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multiple secularities

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Tea for Interreligious Harmony?
Cause Marketing as a New Field of Experimentation with Visual Secularity in India

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Contents

Tea for Interreligious Harmony?
Cause Marketing as a New Field of Experimentation with Visual Secularity in India

1 Introduction

This working paper is part of a larger research project on emerging visualities and imaginaries of living together in plurality and on equal terms. Against the background of growing majoritarianism in India and the normalization of violence against religious minorities and marginalized communities, the search for new visual forms and aesthetic means to counter increasing divisiveness and conflict has acquired exceptional urgency. It is a search pursued by many and in multiple directions, occasionally even in the realm of marketing and advertising which is the focus of this article. The larger project considers documentaries, fictional films and transmedia interventions in order to understand how different actors seek to create new visualities that are markedly different from earlier form(at)s used to visually mediate the normative project of political secularism for many decades, but nevertheless draw on the idea that secularity is a mode of living together and socially interacting in plural societies.

In their article "Multiple Secularities: Toward a Cultural Sociology of Secular Modernities," Monika Wohlrab-Sahr and Marian Burchardt distinguish between four forms of secularity.[1] Of these, the authors argue that the second form – that which is established "for the sake of balancing/pacifying religious diversity" – is especially strong in independent India.[2] While different notions of secularity (addressing individual freedom, national unity, and the independence of the political domain) were still on the agenda at the time of the Constituent Assembly, Wohlrab-Sahr and Burchardt argue that today, the "idea of accommodating religious diversity

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[1]   The four forms are: 1) secularity for the sake of individual rights and liberties; 2) secularity for the sake of balancing/pacifying religious diversity; 3) secularity for the sake of societal/national integration and development; and 4) secularity for the sake of the independent development of functional domains of society. Monika Wohlrab-Sahr and Marian Burchardt, "Multiple Secularities: Towards a Cultural Sociology of Secular Modernities," *Comparative Sociology* 11, no. 6 (2012): 889.

[2]   Wohlrab-Sahr and Burchardt, "Multiple Secularities," 896.

as key to Indian secularity holds for both critics and advocates."[3] The shift towards a concept of secularity for the sake of managing religious diversity in India became more apparent in the 1980s and 90s. The development was particularly influenced by the decline of state secularism as the basis for national identity and the ascendancy of the majoritarian religious nationalist narrative at the time.[4] Nevertheless, the predominance of one type of secularity does not mean that "other types of secularity are not present or might not gain importance in the future."[5] Wohlrab-Sahr and Burchardt also draw our attention to the lack of research on "everyday perspectives and the culturally saturated imaginaries of social groups," which implies that "cultures of secularity" are hardly addressed or often taken as mere effects of state policy.[6] If one were really to "collect accounts of lived experiences of millions of Indians," however, it is highly probable, according to Shylashri Shankar, that ethnographies of multiple social imaginaries would "include, among others, the state's social imaginary constructed by a constitution and interpreted by the courts, religious leaders' social imaginary disseminated through preaching and lectures and practices adopted by followers, the lived experiences of different types of ordinary people, and the imaginaries of political leaders displayed through their election manifestoes [sic] and speeches and subscribed by those who vote for them."[7]

Drawing on Alev Çinar, Srirupa Roy and Maha Yahya's theoretical reflections on the centrality of the 'mediatic' public domain (and the public circulation of images in particular) to the secular-religious relationship, one might deem it necessary to include the important role of (visual) media and technologically mediated communication in any discussion on multiple imaginaries in increasingly media-saturated societies. As the authors state, non-state actors and privately owned media "have played a central role in elaborating and consolidating normative public imaginations of the secular," and 'secularism as a norm' has been negotiated, subverted or

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3 Wohlrab-Sahr and Burchardt, 898.
4 See Sumantra Bose, *Secular States, Religious Politics: India, Turkey, and the Future of Secularism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 117–158.
5 Wohlrab-Sahr and Burchardt, "Multiple Secularities," 892.
6 Wohlrab-Sahr and Burchardt, 884.
7 Shylashri Shankar, "Secularity and Hinduism's Imaginaries in India," in *A Secular Age Beyond the West: Religion, Law and the State in Asia, the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Mirjam Künkler, John Madeley, and Shylashri Shankar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 133–34.

contested with the public circulation of images since the 1980s.[8] However, the role of advertising (commercial as well as non-commercial) as a central and ubiquitous visual medium which operates across various platforms, multiple channels and interconnected spaces – television, social media, newspapers or public billboards in urban spaces, among others – has rarely been looked at in the study of secularity in India.

