected by it so much, almost like advertising (Navneet 2013).

Thereby, Navneet highlighted the importance of focussing on systemic patterns and questioned the possibility of inspirational content in advertising. Representational choices should hence be thought about as subtle messages or subtext normalising gender in a certain way, illustrating the importance given to normalisation as an element in social change processes. To challenge existing gender norms, new ideas must be disseminated continuously to ultimately become part of the socialisation processes. The tension between the power of isolated

127 The term meme-culture was first mentioned by R. Dawkins (1976) in "The Selfish Gene" and refers to the practice of creating minimal visuals in the form of photos, drawings, video clips, or text, with short comical content often commenting on current events or debates and are (now regularly) shared between individuals online.

campaigns and the normalisation of patterns deals with the influence of advertising, as described in chapter two.

The pervasive and repetitiveness of media content and advertising, in particular, encompasses discursive power concerning establishing dominant patterns and reoccurring statements. The discursive change happening through the changing representation and imageries alongside language choices entails normalisation and, thus, social change processes. With reference to Gramsci, Chaudhuri argues that a "dominant ideology becomes visible because it is translated into common sense appearing as the natural, apolitical state of things" (Chaudhuri 2001, p. 375) and thus describes how normalisation is created by an ideology or idea that has become dominant. This logic mirrors an understanding of discursive truths that entails one understanding of the world until other discursive truths challenge the dominant ideology, thus enabling a discursive struggle. With repetitive statements normalising a particular discourse, a new discursive truth can become the dominant ideology, exemplified by the aforementioned Laadli Media Award for Gender Sensitivity. The unconscious bias favouring 'boys' described by Navneet is linked to the normalised circumstance of choosing male-coded children in commercial advertisements. Promoting a shift towards including female-coded children was assumed to normalise the presence and value of 'girls' as part of families and everyday life. With the reward system of an award, media producers were sensitised to reflect on the possibilities of representation, and the topic itself was normalised and was thus included in the deliberations processes during the creation of commercial content (Navneet 2013). Discussing the choices and thus 'politics of change' as part of deliberation processes that occur between media producers and clients reflect the junction of discursive struggles in the form of production sites.

Based on the respondents' insights, it became clear that stereotypical representations of 'women' exist alongside advertising challenging gender roles. Consideration and perspectives regarding gender among the respondents varied greatly. Most respondents thought of the imageries of female participation and representation that challenged existing gender norms as having become natural and thus normalised. This normalisation was present in the process of production that made gender sensitivity a common topic to discuss, in the choices made which led to patterns in commercial advertisements that included female-coded characters beyond stereotypical representation, as well as through the assumed impact of normalising the presence and participation of 'women' and 'girls' in everyday life. Similarly, some respondents in the social sector took a critical stance towards female representation in social advertising when they normalised imageries that centre the battered and bruised 'woman'. In conclusion, communicative choices represent current debates

about change and existing perspectives on social change that are infused into advertising content. The conflicting depictions of 'women', in particular, highlight the discursive struggles present that enable different forms of representation. Debates about social changes and gender reflected the diverse elements of discourses present and, as such, contained diverse perspectives and experiences regarding gender representation. The discursive struggles as part of 'discourses of change' and debates regarding patterns of gender are thus equally represented in the content of advertising. Media producers are thus part of existing discourses and incorporate different perspectives into their work. Just as their role as 'prosumers' was prominent in relation to consuming and producing media, they are equally part of society and the ongoing discourses. With the strong bias towards being female-centric, gender discourses illustrate these debates as continuously framed by a binary understanding of gender. 'Women' at the receiving end of violence, discrimination, and oppression in opposition to 'men' as perpetrators or protectors is a common understanding of gender dynamics. The simplified discourse of gender, on the one hand, reflects the dominant experiences and realities of most, but on the other, hardly deals with the reproduction of femininity and masculinity, heteronormativity, or the complexities therein. With roots in the context of the 'women's' movement, these debates continue to pit 'men' and 'women' against each other instead of challenging the binary in and of itself and moving towards diversification of gender dynamics.

4.3 Discussing 'Discourses of Change' through Perspectives of Gender, Media & Change

To sum up, as part of the individual level, respondents were characterised by diverse backgrounds regarding disciplinary education and training, upbringing and family settings. At the same time, they displayed commonalities through their socio-economic status and higher education, as well as a self-perception that included a feeling of disconnect from others but also a self-awareness of their role in change processes. The strongly held belief in media's influential power established an understanding of their position as 'change-makers' and, as such, tied into discourses of the role of media cultures in processes of change and the state vision of the nation-building project as described in chapter one and connects to debates of the role of individuals in processes of change as discussed in chapter two and three. The advertising industry's involvement in social change agendas through the production of edutainment serials alongside the governmental strategies of social change through the promotion of consumerist cultures solidified the intertwining of the advertising industry and the

