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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Advertising as an Alternative Option and Producers as "Misfits"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Building Connections to Social Initiatives & Causes

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

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

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

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

Shifting Sectors as Foundation of Diversity in Advertising Production

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.1.2 Institutional Collaborations providing Networks of Negotiation and Solidarity

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

Networks and Connections of Advertising facilitating Discursive Struggles

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Institutional Support for Personal Expressions of Social Engagement

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

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

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

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

Promoting Social Change and Networks of Solidarity through Business Models

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.1.3 Communicative Elements enabling Discursive Power

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

Discursive Struggles as Part of Deliberation Processes in Creating Campaigns

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

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

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

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

Normalising Debates about Social Change through Commercial Campaigns

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2 Centring Producers' Perspectives regarding Processes of Change

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

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

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

4.2.1 Significance of Individuals and Personal Journeys in Processes of Change

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

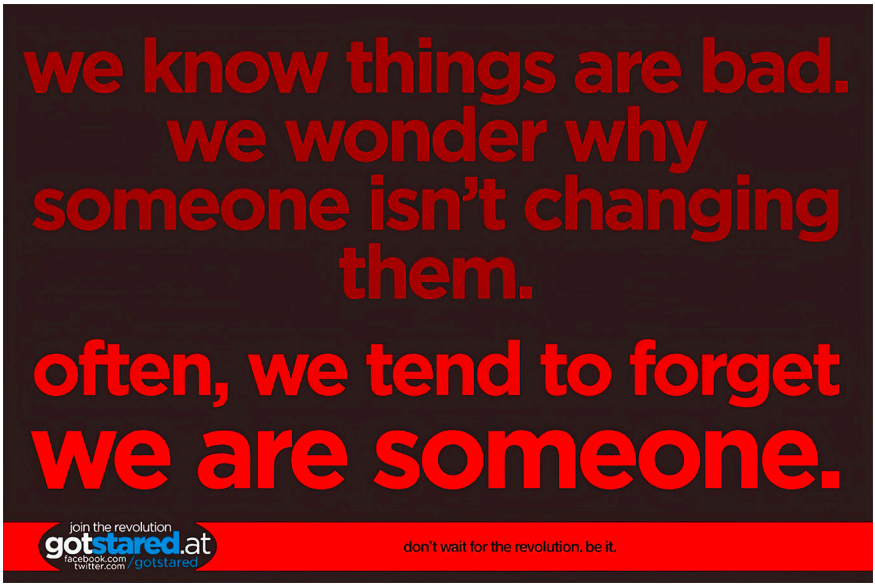

Fig. 4. "Be the Revolution", Gotstared.at (2012). Courtesy of Gotstared.at.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Individual's Place in Processes of Change

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Presence of Power Relations in Defining Discursive Truth

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

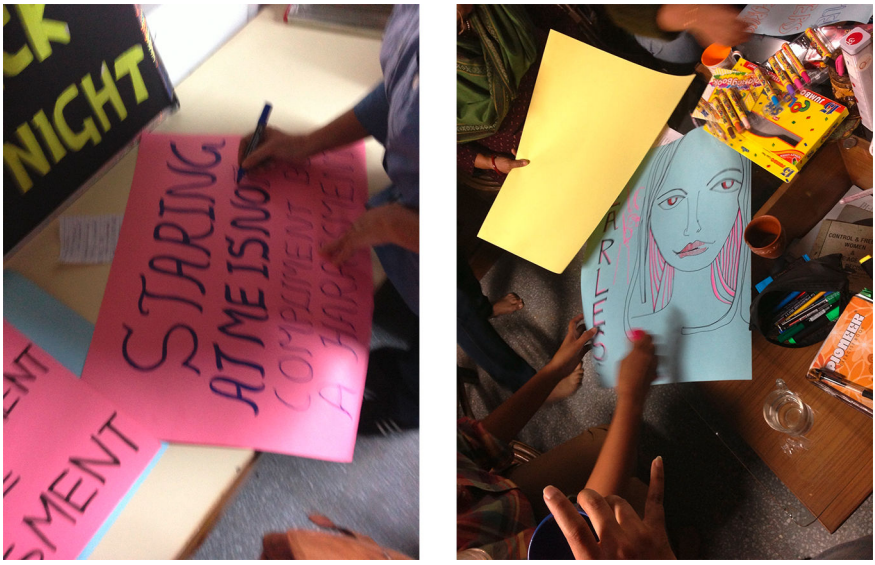

Fig. 9–10. "Poster Making for International Women's Day march", Saheli, Delhi. Photo by M. Gabler (2013), courtesy of Saheli Women's Resource Centre.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Power of Money, Recognition, and Visibility