My interest in the role of advertising is based on the following observation: Precisely at a time when *political secularism* is seen to be in a deep crisis in India, a number of multinational corporations, national companies and advertising agencies seem determined to intervene in the highly polarized debate and to experiment with new ways of – literally – 'seeing' and 'feeling' secularity in India. But instead of contributing to a 'rehabilitation' of *political secularism*,[9] they seem to be primarily concerned with the strengthening or revitalization of what Sudipta Kaviraj calls *ethical secularity*. In the Indian context, Kaviraj argues that the concept of ethical secularity (he also uses the term 'ethical secularism' in the same article) refers to "a structure of beliefs which involved the derivation of the fundamental basis of moral conduct from human sources, not from the divine."[10] In contrast to this, the term political secularism refers to the principles through which political authorities sought to achieve mutual accommodation between potentially hostile religious communities.[11] This definition seems to correspond, at least partially, to the second form or guiding idea of secularity as described by Wohlrab-Sahr and Burchardt.

For the framework of this paper, I focus specifically on a small, but highly visible body of recently circulated cause marketing campaigns. I show that these campaigns introduce or mediate an understanding of secularity as care for and connectedness with adherents of other religions. It is worth noting that some of the campaigns employ the communicative space of (Hindu) religious festivals, such as Holi or Ganesh Chaturthi. Previously, religious festivals were primarily portrayed as family events in product or

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8   Alev Çinar, Srirupa Roy, and Maha Yahya, *Visualizing Secularism and Religion: Egypt, Lebanon, Turkey, India* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 14–15.

9   Rajeev Bhargava, "Rehabilitating Secularism," in *Rethinking Secularism*, ed. Craig Calhoun, Mark Juergensmeyer, and Jonathan Vanantwerpen (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2011), 94.

10 Sudipta Kaviraj, "Languages of Secularity," *Economic and Political Weekly* 48, no. 50 (2013): 100.

11 Kaviraj, "Languages of Secularity."

brand advertising in India.[12] In the clips that I would like to discuss, the focus is shifted onto the social interaction between *individual* members of different religious communities. According to Joseph Kupfer, the *locus classicus* for discussions of care are the everyday spheres of intimacy – friendship and family.[13] However, he argues that

> an ethics of care must go beyond family and friendship to investigate the place of the individual in the larger community. After all [...] we do not live exclusively in the company of those with whom we share intimacies and a personal history. Participating in school, neighborhood, and town is essential to personal growth.[14]

The cause marketing campaigns that I consider in this paper aim to engage viewers in an ongoing relationship with the imagined religious 'other' that is informed by the basic features of care ethics: attentiveness, responsiveness and a sympathetic imagination or ability to empathize with the other person.[15] Recent discussions on the role of peace communication, and, particularly, on the potential contribution of post-conflict cinema to societal dialogue and reconciliation, demonstrate how an ethics of care can be extended beyond family and friends, to the country, nation state and beyond. In the last three decades, India has witnessed a series of critical events and a sharp rise in violence against caste and religious minorities. In response to this, a large number of filmmakers, artists and activists have deployed various visual forms to create new platforms and public spaces for peace communication. Advertising can be regarded as an interesting newcomer in this area. Because of their work, the filmmakers, artists and activists have become targets of censorship, dangerous speech and violence – by both the state and the supporters and extended media networks of right-wing and Hindu nationalist groups.