social sector. The growing presence of NGOs and other social organisations following the Emergency allowed for broader debates about who was trusted with agendas of social change. These circumstances, involving discourses of personal responsibility in connection with advertising as a sphere of knowledge production, established advertising producers as important players in social change agendas and their important status as media producers. As part of extant processes of change and the increased presence of media cultures, advertising producers were identified as 'prosumers' with access to global media cultures and transnational discourses and thus not to be considered apart from audiences. 'New media' in particular was highlighted as an important aspect of the current media cultures that enabled this access through new channels and technologies and illustrated respondents' position as part of extant discourses, alongside the opportunities of participation. As such, their diverse perspectives based on their heterogeneity and commonalities established negotiations of the individuals' role in change processes. Similarly, the institutional level gave way to negotiations of power in the form of institutional affiliation legitimising expertise and bonds of solidarity and social connection, enabling experiences of empowerment. Financial strength stands out as a limitation and opportunity, while competition for territories of visibility and recognition highlights the presence of power relations. Despite the persistent distinction between the advertising industry and the social sector, as captured in chapter two, the intertwining was not only present through collaboration and networks but visible on all levels and marked by complex interactions and exchanges. The production sites of advertising thus illustrated their position as junctions of ideas, areas, and discourses. Combined with the diverse perspectives brought to arenas of deliberation by its participants, the intertwining is fundamental in enabling discursive struggle. The intertwining of sectors is further reflected in the communicative strategies used across sectors. Common ideas of successful communication included the use of celebrities, humour, and emotional storytelling. However, just as the goal of connecting with audiences through relatability and relevance, these strategies contain discussions of power relations such as class distinctions. This dilemma is highlighted in connection with change processes, as reception depends on audiences' contextual setting. Regarding the role of 'new media', respondents highlighted the importance of 'new media' in change processes as they enable greater outreach and participation. As such, media practices were adjusted to the landscape of current media cultures. However, activism and marketing, apart from digitalisation, continued to be of great concern. Therefore, communicative strategies continuously build on extant practices, such as using other media channels as important factors in outreach and participation and approaches facilitating face-to-face dialogue. Systemic power relations here still contribute to limitations regarding access to information and

opportunities to contribute and participate. In the light of respondents' perspectives, processes of change hence entail an ongoing process in which negotiations and diverse contributions are essential. The role of media cultures and advertising producers builds on existing practices and discourses, while 'new media' channels, institutions, and technologies intensify the interaction with medialised communication and communicative strategies present. As exemplified by the discussions regarding gender, similarities are found in 'women'-centric approaches, including debates on 'women' as an emerging important target group, players in change processes, and stereotypical representation of 'women' in particular. However, the debates on representation and activism displayed an increasingly layered discussion with diverse perspectives, drawing from the extant discourse of the past and present. Thereby, certain debates exist side by side and mirror discursive struggles that normalise interactions and exchange as part of processes of change with reference to existing patterns and actions.

The distinction of the individual, the institutional, and the communicative level highlights different aspects of gender as part of social change, the role of media cultures therein, and the understanding of processes of change while pointing out the intersections between these levels. Discourses regarding media and gender, media and change, as well as gender and change, intermingle as part of the understanding of change processes and the interplay between gender, media, and change. As producers of advertising engage with debates and theories of change and thus reflect 'discourses of change' through the strategies and beliefs present among them, their insights contain the complexities of advertising and social change. I here continue to discuss the dynamics of gender, media, and change and thus present the interpretations as detailed above with consideration for the permeability of the overarching levels of distinction based on the intertwining elements of the advertising industry and the social sector, and most prominent and significant aspects in advertising producers' perspectives regarding change and social change processes as detailed above.

The presence of gender in discussions of social change entails aspects of responsibility in the form of gendering 'change-makers' and discussing the role of 'men' in processes of change alongside debates regarding representation. Awareness of social inequalities centred norms and reproduction of gender dynamics with systemic patterns of sexism as symptomatic therein and a strong focus on 'women' and 'girls'. Respondents' experiences of gender existed mainly through the dichotomy of 'man' and 'woman', male and female, masculine and feminine. The reproduction of the binary understanding of gender at times also included essential viewpoints asserting particular roles and characteristics according to either female or male belonging, for example, through intersections of gender and 'modernity',

> a modern woman is not what she wears or looks like, but a woman that is educated and literate can think for herself a person with an identity equal to a man treated with respect. A modern man is still conservative, scared to lose masculinity and power and control head of family (Navneet 2013).

While queer readings of commercial advertisements find their way into the mainstream heteronormative representation, as pointed out by S. Ghosh (2001) in the article "Queer Pleasures for Queer People. Film, Television, and Queer Sexuality in India", the persistence of the binary understanding of gender was reflected in the conversations had. In the exchanges, it was clear how the power of this discursive truth was prominent and a powerful influence on the used language and understanding, including my own (Suhas 2011; Navneet 2013; Suhas 2013). With only rare cases questioning masculinities and considering gender as a spectrum, the dominant perspectives exclude the complexities of gender dynamics, for example, the possibility of 'men' being affected by sexualised violence as well as gender identities beyond the binary understanding of gender. Most conversations with respondents were thus framed through the dominant understanding of gender in line with the academic debates regarding advertising and social change, as well as gender and media, as detailed in chapter two. Commercial advertisements were discussed in their role in reproducing normative patterns of sexism, in some cases challenging ideas of femininity and masculinity, and set alongside classic topics of the 'women's' movement and empowerment as seen in social campaigns. Activism and social change projects regarding gender equality were framed by a binary understanding of gender to highlight the inequality between 'women' and 'men'. This simplification of gender often creates imageries of 'men' as perpetrators and the battered 'woman' (Navneet 2013), thereby reproducing the inherent exclusion of individuals not fitting this binary. Hijras, for example, experience ongoing systemic oppression that continues to be present in India and reminiscent of the prohibition and subjugation of diverse possibilities of gender and sexualities from colonial powers (Ahuja 2017, pp. 237–248), and thus prompt activism and calls for social change and trans rights. Discussions of trans-identities, as described in the study by Shah, Merchant, Mahajan, and Nevatia (2015), highlight the importance of questioning the binary understanding of gender. While gender equality conversations exist side by side with activism for the rights of trans-personas and non-binary individuals, this focus seemed almost entirely separate from 'discourses of change' regarding gender. Individuals not fitting the binary are made invisible by not challenging this fundamental discursive system of a gender dichotomy. Despite case examples that show a more complex understanding of gender, the trends illustrate that the binary understanding of gender was dominant. This was present in

the discussions regarding gender representation as well as the focus of social initiatives. The persistence of the binary understanding of gender continued to stay central as part of the dominant elements of 'discourses of change' and thus entailed practices of exclusion.