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

opportunities to normalise gender-sensitive representation through institutional networks:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Framing Solidarity and Social Bonds through Institutional Networks as Empowerment

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reflections regarding Gender Representations – Possibilities of Normalisation

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> in today's current scenario you'll find most of the ads very progressive. Because that's how the India is also changing. You will find most of the women are working women. They go out. Because we are a culturally traditional country. Maybe it is still true if you go to remote and rural areas but if you're talking about cities and metros, women are working. When you see ads, they're very aspiring to everyone and you see that women are going out and working (Suhas 2011).

The changes experienced were thus reflected in advertisements and included identification with said representation. According to Rajagopal,

> advertisers tend to seek appeals that are familiar and recognisable, and that avoid arousing the prejudices of their audiences. At the same time ads inflect the socius with a new set of possibilities and connections, and offer new circuits along which individual desires might travel (Rajagopal 1998, p. 17).

Navneet mirrors this perspective: "We find insurance, banking, auto-mobiles, many of them simply switching and changing the boy with a girl. […] So it was not pushing the message to make it seem unreal. But it flowed very nicely" (Navneet 2013).

While the discussion of representation in social campaigning has been limited, respondents expressed the importance of this aspect. Navneet shared their observation in connection with ongoing public health campaigns in the form of immunisation advertising: "Everywhere you see male children being given immunisation, used to, that's changing now, but I don't think that it is universally there" (Navneet 2013).

Accordingly, Navneet highlighted the importance of considering the representation of female figures in social campaigns, a perspective largely absent in studies of social advertising.

This point of view came to the forefront when discussing the mirroring of violence as a common strategy. A range of social campaigns focuses on portraying the existing violence, pointing out the patriarchal patterns of sexism in place. Navneet describes it as follows: "So these hands are male hands. Stopping women, to shut your eyes, shut your mouth, and shut your thinking power.

That is what it means" (Navneet 2013). However, social change campaigners illustrated a realisation to be critical of the content they produced, and respondents thus pointed out how reproducing this imagery is problematic. It was seen as a factor in creating and reproducing a violent gendered culture, gender dynamics, and sexist patterns, as well as reflecting on their role in creating these systems of oppression.

This aspect is exemplified by the abovementioned campaign using cartoons published by UN Women in 2011. The campaign with the tagline "It's time to change your attitude towards women" addresses ideas on gender equality, 'women's' empowerment, and sexist patterns by highlighting unjust situations, e.g. denial of land ownership and political exclusion, each cartoon depicting a typical scenario of gender inequalities (UN Women 2012b). One picture shows a female-coded person standing in a kitchen corner, cooking, doing the dishes and caring for a child simultaneously, with laundry and cleaning waiting. This person's face is turned, looking back at the husband and dripping in sweat to signify stress connected with being solely responsible for the household tasks. The male-coded person, in contrast, sits in a lounge chair with a hot drink and feet on a stool watching cricket on TV with a smirky grin on their face eyeing the wife out of the corner of their eye. A yellow line, resembling police tape, divides the two with the words in Roman script: "gender line do not cross", repetitively written in black. A speech bubble from the male-coded person reads: "Of course we are equals… but I'm the first among equals", suggesting a sarcastic tone. A picture on the wall is reminiscent of a traditional Hindu wedding. This narrative highlights the discrepancies of a heteronormative relationship through the unbalanced burden of the household. It displays a setup clearly attempting to critique gendered dynamics and hierarchies in place in many homes. Similar to the discussions of satirical content as part of the poster-making session for the International Women's Day march, satirical content can reproduce representations of unequal relations. While the UN campaign draws on cartoons to display sexist patterns, the intent of using satirical humour to promote gender equality illustrates this communicative dilemma. The debates regarding the depiction of diverse representation illustrate 'discourses of change' with various perspectives and negotiations between 'politics of change'. Accordingly, the question of satirical humour as a useful communicative strategy stays challenged in the light of reproducing sexist representation.