Cause marketing campaigns consciously work to produce very strong emotional or affective reactions in the millions of people who watch them. They often polarize too, as we have seen with a number of highly successful global cause marketing campaigns since the early 2000s. For instance, the

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12 See Nadja-Christina Schneider, "Media Culture, Advertising and Consumerism in India," in *Rising India – Europe's Partner?*, ed. Klaus Voll and Doreen Beierlein (Berlin: Weißensee Verlag, 2006).

13 Joseph H. Kupfer, *Feminist Ethics in Film: Reconfiguring Care through Cinema* (Bristol: intellect, 2012).

14 Kupfer, *Feminist Ethics in Film*, 9.

15 Kupfer, 98.

Dove campaign for "Real Beauty" launched in 2004 or, more recently, the controversial Gillette campaign "The Best a Man Can Be" (2019). Whether companies now consider the risk of negative publicity, polarized reactions, and phenomena such as YouTube dislike mobs or internet trolls in their marketing strategies, is an interesting discussion in itself. What is evident is that cause marketing definitely entails risks for companies, as well as for the non-profit organizations who sometimes cooperate with them, and hence require the resources to deal with the potential financial or reputational risks. The cause marketing campaigns in focus here have been watched by millions in India and received strong audience reactions – both positive and negative. This paper is not concerned with whether cause marketing or social advertising can be seen as a credible or effective medium. Instead, it aims to achieve an understanding of the aesthetic choices, motivations and especially the notions of secularity that are visually elaborated and mediated. It also considers what motivates individual advertisers and companies to intervene in the highly politicized debate about religious plurality in India, and to experiment with different ideas of secularity – given the constant risk of boycott calls, internet trolling and the public burning of brand products.

The second part of this paper briefly introduces the concept of cause marketing and contextualizes it within the recent development of advertising in India. The third part contains a more detailed discussion of two particularly interesting campaigns which seem to suggest that individuals do not depend on the state to manage or accommodate religious diversity in India and are independently capable of creating a new basis for peaceful relationships. While the companies and advertising agencies may have had similar ideas and intentions about the positive message and shared notion they wanted to convey, it is interesting to see that they nevertheless seem to draw on rather different concepts of secularity. The first campaign, "#Rang Laaye Sang" ("Colors bring us together," Surf Excel, 2019), reproduces, at least to a certain extent and perhaps unintentionally, what Srirupa Roy calls the minoritizing bent[16] of political secularism, as will be illustrated below. In contrast to this, the second campaign, "#Shree Ganesh Apnepan Ka," is clearly more concerned with a revitalization of or establishing a new

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16   Srirupa Roy, "Temple and dam, fez and hat: the secular roots of religious politics in India and Turkey," *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 48, no. 2 (2010): 156.

basis for ethical secularity. As will be discussed below, this clip also seems to be inspired by recent attempts by Indian filmmakers, scholars and media activists to spread bhakti philosophical ideas, and, in particular, the poetic work of 15th-century saint-poet Kabir[17], as a way of countering the hegemonic tendencies of Hindu nationalism. What the two selected campaigns do seem to have in common is the understanding that mutual recognition is as important for the adherent of another religion as it is for oneself. I will consider the extent to which these and other campaigns with similar intentions depart from earlier mediations of normative public imaginations of the secular and engage with different ideas and forms of secularity that have hitherto rarely been discussed in India.

2 Cause Marketing, Social Advertising and the 'Harmonizing' Role of Tea

Cause marketing is based on the assumption that especially middle-class consumers worldwide have become more aware of the inequality surrounding them and increasingly want to 'make a difference.' Several recent market research surveys in countries as diverse as the US, Germany and India seem to corroborate this trend. Accordingly, the central idea of cause