Looking back at conversations, I realised that I reverted to explanations of gender framed through the binary in some cases when asked to clarify the term "gender". This illustrates the strong presence of the binary understanding of gender as discursive truth and, thus, a strong presence in many societies and conversations regarding gender. Not only does this difficulty illustrate my role in conversations but also the commonalities between respondents and I. Alongside commonalities in socio-economic standing and educational standard, we shared a range of interests in the form of curiosity regarding media content and the appeal of creative work and, for some, an attraction to understanding the workings of gender dynamics. Within these similar positions, respondents were interested in my work and seemed eager to share their opinions and perspectives. Therefore, interviews were often similar to conversations and led me to consider these meetings as equal exchanges while giving respondents the opportunities to present their experiences and skills. My presence in most exchanges was limited to recording their chance to present themselves with a focus on respondents' ideas, perspectives, and debates. However, it is essential to note that the dynamic of the conversation dynamic including my role of influencing the exchange regarding the themes but also the presence of powerful discourses that nobody is immune to. The respondents, as well as myself, are part of the legacy of colonial power that has globally influenced the understanding of gender to consist of a binary and subjugated everyone to this apparent discourse. This hence presents my role as an interviewer as guiding but also as part of the ongoing exchange, visible in the discussions regarding the understanding of gender in particular.

Respondents' perspectives regarding the role of media emphasised the importance of global media cultures and 'new media' in particular as sources of information and exposure but were also strongly tied to the belief of media as a powerful and valuable tool in the processes of change in the form of visibility and strategies of normalisation. While digitalisation and different forms of 'new media' in particular were experienced as an important factor in processes of social change, including personal journeys, the strategies and reflections instead posed intensifications of existing patterns, including possibilities of creating medialised communication in the form of 'prosumers' alongside institutional outreach. The role of medialised communication as part of 'discourses of change' is hence built on existing structures and approaches. With the framework of the production sites of advertising conceptualised as spheres of knowledge production, existing campaigns function as discourses not only influencing

an understanding of gender but also the presence of 'discourses of change'. Campaigns hence exist as part of discourses and reflect discourses present, as well as an environment that producers of medialised communication exist within, produce, and reproduce simultaneously. As 'prosumers', advertising producers are set in a complex web of discourses present through medialised communication and thereby existing discourses that are normalised regarding gender and change. Just as advertisements figure through a network of brands, private companies, political regulations, consumer customers, and media producers (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 150), discourses therein exist as part of their contextual settings, including production sites and their networks, each individual's experiences and background, and medialised messages present throughout their lives. As such, the messages and discourses of the nation-building project and international development arenas are mirrored in the importance given to responsibility and ownership. With medialised communication changing in accordance with trends in media technologies, regulations, and institutions, communication strategies in combination with debates centring gender equality and social change, 'discourses of change' entail adjustments to extant media practices alongside beliefs regarding processes of change. Current media cultures thus figure as a critical element of processes of change and continuously play a vital role in the experiences and choices made as part of an ongoing process.

As part of these media cultures, urban settings provide a juxtaposition to rural and small-town India that respondents describe as an urban-rural divide (Karam 2013). Roni, for example, connected urbanisation processes with tensions as,

> new kinds of jobs, new kinds of lives, which lead to migration from small towns India to big cities, call centres, outsourcing, and that has led to stresses of a different kind, lead to sense of alienation because these people find themselves straddling two worlds, one is the world they come in a small town and the other is the one they inhabit in their presence, and they don't feel, they don't feel they entirely belong to, and that's a tension, a conflict they are forever negotiating (Roni 2011).

Suhas pointed out the complexities of this divide in that,

> in the villages it's different, you will find our grandmothers still smoke in villages, but that's seen in a different light, a girl smoking in the city is seen in a different light, its seen as women's liberation, new age thing, but in the village the woman there doing the hookah is seen as old style, it's just perception, they are doing both the same thing, and if you think extramarital affairs and people don't fuck around in the villages, of course they do, it's been happening ever since man happened, on this world, cultures just allow you to be more free with it (Suhas 2011).

Respondents thus repeatedly posed a binary juxtaposition between urban and rural. In some cases, with reference to the level of gender-equality in that the tendencies of sexist patterns were supposedly more prominent in villages and rural India as "the fabric of the system is very different there" (Suhas 2011, 2013), despite the understanding of Delhi as an unsafe space (Navneet 2013). While urbanities offer opportunities regarding employment, experiences, education, and media exposure and thus give way to close proximities in terms of economic and social stratification, differentiation from rural life alongside layered realities reflects processes of negotiation regarding identification with urban living. Just as urbanities exacerbate the exposure to medialised communication, respondents were confronted with a range of discursive spheres. Alongside the intertwining of commercial and social arenas, urban living entails intense convergence of media production and consumption and, as such, is a prominent factor in the characteristics of processes of change.

