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

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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

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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-

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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

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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

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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

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[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

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[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-

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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

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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

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[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]

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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

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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

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[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

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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

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[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

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[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-

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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

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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

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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.

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[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

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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.