The reproduction of sexist patterns through the cartoons described above further highlights the importance respondents gave to normalisation processes and the influence of representation. Accordingly, Navneet pointed to "positive imaging" and presenting role models as a better option to challenge gender inequalities:

> In a situation and a country where most people are illiterate, where you are not able to read the message you only see something, the image that stays in your mind is a woman who is battered, who is bruised who is crying. […] The image that comes, that stays in mind has to be the image of a person, of a woman who has the right to be. She is not necessarily militant, she is there. She is not holding roses in her hand, she just is. I don't want to keep showing her a being battered, even the posters on violence (Navneet 2013).

With insights from the advertising industry, Navneet, who had later in life shifted to the social sector and saw the importance of addressing the imageries in commercial advertising as part of directing social change, stated: "At least know the negative impact you can have by giving subtle messages which promote son preference" (Navneet 2013). This perspective represents a sense of realisation, responsibility, and accountability, while socialisation processes and the normalisation of systemic patterns are the basis of change processes.

Some respondents expressed scepticism of commercial campaigns, including themes addressing social change: "I really feel sad because while everyone is jumping on it, what is changing? On the ground, in families, in homes, the people who are perpetuating that violence. I mean, I am not being pessimistic, but I am saying it is still not enough" (Karam 2013). However, the belief that systemic patterns are woven into the very fabric of societies, for example, in the form of interpersonal relations based on cultural and social concepts as well as institutional setups, persisted. As Navneet explains:

> You can't just take patriarchy out of the system, […] that does not work. Should not work, I guess. And that is the thing, it can become very cultish, the social media meme-culture.[127] The people forget about what is the ground reality and focus on this particular image and get affected by it so much, almost like advertising (Navneet 2013).

Thereby, Navneet highlighted the importance of focussing on systemic patterns and questioned the possibility of inspirational content in advertising. Representational choices should hence be thought about as subtle messages or subtext normalising gender in a certain way, illustrating the importance given to normalisation as an element in social change processes. To challenge existing gender norms, new ideas must be disseminated continuously to ultimately become part of the socialisation processes. The tension between the power of isolated

127 The term meme-culture was first mentioned by R. Dawkins (1976) in "The Selfish Gene" and refers to the practice of creating minimal visuals in the form of photos, drawings, video clips, or text, with short comical content often commenting on current events or debates and are (now regularly) shared between individuals online.

campaigns and the normalisation of patterns deals with the influence of advertising, as described in chapter two.

The pervasive and repetitiveness of media content and advertising, in particular, encompasses discursive power concerning establishing dominant patterns and reoccurring statements. The discursive change happening through the changing representation and imageries alongside language choices entails normalisation and, thus, social change processes. With reference to Gramsci, Chaudhuri argues that a "dominant ideology becomes visible because it is translated into common sense appearing as the natural, apolitical state of things" (Chaudhuri 2001, p. 375) and thus describes how normalisation is created by an ideology or idea that has become dominant. This logic mirrors an understanding of discursive truths that entails one understanding of the world until other discursive truths challenge the dominant ideology, thus enabling a discursive struggle. With repetitive statements normalising a particular discourse, a new discursive truth can become the dominant ideology, exemplified by the aforementioned Laadli Media Award for Gender Sensitivity. The unconscious bias favouring 'boys' described by Navneet is linked to the normalised circumstance of choosing male-coded children in commercial advertisements. Promoting a shift towards including female-coded children was assumed to normalise the presence and value of 'girls' as part of families and everyday life. With the reward system of an award, media producers were sensitised to reflect on the possibilities of representation, and the topic itself was normalised and was thus included in the deliberations processes during the creation of commercial content (Navneet 2013). Discussing the choices and thus 'politics of change' as part of deliberation processes that occur between media producers and clients reflect the junction of discursive struggles in the form of production sites.