In the midst of the processes of change stand ideas of individual change through critical thinking and normalisation of mindset change as part of shifts in systemic patterns of power relations and discursive truths. These shifts are dependent on discursive struggles. The spectrum of advertising in India is inherently underpinned by immense diversity through the intertwining of commercial and social elements, and as such, represents opportunities for discursive struggles as part of alliances and collaborations, but also the very fabric of the production sites of advertising through its producers. While institutional networks sometimes serve as bonds of solidarity and support, they also provide junctions of power struggles in the form of contrasting perspectives negotiated through positions of professionalisation and expert knowledge. These junctions subsequently entail discursive struggles to define successful strategies for directing processes of change. Regarding processes of change, 'discourse of change' thus contains various beliefs of what can successfully direct change processes and prioritise particular aspects of society. As such, respondents highlighted personal reflections and mindset change through dialogue and debates in contrast to implementing laws and regulations or vice versa. At the same time, ideas of holistic change processes include individual, institutional, and communicative levels to address inequalities. Apart from the interplay between focussing on particular aspects of society and society in its entirety, these contrasts entail negotiations that consider systemic patterns of structural inequalities alongside personal experiences of navigating inequalities and engaging with processes of social change.

As part of these negotiations and the ongoing processes of the interaction between individual and systemic change, the complexities present give way to perceived changes as well as challenges to said change. Respondents' reflections on the possibilities of commercial advertising directing processes of

social change, for example, illustrate various ideas concerning the influence of medialised communication. In the case of negotiations of content, interpersonal and institutional hierarchies in the form of opportunities dependent on dynamics between clients and employees of advertising agencies, as argued by Mazzarella (2003a, p. 187). The interaction therein illustrates the limitations of directing change processes dependent on extant power relations. Similarly, conditions for structural changes include consideration challenges in that systemic conditions and norms reproduce the said system. The power of discursive truths exemplified by the strong presence of colonially imposed structure of the binary understanding of gender continually reproduced despite the contextual reality of gender beyond the binary. While the history of the Women's Movement in South Asia and feminist discourses have been present since before the independence of India, attempts to direct change processes do not show linear progression. Rather, change processes can be influenced by particular circumstances and current events, as in the case with the Nirbhaya case, which can become unpredictable. At the same time, any process is built on the present discursive environment and involved arenas that present a struggle dependent on multiple factors. For example, the conditions of a neoliberal market come with values that prioritise productivity and competition. As part of the advertising business, these aspects become visible in the form of the importance given to awards or the comparison to a transnational community of advertising or results-based management in development work. Urbanities include an exacerbation of current circumstances and hence complexities in close proximity, while systemic occurrences of said power relations are present as part of transnational communities and hence mirror the similarities present. Change processes are hence prone to unexpected directions and dependent on the contextual environment, including the dominant discursive truths and power relations, that pose difficulties in challenging ideas beyond these.

In assessing, analysing, and interpreting the perspectives of advertising producers regarding the 'politics of change', aspects of gender, media, and change as part of 'discourses of change' each allow and require the navigation of contrasting elements. Processes of change thus entail the role of media cultures and especially 'new media' in processes of change and gender discourses as an important element of influence and 'new media' practices while building on existing patterns. The normalisation of debates regarding the understanding of gender and change is similarly characterised by negotiations of individual processes of change and shifts of systemic patterns without excluding each other. Even though practices of exclusion regarding gender exist alongside initiatives for inclusion, these negotiations and shifts easily exist side by side and interact in an ongoing exchange.

Conclusion: Voices, Perspectives & Processes of Change in India through Discussions of Advertising & Social Change

The last couple of decades in India have been characterised by impactful change processes. These include political debates and social activism concerning gender, economic growth, and the presence of medialised communication. The Nirbhaya case of late 2012 and its aftermath, in particular, was a pivotal moment in normalising discourses of gender. With the growing presence of 'new media' and changing spheres of medialised communication, these discourses entailed immensely complex manifestations.

As a significant turning point, the circumstances of the Nirbhaya case drew on extant discourses and pulled them into the centre of attention. This became apparent during my visit to India in 2013, where discussions regarding gender in the form of personal experiences and insights from institutional networks were often framed in relation to these events. The 'discourses of change' present during my stay in Delhi, in particular, hence included governmental incentives concerning legal consequences, efforts by established NGOs as well as national and international organisations, alongside reflections by commercial institutions and newly founded initiatives and networks, e.g. the Fearless collective.[128] Employees and activists connected to social organisations focusing on gender saw an intensification of their work. At the same time, in facilitating platforms for meetings to have conversations about the ongoing situation and debate, they built on the existing network and gave way to expand thereon. As part of workshops, open talks, and presentations, participants reflected on previous activist work and the work following and were given opportunities and spaces to voice feelings and experiences. Correspondingly, the advertising industry and private sector found ways to join these debates in

128 The Nirbhaya case, for example, prompted the establishment of the Verma Committee, which included representatives of social organisations and feminist groups as consultants for forming a report. The Verma Report stood as recommendations for legal changes regarding sexualised violence significant in the debates of social change (Chaudhuri 2015, p. 29).

the form of, for example, campaigns addressing gender equality and sexualised violence or commenting on current events. The discourses present included comments and initiatives in commercial marketing, as well as expertise and input from the social sector and institutions of the state. The intertwining of these complex arenas hence represents a mirror of exceptionally multilayered 'discourses of change'. The reflections, reactions, and perspectives thereof, therefore, represent a remarkably complex moment establishing a shift in discussing social change. Even though this particular case has been less present in recent years and thereby given room to other cases and debates, the importance stands. As Navneet pointed out:

> Maybe the energy dies down but the realisation does not go away. People still know that this is something very important. Guys who I never thought would be talking about this, are still, if I talk to them they will still reply. Before, if I spoke to them about it they would be like 'whatever, let's have a beer, let's just change', but now the energy is right on, maybe they will not start a conversation by themselves but they will still listen and they will still participate. And I think that is wonderful (Navneet 2013).

