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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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