Based on the respondents' insights, it became clear that stereotypical representations of 'women' exist alongside advertising challenging gender roles. Consideration and perspectives regarding gender among the respondents varied greatly. Most respondents thought of the imageries of female participation and representation that challenged existing gender norms as having become natural and thus normalised. This normalisation was present in the process of production that made gender sensitivity a common topic to discuss, in the choices made which led to patterns in commercial advertisements that included female-coded characters beyond stereotypical representation, as well as through the assumed impact of normalising the presence and participation of 'women' and 'girls' in everyday life. Similarly, some respondents in the social sector took a critical stance towards female representation in social advertising when they normalised imageries that centre the battered and bruised 'woman'. In conclusion, communicative choices represent current debates

about change and existing perspectives on social change that are infused into advertising content. The conflicting depictions of 'women', in particular, highlight the discursive struggles present that enable different forms of representation. Debates about social changes and gender reflected the diverse elements of discourses present and, as such, contained diverse perspectives and experiences regarding gender representation. The discursive struggles as part of 'discourses of change' and debates regarding patterns of gender are thus equally represented in the content of advertising. Media producers are thus part of existing discourses and incorporate different perspectives into their work. Just as their role as 'prosumers' was prominent in relation to consuming and producing media, they are equally part of society and the ongoing discourses. With the strong bias towards being female-centric, gender discourses illustrate these debates as continuously framed by a binary understanding of gender. 'Women' at the receiving end of violence, discrimination, and oppression in opposition to 'men' as perpetrators or protectors is a common understanding of gender dynamics. The simplified discourse of gender, on the one hand, reflects the dominant experiences and realities of most, but on the other, hardly deals with the reproduction of femininity and masculinity, heteronormativity, or the complexities therein. With roots in the context of the 'women's' movement, these debates continue to pit 'men' and 'women' against each other instead of challenging the binary in and of itself and moving towards diversification of gender dynamics.

4.3 Discussing 'Discourses of Change' through Perspectives of Gender, Media & Change

To sum up, as part of the individual level, respondents were characterised by diverse backgrounds regarding disciplinary education and training, upbringing and family settings. At the same time, they displayed commonalities through their socio-economic status and higher education, as well as a self-perception that included a feeling of disconnect from others but also a self-awareness of their role in change processes. The strongly held belief in media's influential power established an understanding of their position as 'change-makers' and, as such, tied into discourses of the role of media cultures in processes of change and the state vision of the nation-building project as described in chapter one and connects to debates of the role of individuals in processes of change as discussed in chapter two and three. The advertising industry's involvement in social change agendas through the production of edutainment serials alongside the governmental strategies of social change through the promotion of consumerist cultures solidified the intertwining of the advertising industry and the

social sector. The growing presence of NGOs and other social organisations following the Emergency allowed for broader debates about who was trusted with agendas of social change. These circumstances, involving discourses of personal responsibility in connection with advertising as a sphere of knowledge production, established advertising producers as important players in social change agendas and their important status as media producers. As part of extant processes of change and the increased presence of media cultures, advertising producers were identified as 'prosumers' with access to global media cultures and transnational discourses and thus not to be considered apart from audiences. 'New media' in particular was highlighted as an important aspect of the current media cultures that enabled this access through new channels and technologies and illustrated respondents' position as part of extant discourses, alongside the opportunities of participation. As such, their diverse perspectives based on their heterogeneity and commonalities established negotiations of the individuals' role in change processes. Similarly, the institutional level gave way to negotiations of power in the form of institutional affiliation legitimising expertise and bonds of solidarity and social connection, enabling experiences of empowerment. Financial strength stands out as a limitation and opportunity, while competition for territories of visibility and recognition highlights the presence of power relations. Despite the persistent distinction between the advertising industry and the social sector, as captured in chapter two, the intertwining was not only present through collaboration and networks but visible on all levels and marked by complex interactions and exchanges. The production sites of advertising thus illustrated their position as junctions of ideas, areas, and discourses. Combined with the diverse perspectives brought to arenas of deliberation by its participants, the intertwining is fundamental in enabling discursive struggle. The intertwining of sectors is further reflected in the communicative strategies used across sectors. Common ideas of successful communication included the use of celebrities, humour, and emotional storytelling. However, just as the goal of connecting with audiences through relatability and relevance, these strategies contain discussions of power relations such as class distinctions. This dilemma is highlighted in connection with change processes, as reception depends on audiences' contextual setting. Regarding the role of 'new media', respondents highlighted the importance of 'new media' in change processes as they enable greater outreach and participation. As such, media practices were adjusted to the landscape of current media cultures. However, activism and marketing, apart from digitalisation, continued to be of great concern. Therefore, communicative strategies continuously build on extant practices, such as using other media channels as important factors in outreach and participation and approaches facilitating face-to-face dialogue. Systemic power relations here still contribute to limitations regarding access to information and