The importance of the events in 2012 and 2013 can thus not be overstated. With the opportunities for individuals' voices across socio-economic belonging as well as transnational debates to be included, the pervasiveness of these discussions was overwhelming. The role of 'new media' as part of extant medialisation processes and its use in social activism and marketing strategies, and the 'discourses of change' present built on a long tradition of regional feminist debates and Women's Movement in India, alongside international feminist agendas as well as transnational discourses regarding economic growth and development. With the perspectives of advertising producers serving as entry points to discussions regarding these processes of change, the intertwining of the different advertising sectors, including the individual, institutional, and communicative levels, illustrates an intricate diversity. While the role of media cultures and especially 'new media' in normalising discourses of gender and change built on existing patterns, efforts of directing change processes and influencing the understanding of gender led to inclusive approaches in the production of advertising and its representation. At the same time, possibilities of discursive struggles stand as a fundamental component in the interplay between shifts in systemic patterns and personal change.

Since 2014, the changes in the political environment have had an equally drastic influence on 'discourses of change' through debates regarding social change, religious belonging, and freedom of speech in particular. Following the elections in both 2014 and 2019, the BJP formed the government and increasingly

reworked the Hindu politics of the 1990s into state matters.[129] As visible in the election campaign #achhedin of 2014, discourses centring on progress, development, and economic growth made up a large part of the rhetoric of the BJP (Kaur 2015). Therein, the dominance of a Hindu nation and culture found ground through "religious-political synergies" (Schneider 2020, pp. 25–28). Social change in the form of gender equality also became a prominent talking point. As part of the initiative Beti Bachao, Beti Padhao (translated from Hindi: Save the Daughter, Educate the Daughter), the aforementioned #SelfieWithDaughter campaign to rectify the imbalance of gender was promoted by Prime Minister Modi was a strategy. In the article "The Sociology of #SelfieWithDaughter" (2015), S. M. Hussain, for example, quotes the Times Magazine report saying, "Gender inequality has long been a major problem in India's highly patriarchal society, where female children are being perceived as inferior and even been killed in the womb or as infants – a phenomenon Modi has fought to reverse since he took office about a year ago" (Times in Hussain 2015). The campaign led to an out-pour of photos shared on Twitter depicting fathers and daughters to show support for having daughters (Hussain 2015). It was accompanied by laws to "provide support to women" in the form of maternity benefits instated in 2017 (Titzmann & Schneider 2020, p. 7). While seemingly fitting into the narrative and outcry for social justice and gender equality following the Nirbhaya case, the discourse of the #SelfieWithDaughter campaign, in many ways, illustrated conformity to patriarchal and misogynist ideas (see Krishnan 2015). Hussain, for example, analyses the framing and results of the campaign, concluding that it reinforces hierarchies of gender as well as between the 'good' and the 'bad' 'women'. Consequently, "people located across various ideological positions can now claim to be gender justice crusaders, without actually having to alter anything in their own lives and ideological make ups" (Hussain 2015). These concerns are congruent with the fundamental position of the BJP regarding gender equality and family politics that, on the one hand, clearly places 'women' within the private sphere and as inferior, on the other, equates 'women' with iconic figures of Hindu mythologies (Titzmann 2020, p. 11). This contrast is historically anchored in discourses of colonial India that appointed 'women' responsible for cultivating tradition alongside powerful imageries (Chatterjee 1989, p. 630). Subsequently, the #SelfieWithDaughter campaign, for example, contained notions of fathers being protective of their daughters, which in turn included limitations of daughters' mobility more than any possibility of freedom and equality (Hussain 2015; Titzmann 2020, p. 13). According to Titzmann, the government initiatives to address gender equality were not

129 For example, Hindu nationalist organisations promoted Hindu festivals in regions that previously did not include these celebrations (Schneider 2020, p. 25).

framed by discourses of social change but founded in "a rhetoric in social and economic progress or development" (Titzmann 2020, p. 12). This approach does hence not challenge social constructs of gender but reproduces traditional patterns that suit right-wing hegemonic structures.

Similarly, in the working paper titled "Tea for Interreligious Harmony? Cause Marketing as a New Field of Experimentation with Visual Secularity in India" (2020), Schneider discusses the role of commercial advertisements in debates concerning secularism in times of BJP politics. As part of this debate, the Law Commission of India, for example, deemed it unnecessary to change the religion-based personal laws with a uniform civil code in 2018 (Schneider 2020, p. 15). Thereby, the government prioritised religious belonging before secularism. In contrast, various commercial campaigns addressed "togetherness and communal harmony" and, as such, a form of secular living (Schneider 2020, pp. 5, 17–18). Many appreciated this representation of secularism and depiction of India's diversity, but reactions also included boycotts of brands deemed a foreign influence (Schneider 2020, pp. 17–18). While advertising producers self-identified as powerful voices in 'discourses of change', and "the visualities and imaginaries of secularity in the Indian context" are more varied than often assumed, this dispute made any dialogue difficult (Schneider 2020, p. 28). As described by Schneider, reactions to one particular case "quickly became so polarized that a more nuanced, not to mention critical discussion of its content was close to impossible, or so it seemed, as negative reactions were quickly associated with 'Hindutva bigots' or 'Hindu ethnonationalists'" (Schneider 2020, p. 18). The contrasting views hence saw nationalist politics and ideologies pitted against secularist standpoints. While this is an ongoing debate, the circumstances of a government that promotes traditional ideas regarding gender and Hindu nationalist discussions enable the legitimisation of right-wing viewpoints within the discourse. The political circumstances hence play a vital role in the environment and discursive sphere of advertising producers making social justice campaigns.