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17 Bhakti poetry was originally oral. Its form varies from region to region, and has also varied over time. Martin Fuchs argues that the "poems and songs bring out the very different modes of bhaktas' experiences of God and allow for articulating alternative (social) imaginaries." Martin Fuchs, "Indian Imbroglios: Bhakti Neglected, Or: The Missed Opportunity for a New Approach to a Comparative Analysis of Civilizational Diversity," in *Anthropology and Civilizational Analysis: Eurasian Explorations*, ed. Johann P. Arnason and Chris Hann (New York, NY: SUNY Press, 2018), 131. Kabir, "whose fame has spread, and endured until today" is considered one of the most outspoken religious and social critics (Fuchs, "Indian Imbroglios," 131). *The Kabir Project* which was initiated by documentary filmmaker Shabnam Virmani and started as a response to the anti-Muslim pogroms in the West Indian state of Gujarat in 2002, uses the personal formless (*nirguna*) Ram of Kabir as a counter-image to the increasingly militant form of Ram which is at the center of Hindu nationalist mobilizations and the ideology of Hindutva. It should be mentioned in this context, however, that it is very difficult to identify authentic verses by Kabir among the work which today is ascribed to him. The historical Kabir has been obscured by the long history of his influence ("Wirkungsgeschichte"), as Michael Bergunder puts it. Michael Bergunder, "Religionsvergleich in der nordindischen Nirguna-Bhakti des 15.–17. Jahrhunderts? Die Sant-Tradition und ihre Vorstellung von 'Hindus' und 'Muslimen'," in *Religion in Asien? Studien zur Anwendbarkeit des Religionsbegriffs*, ed. Peter Schalk et al. (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet, 2013), 47.

marketing refers to aligning a brand with a cause to produce profitable and societal benefits for both. These mutual benefits can include the creation of social value, increased connection with the public, and the communication of shared value, as well as profit of course. One look at discussions and rankings of campaigns that were supposedly very successful in the last two decades reveals that they primarily address gender, health or environmental issues. Large-scale cause marketing campaigns gained momentum with Dove's "Real Beauty" campaign (released in 2004), and the technique is now a global phenomenon. The Dove campaign included advertisements, videos, workshops, publications and many other events; its declared aim was to enhance women's self-esteem and confidence in their bodies. Dove is one of the 400 or more brands owned by Unilever, one of the oldest multinational companies, whose products are currently available in 190 countries. To this day, the Dove campaign is seen as the most successful example of cause marketing despite the fact that the company also faced fierce criticism for its 'double standards' given that skin-lightening products sold under the brand of Fair & Lovely in many countries in Africa and Asia generate enormous financial profits for Unilever.[18] Nevertheless, the negative publicity is said to have been far outweighed by the notion that the Dove "Real Beauty" campaign had a very positive long-term effect on girls and women worldwide, and that it created more awareness in the beauty industry.

Although experiments in combining brand advertising and social messages have become a global phenomenon, India seems to be a particularly interesting testing ground for new approaches in the field of advertising and social campaigns. While in countries like Germany, advertising in general and social advertising or corporate social responsibility campaigns in particular are often viewed with suspicion, the role that advertising can play in creating awareness seems to be taken more seriously in India, as is the self-representation of CEOs and companies as contributing to or even shaping social change. Furthermore, many young advertisers in cities like Delhi or Mumbai, who were born in the 1980s or 1990s – the so-called post-liberalization generation – confidently position themselves

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18 For a in-depth critical discussion, see Bellinda Widmann Kambili, *Hindustan Unilever Limited skin-lightening brand 'Fair and Lovely': (New) tie-up of Gender, Social Entrepreneurship and Global Marketing in Advertisement* (unpublished Bachelor thesis, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Institute for Asian and African Studies, 2017).

as changemakers who possess the skills and means to make a meaning-ful impact on society.[19] A very good example to illustrate this is perhaps the Vicks "#Touch Of Care" campaign (2017) which has the word 'care' explicitly in its title. The campaign questions existing assumptions about biological motherhood, femininity, and heteronormative constructions of family. It poses the question: If you raise a child, care for it like a parent and see yourself as a mother, shouldn't you be able to acquire the legal status of a mother of that child too, irrespective of your gender and sexual identity, marital status or genetic relationship with the child? The role of the mother in this advertisement is played by transgender activist Gauri Sawant who had been campaigning for a long time in India for the recognition that motherhood goes beyond gender. What the Vicks "#Touch of Care" campaign did very successfully was to engage the viewers emotionally and to activate their ability to see the 'other' person differently, in this case a transgender mother from a highly marginalized community, and to feel with them – a key requisite for the social acceptance, normalization and, eventually, also the legal recognition of transgender motherhood in India.