opportunities to contribute and participate. In the light of respondents' perspectives, processes of change hence entail an ongoing process in which negotiations and diverse contributions are essential. The role of media cultures and advertising producers builds on existing practices and discourses, while 'new media' channels, institutions, and technologies intensify the interaction with medialised communication and communicative strategies present. As exemplified by the discussions regarding gender, similarities are found in 'women'-centric approaches, including debates on 'women' as an emerging important target group, players in change processes, and stereotypical representation of 'women' in particular. However, the debates on representation and activism displayed an increasingly layered discussion with diverse perspectives, drawing from the extant discourse of the past and present. Thereby, certain debates exist side by side and mirror discursive struggles that normalise interactions and exchange as part of processes of change with reference to existing patterns and actions.

The distinction of the individual, the institutional, and the communicative level highlights different aspects of gender as part of social change, the role of media cultures therein, and the understanding of processes of change while pointing out the intersections between these levels. Discourses regarding media and gender, media and change, as well as gender and change, intermingle as part of the understanding of change processes and the interplay between gender, media, and change. As producers of advertising engage with debates and theories of change and thus reflect 'discourses of change' through the strategies and beliefs present among them, their insights contain the complexities of advertising and social change. I here continue to discuss the dynamics of gender, media, and change and thus present the interpretations as detailed above with consideration for the permeability of the overarching levels of distinction based on the intertwining elements of the advertising industry and the social sector, and most prominent and significant aspects in advertising producers' perspectives regarding change and social change processes as detailed above.

The presence of gender in discussions of social change entails aspects of responsibility in the form of gendering 'change-makers' and discussing the role of 'men' in processes of change alongside debates regarding representation. Awareness of social inequalities centred norms and reproduction of gender dynamics with systemic patterns of sexism as symptomatic therein and a strong focus on 'women' and 'girls'. Respondents' experiences of gender existed mainly through the dichotomy of 'man' and 'woman', male and female, masculine and feminine. The reproduction of the binary understanding of gender at times also included essential viewpoints asserting particular roles and characteristics according to either female or male belonging, for example, through intersections of gender and 'modernity',

> a modern woman is not what she wears or looks like, but a woman that is educated and literate can think for herself a person with an identity equal to a man treated with respect. A modern man is still conservative, scared to lose masculinity and power and control head of family (Navneet 2013).

While queer readings of commercial advertisements find their way into the mainstream heteronormative representation, as pointed out by S. Ghosh (2001) in the article "Queer Pleasures for Queer People. Film, Television, and Queer Sexuality in India", the persistence of the binary understanding of gender was reflected in the conversations had. In the exchanges, it was clear how the power of this discursive truth was prominent and a powerful influence on the used language and understanding, including my own (Suhas 2011; Navneet 2013; Suhas 2013). With only rare cases questioning masculinities and considering gender as a spectrum, the dominant perspectives exclude the complexities of gender dynamics, for example, the possibility of 'men' being affected by sexualised violence as well as gender identities beyond the binary understanding of gender. Most conversations with respondents were thus framed through the dominant understanding of gender in line with the academic debates regarding advertising and social change, as well as gender and media, as detailed in chapter two. Commercial advertisements were discussed in their role in reproducing normative patterns of sexism, in some cases challenging ideas of femininity and masculinity, and set alongside classic topics of the 'women's' movement and empowerment as seen in social campaigns. Activism and social change projects regarding gender equality were framed by a binary understanding of gender to highlight the inequality between 'women' and 'men'. This simplification of gender often creates imageries of 'men' as perpetrators and the battered 'woman' (Navneet 2013), thereby reproducing the inherent exclusion of individuals not fitting this binary. Hijras, for example, experience ongoing systemic oppression that continues to be present in India and reminiscent of the prohibition and subjugation of diverse possibilities of gender and sexualities from colonial powers (Ahuja 2017, pp. 237–248), and thus prompt activism and calls for social change and trans rights. Discussions of trans-identities, as described in the study by Shah, Merchant, Mahajan, and Nevatia (2015), highlight the importance of questioning the binary understanding of gender. While gender equality conversations exist side by side with activism for the rights of trans-personas and non-binary individuals, this focus seemed almost entirely separate from 'discourses of change' regarding gender. Individuals not fitting the binary are made invisible by not challenging this fundamental discursive system of a gender dichotomy. Despite case examples that show a more complex understanding of gender, the trends illustrate that the binary understanding of gender was dominant. This was present in

the discussions regarding gender representation as well as the focus of social initiatives. The persistence of the binary understanding of gender continued to stay central as part of the dominant elements of 'discourses of change' and thus entailed practices of exclusion.