The efforts of advertising producers to intervene within the dichotomy between right-wing politics and social-liberal discourse find new approaches in the form of cause marketing. As part of transnational discourses of marketing and exemplifications across national boundaries, this trend is "based on the assumption that especially middle-class consumers worldwide have become more aware of the inequality surrounding them and increasingly want to 'make a difference'" (Schneider 2020, pp. 8–9).[130] As described by Schneider, the cen-

130 According to market research surveys in various countries, because marketing has become part of marketing strategies in the USA, Germany and India alike (Schneider 2020, pp. 8–9).

tral idea therein is to align "a brand with a cause to produce profitable and societal benefits for both. These mutual benefits can include the creation of social value, increased connection with the public, and the communication of shared value, as well as profit of course" (Schneider 2020, pp. 8–9). Cause marketing campaigns set out to invoke emotional reactions (Schneider 2020, pp. 6–7) and are reminiscent of the marketing strategy that includes sentimental or emotional stories in the communication with audiences, that alongside humour and celebrity use, was mentioned as successful by advertising producers in connection with the communicative level in chapter four. But moreover, it ties into the long history and tradition of linking commercial advertising and social change themes in India in particular. Cause marketing in India hence seamlessly adapts to this global trend and connects to a discourse of social responsibility (Schneider 2020, pp. 9–10). It thus found considerable ground in the sphere of advertising production and as part of the intertwining of the advertising industry and social initiatives. The audio-visual TV spot published in 2017 promoting the brand Vicks against cough and cold that framed the brand through a story of adoption and rights for hijras exemplifies this field. The narrative of the advertisement was based on a true story centring a female-coded child narrating plans of becoming a lawyer to support the hijra adoptive mother. By linking stories of oppression and activism, gender-based violence beyond the binary, and promoting a brand through medialised messages, social sector agendas, the advertising industry, middle-class aspirations, and discourses of gender intermingle. According to the chief strategy officer for Publicis Communications APAC – the advertising agency responsible for the production of the advertisement – E. Booty: "Great brands don't just reflect safe and accepted norms, instead they dare to set agendas in culture at large" (Campaigns 2017). The thought reflected in this advertising producer's comment contains the conviction of advertising as powerful regarding change processes and the individuals involved in making choices to promote brands as 'change-makers'. Thereby, the campaign displays a layering of promoting social equality, commercial perspectives, and advertising producers' experience of their responsibility in creating medialised messages or using cause marketing. The advertisement contains comments on multiple social issues of normativity, i.e. son preference, family settings and adoption, and especially trans rights. As such, Vicks connects to the ongoing struggle and activist movement for trans rights.

With the campaigns release in 2017, it is situated in the discourse between governmental bills in the protection of trans-rights and trans-activists' critique of the same. The Transgender (Protection of Rights) Bill instated in 2016, for example, undermines the bodily autonomy of transgender individuals and reproduces a particular idea of what it means to be transgender as it made 'sex reassignment surgery' mandatory for a person's identification as a transgender

person (Bodwal 2019). While a Supreme Court judgement in 2014 set out to protect the right of self-identification, the bill failed to consider this standpoint (Liang 2014; New Indian Express 2018). Instead, it continued to build on a colonial legacy of enforcing the binary understanding of gender (Bodwal 2019). Due to pressure from trans-rights activists and nationwide protests, the clause for compulsory surgery was amended as part of the Transgender (Protection of Rights) Bill of 2019 (Bodwal 2019). While the definition of a transgender person allows for greater variety on a spectrum of gender, criticism points out a range of problematic clauses which again includes enforcing the need for 'sex reassignment surgery' in cases where individuals wish to identify with a specific gender (for more see Mudraboyina, Jagirdar & Philip 2019). Between these amendments, the discourses present and cause marketing campaigns joining the debate, the political environment since 2014 hence illustrates discussions between values that reinforce the binary understanding of gender and ideologies supporting the complexities of gender identities.

Despite the persistence of the binary understanding of gender contained in representational and language choices in advertising, addressing the spectrum of gender and diversity entered the debate slowly (Navneet 2013). With the so-called generation of post-liberalisation, in particular, individuals born in the 1980s or 1990s, the discourse on the role of advertising includes an experience of intense growth of the commercial advertising industry and vivid discussion regarding gender equality. The respondents' experiences and perspectives often contained ideas of a new generation leading the movement for change. They saw an unspecific group of youth or "young people" as part of the current debates fuelled by frustration, a "passion boiling", and energy in order to contribute with new insights, new engagement, perspectives and vigour while simultaneously building on the work of previous generations and challenging them (Suhas 2011; Navneet 2013). This generation contributed a range of new campaigns displaying new opportunities of representation as visible through, for example, the Fearless Collective that entailed spontaneous contributions through 'new media' as well as NGOs and other social organisations established in the last 20 years alongside the ever-growing advertising industry. Changes in normative gender roles were hence connected to generational shifts and thus find ways to be represented in visual and communicative strategies of advertising. The consideration for systemic patterns of gender beyond the binary, for example, is expressed in a poster created by the individuals involved in the Gotstared.at campaign and challenges the critical stance towards the idea of giving 'women' more power in relation to 'men' while the foundation should be the abolition of the binary and hierarchical thinking (see Fig. 13).