Big advertising agencies also regularly produce public service campaigns for the government or non-profit campaigns for NGOs. This has helped establish the idea that advertising can be a powerful medium for mass education and development-oriented communication. Such campaigns are even more powerful when popular celebrities such as iconic actor Amitabh Bachchan endorse campaigns dedicated to health awareness or better education for girls.

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19 Specifically focusing on social as well as product advertising in the post-*Nirbhaya* or -*Delhi Gang Rape* context since 2013, Mette Gabler (Humboldt-Universität Berlin) observes in her PhD research that young advertisers often see themselves as 'changemakers' and wish to actively contribute to a wider recognition of and support for gender diversity and gender equality.
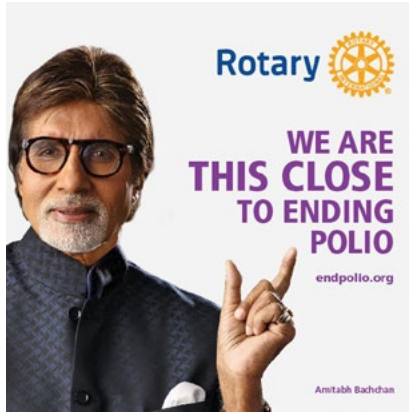
A polio-eradication campaign ad featuring Amitabh Bachchan. Picture courtesy: Quora.[20]

However, the brand name which can be said to have introduced an unprecedented dynamic to the field of social advertising and cause marketing in India is Tata Tea. The company's "Jaago Re – Wake Up" brand campaign, launched in 2007, very successfully took on issues such as voter registration and electoral participation, corruption and women's rights and empowerment. The campaign's success can be measured both in terms of the reach of ideas and increase in sales of Tata Tea. As Sanjiv Sarin (currently Regional President, South Asia Tata Global Beverages), puts it in his famous quote:

> While tea may wake you up, Tata Tea awakens you. The campaign demonstrated Tata Tea's thought leadership in positioning tea as a medium of 'social awakening' and not just 'physical awakening.'[21]

While advertising agencies always played a key role in the 'animation' of the state's postcolonial rhetoric of national progress, development and aspiration through their visuals and slogans,[22] it is very interesting to note how some of the most successful and visible CEOs now also seem to be keen to appropriate a statesman-like role for themselves, as they make

20   See Somya Abrol, "#WorldPolioDay: How Amitabh Bachchan drove India to become polio-free: The actor's efforts in eradicating polio are what drove the country to a polio-free future," *India Today*, October 24, 2017, https://www.indiatoday.in/lifestyle/health/story/amitabh-bachchan-world-polio-day-eradication-india-virus-pulse-polio-bill-gates-lifest-1070241-2017-10-24.

21   Nilofer D'Souza, "Tata Tea: Champion of Cause Marketing," *Forbes India*, December 6, 2012, http://www.forbesindia.com/printcontent/34249.

22   See Nandini Gooptu and Rangan Chakravarty, "Imagi-Nation: The Media, Nation and Politics in Contemporary India," in *Cultural Encounters: Communicating Otherness*, ed. Brian Street and Elizabeth Hallam (London: Routledge, 2000).

increasing use of the political rhetoric of national development, progress and integration in their companies' mission statements and public speeches.[23]

In view of the hugely successful "Jaago Re" campaign, Hindustan Uni-lever (HUL) had to come up with an innovative brand campaign for Brook Bond Red Label Tea, Tata Tea's largest competitor in India. Accordingly, in 2014, Hindustan Unilever adopted a new framework and slogan for their new cause marketing campaign titled "Swaad Apnepan Ka" which rough-ly translates as the flavor or taste of togetherness, but *apnapan* (Hindi: अपनापन) also means familiarity or kinship in Hindi. Tea and its perceived ability to diffuse tension, to bring people, not just families, but neighbors and even strangers, closer together, provides the backdrop and overarch-ing idea of this cause marketing campaign. Referring to the film *Gandhi* (1982), directed by Richard Attenborough, Joseph Kupfer argues that it is Gandhi's character which embodies the care perspective at the level of the nation state in India:

> The notion that all Indians are connected, their welfare entwined, is a fa-milial one, evoking the care ethics on the personal level but applying it in the public sphere of politics. Later, Gandhi makes the family metaphor explicit, saying that Hindus and Muslims are all born of mother India. As if to underscore Gandhi's perspective of care, he is addressed with familial affection as Bapu or father by those close to him.[24]

This Gandhian notion of connectedness, instead of the post-independent state's motto of "unity in diversity," may have influenced the advertisers who conceptualized the new "Swaad Apnepan Ka" cause marketing cam-paign for Brook Bond Red Label Tea in 2014.[25] For every individual video ad in the campaign, a different social or political issue is carefully selected

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23 Two key examples are Sanjiv Mehta, CEO and Managing Director of Hindustan Unilever Ltd., and Sanjiv Sarin, currently CEO and Managing Director of Tata Coffee.

24 Kupfer, *Feminist Ethics in Film*, 98.

25 It is perhaps no coincidence that a fictionalized Gandhi has also reappeared on screen re-cently, especially in a number of highly successful Hindi movies, as a fatherly figure who is capable of providing a new philosophical and moral compass to a seemingly confused society. In contemporary visual art too, Gandhi's 'fatherly body' and role as a father figure to the nation, has been a focus for many artists of late, as Sumathi Ramaswamy argues. Interesting comparative research on the visualiziation of the two iconic 'fatherly bodies' of Mao and Gandhi has been jointly conducted by Sumathi Ramaswamy and Barbara Mittler: Sumathi Ramaswamy and Barbara Mittler, "No Parallel? The Fatherly Bodies of Gandhi and Mao" (lecture series, exhibition "Envisioning Asia: Gandhi and Mao in the Photographs of Walter Bosshard," Heidelberg, May 2019), http://www.asia-europe.uni-heidelberg.de/en/newsevents/events/exhibition-envisioning-asia/program.html.

and focused on. As such, the campaign is always about embracing a larger agenda and thus sometimes poses a risk to the company, especially in times of social media and very powerful digital networks of outrage in India as well as beyond. Some audiences may feel offended by or dislike the content and message; they may try to create a negative perception or even call for a boycott, as has actually happened with the two recent campaigns which will be discussed in the third part of this paper.

Love thy Neighbors

The first 'socially inclusive' advertisement in the "Swaad Apnepan Ka" campaign was simply titled "Neighbors" (2014). In the advertisement, an initially hesitant Hindu couple who have been locked out of their apartment are invited for a cup of tea by their hijab-wearing Muslim neighbor and her little daughter, who is also wearing a hijab. It is immediately clear that, despite the fact that they live next door to them, the Hindu couple hardly know the Muslim family. When the Muslim woman greets them smilingly, the Hindu couple's facial expressions are rather stiff and their body language conveys the distance they want or think they need to maintain between the families, even though they are in an awkward situation without their key, and the first thing one might think of in such a situation would be to ask the neighbors for help. Despite the welcoming and extremely friendly invitation to come into their apartment until help arrives, it is not her warm hospitality but only the smell of tea, and obviously exactly their favorite brand and way of preparing it (including the right selection and amount of spices), which makes them change their minds. However, all this seems to be quickly forgotten when they finally sit together in the neat and clean living room of their Muslim neighbor's apartment and enjoy several cups of tea together, sharing a conversation in which their respective religious adherence does not seem to matter any longer. While it is interesting to note that the black hijab clearly marks her as 'religious' or more precisely, as a member of a religious minority, her representation in this short clip very consciously avoids any of the stereotypical images and associations which are very dominant in Indian mainstream media.[26]

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26 As opinion polls and studies have recurrently revealed, most non-Muslims attribute Muslim women's low status to discriminatory treatment under India's Muslim personal law, as well as to Islam itself. According to this perception and representation, Islam suppresses

Stills from "Swaad Apnepan Ka: Neighbors," Brooke Bond Red Label India, 2014.

women to a greater extent than other religions do. Muslim women, compared to women of other religions, are most often perceived as submissive, reserved, fragile, and, due to their social conditioning, unable to fight for their own rights. See Sabina Kidwai, *Images of Muslim Women: A Study on the Representation of Muslim Women in the Media* (New Delhi: WISCOMP, 2003).