Looking back at conversations, I realised that I reverted to explanations of gender framed through the binary in some cases when asked to clarify the term "gender". This illustrates the strong presence of the binary understanding of gender as discursive truth and, thus, a strong presence in many societies and conversations regarding gender. Not only does this difficulty illustrate my role in conversations but also the commonalities between respondents and I. Alongside commonalities in socio-economic standing and educational standard, we shared a range of interests in the form of curiosity regarding media content and the appeal of creative work and, for some, an attraction to understanding the workings of gender dynamics. Within these similar positions, respondents were interested in my work and seemed eager to share their opinions and perspectives. Therefore, interviews were often similar to conversations and led me to consider these meetings as equal exchanges while giving respondents the opportunities to present their experiences and skills. My presence in most exchanges was limited to recording their chance to present themselves with a focus on respondents' ideas, perspectives, and debates. However, it is essential to note that the dynamic of the conversation dynamic including my role of influencing the exchange regarding the themes but also the presence of powerful discourses that nobody is immune to. The respondents, as well as myself, are part of the legacy of colonial power that has globally influenced the understanding of gender to consist of a binary and subjugated everyone to this apparent discourse. This hence presents my role as an interviewer as guiding but also as part of the ongoing exchange, visible in the discussions regarding the understanding of gender in particular.

Respondents' perspectives regarding the role of media emphasised the importance of global media cultures and 'new media' in particular as sources of information and exposure but were also strongly tied to the belief of media as a powerful and valuable tool in the processes of change in the form of visibility and strategies of normalisation. While digitalisation and different forms of 'new media' in particular were experienced as an important factor in processes of social change, including personal journeys, the strategies and reflections instead posed intensifications of existing patterns, including possibilities of creating medialised communication in the form of 'prosumers' alongside institutional outreach. The role of medialised communication as part of 'discourses of change' is hence built on existing structures and approaches. With the framework of the production sites of advertising conceptualised as spheres of knowledge production, existing campaigns function as discourses not only influencing

an understanding of gender but also the presence of 'discourses of change'. Campaigns hence exist as part of discourses and reflect discourses present, as well as an environment that producers of medialised communication exist within, produce, and reproduce simultaneously. As 'prosumers', advertising producers are set in a complex web of discourses present through medialised communication and thereby existing discourses that are normalised regarding gender and change. Just as advertisements figure through a network of brands, private companies, political regulations, consumer customers, and media producers (Chaudhuri 2014, p. 150), discourses therein exist as part of their contextual settings, including production sites and their networks, each individual's experiences and background, and medialised messages present throughout their lives. As such, the messages and discourses of the nation-building project and international development arenas are mirrored in the importance given to responsibility and ownership. With medialised communication changing in accordance with trends in media technologies, regulations, and institutions, communication strategies in combination with debates centring gender equality and social change, 'discourses of change' entail adjustments to extant media practices alongside beliefs regarding processes of change. Current media cultures thus figure as a critical element of processes of change and continuously play a vital role in the experiences and choices made as part of an ongoing process.

As part of these media cultures, urban settings provide a juxtaposition to rural and small-town India that respondents describe as an urban-rural divide (Karam 2013). Roni, for example, connected urbanisation processes with tensions as,

> new kinds of jobs, new kinds of lives, which lead to migration from small towns India to big cities, call centres, outsourcing, and that has led to stresses of a different kind, lead to sense of alienation because these people find themselves straddling two worlds, one is the world they come in a small town and the other is the one they inhabit in their presence, and they don't feel, they don't feel they entirely belong to, and that's a tension, a conflict they are forever negotiating (Roni 2011).

Suhas pointed out the complexities of this divide in that,

> in the villages it's different, you will find our grandmothers still smoke in villages, but that's seen in a different light, a girl smoking in the city is seen in a different light, its seen as women's liberation, new age thing, but in the village the woman there doing the hookah is seen as old style, it's just perception, they are doing both the same thing, and if you think extramarital affairs and people don't fuck around in the villages, of course they do, it's been happening ever since man happened, on this world, cultures just allow you to be more free with it (Suhas 2011).