The understanding of gender existing on a spectrum beyond the binary has thus become part of the agendas of social organisations and has been inclu-

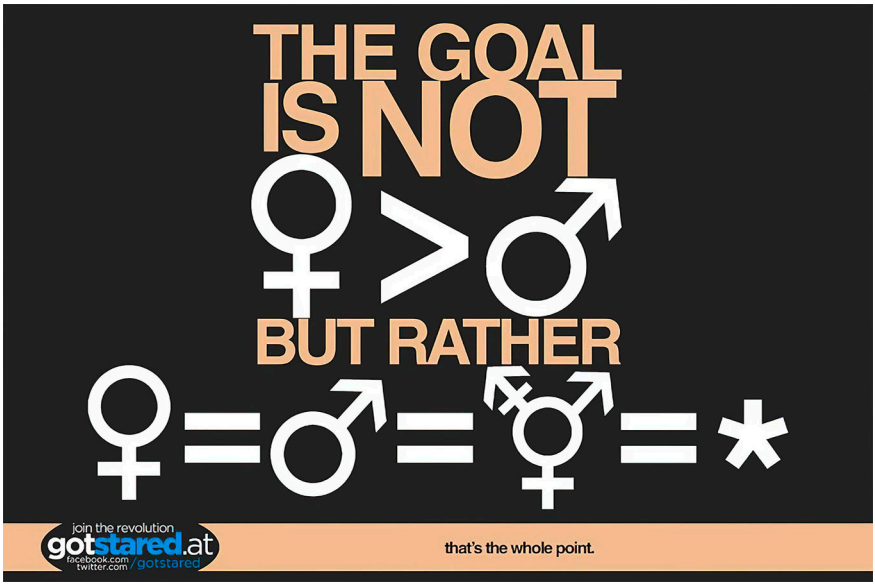

Fig. 13. "The Whole Point", Gotstared.at (2012). Courtesy of Gotstared.at.

ded in narratives of campaigns. Consequently, the representation and depiction of personas in social advertisements also show greater investment in consideration for diversity in gender imageries. The people of the Must Bol campaign created the poster below in 2013 (see Fig. 14). This particular piece was part of a yearly focus regarding pressure, expectations, and violence in romantic relationships and challenges heteronormativity on several levels.

This advertisement illustrates the interlinkages between the utilisation of media culture and discourses of personal and systemic change processes in the form of gendered norms through the visual, imagery and message. The composition of the gendered representation in connection with the message of self-love that ultimately creates a dynamic of change processes containing not changing stands as an example of social change in the form of challenging heteronormative gender attributes and relationships while encouraging self-reflective change processes. It is targeted directly at everyone in the audience for their personal growth and personal gain. The picture displays two figures that leave some room for interpretation of what type of relationship the two have and if they are male-coded due to the hazy photography, shadowing, and the overlap of photography and text. As Karam explained:

> Whatever message we do generally, we try to sort of keep it of a nature that addresses multiple identities and realities of people. So I think the choice of two men, in the background was in a sense it is just innocuous, it is just

Fig. 14. "Be Happy", Must Bol (2013).

> there, that is why they are blurred. Because it could be any two people. It is not a very specific point of sexuality, but should just say you know, there are different kinds of relationships. And when we are talking about relationships why do we always think a man and women, it could be two boys it could be two women, it could be anybody. So it is just to keep it part of the messaging I think. So that is where that is coming from, where it is in a sense inconsequential who the two people are (Karam 2013).

The posture of the two suggests a sort of intimacy and challenges different ideas of gender norms depending on the allocation of their gender while suggesting a relationship does not secure its conditions. The coding does not follow clear-cut lines of masculinity and femininity and hence provides figures challenging defined realities of a binary gender understanding, including trans- and non-binary identities. The text plays on ideas of romantic relationships in that an initial suggestion is to rely on another person to be happy. However, by crossing out the word "with" the message changes to inspiring self-reflective attitudes that encourage change towards an ideology that gives the opportunity of being their own self. It visualises the gender-media-change dynamic in that it contains an ideological perspective and agenda for addressing the representation of diverse possibilities of gender and sexuality with an idea of change communicated through a visual medium on a social media platform. This advertisement hence introduces perspectives of social change and highlights choices made in

production that interlink these different aspects of design, message, and ideology. Challenging gendered norms, as seen above, merge a message of personal self-reflectivity and social change and thereby paints a picture of linking individual levels with an agenda challenging a dominant paradigm. Adding layers of possibilities in a picture out of focus puts the discursive reality of heteronormativity out of focus. As concluded in discussing 'discourses of change' through perspectives of gender, media, and change, perspectives regarding processes of change, voices from diverse arenas and promoting various agendas reflect an ongoing process of discursive struggles through negotiating conflicting points of view.

The political changes since 2014 entailed the intensification of said struggles and thus influenced the environment of advertising and its production. The governmental shift enabled greater legitimisation of viewpoints that challenge processes of social change and promotion of equality and diversity of gender. The debates represent ongoing negotiations of change processes while intensifying these struggles. Therein, the grouping of the young is often seen as a stand-in for challenging perceptions that promote the binary understanding of gender even though they are not homogenous and may contain a variety of attitudes and viewpoints. Despite the growing legitimisation of right-wing perceptions, producers of advertising continue to carve out their role as 'changemakers'. Their self-perception regarding the possibilities of influencing audiences and social change processes persists (Schneider 2020, pp. 9–10). Their position as part of discourses that continue to highlight the use of medialised messages in social initiatives, as seen in the #SelfieWithDaughter campaign, increasingly finds a place among cause marketing and changing political environment. Thereby, the role of media cultures and media producers as part of discursive struggles is undiminished. However, their ideology is increasingly challenged by political circumstances. Cause marketing in the context of India represents a field in medialised communication that more intensely deals with inequality present and consumers' awareness and interest concerning societal disparities. The sphere of commercial advertising and social change initiatives are thus building on ongoing engagement with processes of social change and rooted in social reform politics. This way, advertising producers are continuously a vital part of 'discourses of change'. With advertising as a prominent expression of the negotiations as well as a potent environment of knowledge production, 'discourses of change' persist in entailing navigation of extant power relations and discursive truths.

Annexe

List of Institutions, Interviews and Events

Locations designated with Delhi include Gurgaon, Haryana and Noida, Uttar Pradesh.

Some respondents ran independent agencies. The names of these agencies are not included below.

Advertising Agencies

Publicis (Delhi), Capital Ads (Delhi), MPG Active (Delhi), Equsads (Delhi), Flagship (Mumbai), Portland (Mumbai), Contract Advertising (Mumbai), GNM (Mumbai), LOWE, McCaan (Delhi), SpanCom (Delhi), Ogilvy & Mather (Mumbai), McCaan (Delhi), Span Communication (Delhi)

Social Organisation

Saheli Women's Resource Centre (Delhi), Jagori (Delhi), Kriti – a Development Research, Praxis & Communication Team (Delhi), GotStared.at (Delhi), All India Students Association (Delhi), UN Women office (Delhi), Breakthrough (Delhi), Oxfam India (Delhi), Must Bol (Delhi), UNFPA (Delhi), GotStared.at (Delhi), YP Foundation (Delhi)

2011

08.02.2011	Advertising Agency (Delhi), Suhas
10.02.2011	Advertising Agency (Delhi), Suhas

10.02.2011	Advertising Agency (Delhi), Suhas
12.02.2011	Advertising Agency (Delhi), Suhas
14.02.2011	Advertising Agency (Delhi), Suhas
18.02.2011	Advertising Agency, (Delhi) Roni
07.03.2011	Advertising Agency (Mumbai), Suhas
10.03.2011	Advertising Agency (Mumbai), FGD with Suhas and Roni
11.03.2011	Advertising Agency (Mumbai), Suhas
15.03.2011	Advertising Agency (Mumbai), Suhas
15.03.2011	Advertising Agency (Mumbai), Suhas and Roni
23.03.2011	Advertising Agency (Delhi), Suhas

2013

01.02.2013	Advertising Agency (Delhi) Suhas
07.02.2013	Advertising Agency (Delhi) Suhas
07.02.2013	Advertising Agency (Delhi) Suhas
04.03.2013	Advertising Agency (Delhi) Suhas
05.03.2013	Social Organisation (Delhi), Navneet
11.03.2013	Social Organisation (Delhi), Navneet
13.03.2013	Social Organisation (Delhi), Karam
14.03.2013	Advertising Agency (Delhi), Suhas
19.03.2013	Social Organisation (Delhi), Navneet
21.03.2013	Social Organisation (Delhi), Navneet and Karam
22.03.2013	Social Organisation (Delhi), Navneet
25.03.2013	Social Organisation (Delhi), Navneet
26.03.2013	Social Organisation (Delhi), Navneet
26.03.2013	Social Organisation (Delhi), Karam
26.03.2013	Social Organisation (Delhi), Navneet
28.03.2013	Social Organisation (Delhi), Navneet
29.03.2013	Social Organisation (Delhi), Navneet
30.03.2013	Social Organisation (Delhi), Navneet
09.05.2013	Advertising Agency (Mumbai), Suhas

Events 2011

09.02.2011	Film Festival, “Persistence Resistance” (Delhi)
14.02.2011–17.02.2011	Conference, “Post Feminist Postmortems”, Delhi University

Events 2013

14.02.2013	One-billion-rising event (Dehli)
23.03.2013	Theek Talk Discussions. "Understanding Sexual Violence: Meaning and Attitudes", YP foundation (Delhi)
02.03.2013	Presentation and discussion "Planning for a safer City", National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of India
02.03.2013	Saheli Women's Resource Centre poster-making session for the International Women's Day march (Delhi)
06.03.2013	Exhibition of photo competition "UNiTE campaign in India: Using photos to make a difference", UN Women (Delhi)
06.03.2013	Stand-up comedy at Habitat Centre (Delhi)
07.03.2013	International Women's Day event at DU
08.03.2013	International Women's Day march from Mandi House to Parliamentary Street (Delhi)
08.03.2013	Take back the Night, gathering at India Gate
16.02.2013–17.02.2013	Indian Marketing Summit at International Indian Centre (Delhi)
20.03.2013	Exhibition, campaign, film screening and discussion "Exploring Masculinity", Ambedkar University (Delhi)
30.03.2013	Open conversation about the photo-video installation Record/Resist by S. Chhachhi "Dis/Continuities?", the Kiran Nadar Museum of Art (Delhi)

Other

15.02.2013	Joined the class "Themes in Gender, Culture, and Society" at JNU
21.02.2013	Visiting Jagori, Archive search and conversation
22.02.2013	Joined the class "Themes in Gender, Culture, and Society" at JNU
22.02.2013	FGD with students at JNU
12.03.2013	FGD with students at Jamia Millia Islamia
19.03.2013	FGD with students at JNU

Guide of Questions

1. Personal history & perceptions

Topics: Educational background, career path and choices, campaign role models

Q: Tell me about your educational background and how you got into advertising.
Q: What kind of campaigns do you generally remember throughout your life as being particularly striking (role models)?
Q: What kind of gender roles and characteristics are the most prominent (values)?
Q: What do you think are the reasons for using these images?

2. Advertising and the agency

Topics: Decision-making processes and strategies

Q: Please tell me a bit about the company (company policies, history, and ideology).
Q: What campaigns of this agency best represent the company's ideology?
Q: Who is all involved in the process of creating a campaign (sections, procedure, and decisions)?
Q: Which campaigns of this agency have been considered successful and why?

3. Specific campaigns

Topics: Considerations on campaigns seemingly challenging social norms, perceptions of social change and gender equality

Q: Tell me about the background of this specific campaign (Ideas, rationale, motive).
Q: Which kind of discussions do you remember from creating this campaign?
Q: What does social change mean to you?
Q: Could you name some examples of change from your personal experience?

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