Respondents thus repeatedly posed a binary juxtaposition between urban and rural. In some cases, with reference to the level of gender-equality in that the tendencies of sexist patterns were supposedly more prominent in villages and rural India as "the fabric of the system is very different there" (Suhas 2011, 2013), despite the understanding of Delhi as an unsafe space (Navneet 2013). While urbanities offer opportunities regarding employment, experiences, education, and media exposure and thus give way to close proximities in terms of economic and social stratification, differentiation from rural life alongside layered realities reflects processes of negotiation regarding identification with urban living. Just as urbanities exacerbate the exposure to medialised communication, respondents were confronted with a range of discursive spheres. Alongside the intertwining of commercial and social arenas, urban living entails intense convergence of media production and consumption and, as such, is a prominent factor in the characteristics of processes of change.

In the midst of the processes of change stand ideas of individual change through critical thinking and normalisation of mindset change as part of shifts in systemic patterns of power relations and discursive truths. These shifts are dependent on discursive struggles. The spectrum of advertising in India is inherently underpinned by immense diversity through the intertwining of commercial and social elements, and as such, represents opportunities for discursive struggles as part of alliances and collaborations, but also the very fabric of the production sites of advertising through its producers. While institutional networks sometimes serve as bonds of solidarity and support, they also provide junctions of power struggles in the form of contrasting perspectives negotiated through positions of professionalisation and expert knowledge. These junctions subsequently entail discursive struggles to define successful strategies for directing processes of change. Regarding processes of change, 'discourse of change' thus contains various beliefs of what can successfully direct change processes and prioritise particular aspects of society. As such, respondents highlighted personal reflections and mindset change through dialogue and debates in contrast to implementing laws and regulations or vice versa. At the same time, ideas of holistic change processes include individual, institutional, and communicative levels to address inequalities. Apart from the interplay between focussing on particular aspects of society and society in its entirety, these contrasts entail negotiations that consider systemic patterns of structural inequalities alongside personal experiences of navigating inequalities and engaging with processes of social change.

As part of these negotiations and the ongoing processes of the interaction between individual and systemic change, the complexities present give way to perceived changes as well as challenges to said change. Respondents' reflections on the possibilities of commercial advertising directing processes of

social change, for example, illustrate various ideas concerning the influence of medialised communication. In the case of negotiations of content, interpersonal and institutional hierarchies in the form of opportunities dependent on dynamics between clients and employees of advertising agencies, as argued by Mazzarella (2003a, p. 187). The interaction therein illustrates the limitations of directing change processes dependent on extant power relations. Similarly, conditions for structural changes include consideration challenges in that systemic conditions and norms reproduce the said system. The power of discursive truths exemplified by the strong presence of colonially imposed structure of the binary understanding of gender continually reproduced despite the contextual reality of gender beyond the binary. While the history of the Women's Movement in South Asia and feminist discourses have been present since before the independence of India, attempts to direct change processes do not show linear progression. Rather, change processes can be influenced by particular circumstances and current events, as in the case with the Nirbhaya case, which can become unpredictable. At the same time, any process is built on the present discursive environment and involved arenas that present a struggle dependent on multiple factors. For example, the conditions of a neoliberal market come with values that prioritise productivity and competition. As part of the advertising business, these aspects become visible in the form of the importance given to awards or the comparison to a transnational community of advertising or results-based management in development work. Urbanities include an exacerbation of current circumstances and hence complexities in close proximity, while systemic occurrences of said power relations are present as part of transnational communities and hence mirror the similarities present. Change processes are hence prone to unexpected directions and dependent on the contextual environment, including the dominant discursive truths and power relations, that pose difficulties in challenging ideas beyond these.

In assessing, analysing, and interpreting the perspectives of advertising producers regarding the 'politics of change', aspects of gender, media, and change as part of 'discourses of change' each allow and require the navigation of contrasting elements. Processes of change thus entail the role of media cultures and especially 'new media' in processes of change and gender discourses as an important element of influence and 'new media' practices while building on existing patterns. The normalisation of debates regarding the understanding of gender and change is similarly characterised by negotiations of individual processes of change and shifts of systemic patterns without excluding each other. Even though practices of exclusion regarding gender exist alongside initiatives for inclusion, these negotiations and shifts easily exist side by side and interact in an ongoing exchange.