Another much-debated video ad in the "Swaad Apnepan Ka" campaign was titled "Surprise Visit" (2015). It focused on the sensitive topic of unmarried couples living together.[27] In 2016, the company launched an award-winning campaign on the transgender community in India. With the "#Shri Ganesh Apnepan Ka" campaign (2018), Brooke Bond Red Label Tea for the first time ventured into the theme of interreligious encounters in the context of an event which is primarily associated with Hinduism. This clip will be discussed in the next part of this paper.

3 Visual Mediations of Secularity in Cause Marketing Campaigns

In August 2018, the Law Commission of India stated that a uniform civil code was "neither necessary nor desirable at this stage."[28] The establishment of a uniform civil code, replacing the existing religion-based personal laws, is part of a Directive Principle in the Indian Constitution and a fierce debate about this issue has been ongoing for many decades now.[29] Former Supreme Court judge B.S. Chauhan who led the Law Commission, said in the same statement that "the term secularism has meaning only if it assures the expression of any form of difference and that this diversity, both religious and regional, should not get subsumed under the louder voice of the majority." However, the statement also stressed the importance of reforming and codifying "all personal laws so that prejudices and stereotypes in every one of them would come to light and could be tested on the anvil of fundamental

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27 For a detailed discussion of this and other media campaigns on cohabitation, see Fritzi-Marie Titzmann, "Contesting the Norm? Live-in Relationships in Indian Media Discourses," *South Asia Multidisciplinary Academic Journal* [Online] 16 (2017).

28 Krishnadas Rajagopal, "Uniform civil code neither necessary nor desirable at this stage, says Law Commission," *The Hindu*, August 31, 2018, https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/uniform-civil-code-neither-desirable-nor-necessary-at-this-stage-says-law-commission/article24833363.ece. Hindu nationalists in particular assert that Muslims' adherence to a separate, religion-based family law demonstrates that they are 'backward' and 'not willing to integrate' into the national community. They hold that only a 'secular' uniform civil code – in lieu of the religion-based personal or family laws – would bring about the desired national integration of Muslims into Indian society. Despite recurring demands for a uniform civil code, it is not clear what such a code would actually look like. See Nadja-Christina Schneider, "Law: Modern: Family," in *Encyclopedia of Women & Islamic Cultures*, ed. Joseph Suad (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

29 According to Article 44 (Directive principles of state policy) of the Indian constitution, "the State shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India."

rights of the Constitution."[30] While this upholds the notion of secularity 'for the sake of balancing or pacifying religious diversity' (i.e. the second form of secularity in Wohlrab-Sahr and Burchardt's model), it can also be read as an attempt to reconcile the idea of freedom of religious communities with the idea of a liberal-democratic state striving for societal progress, national integration, gender equality and individual freedom (i.e. the first and third forms of secularity outlined by Wohlrab-Sahr and Burchardt).[31]

Nevertheless, by explicitly cautioning against "the louder voice of the majority," which threatens religious or regional difference, the Law Commission also reconfirms what Srirupa Roy calls the minoritizing bent of secularism in India or "the ways in which the success of secularism was tied to the existence of religious minorities *as minorities,*"[32] while simultaneously affirming the secular state's task of "reforming and rationalizing the majority religion of Hinduism."[33] As Roy argues, (political) secularism could be claimed as the fulfillment of the state's commitment to the representative principle only if there was a manifest need or demand for religious representation; the continued public visibility of *religious* minorities who felt 'at home' was actually required, because "[...] to the extent that religion grew less salient in the constitution of identity and interests, so did secularism."[34] At the same time, the secular insistence on minority difference "worked to constitute Hindu identity as the unmarked centre of Indianness against which the difference of other religions could be contrasted, as the permanent majority that was already, and safely 'at home'."[35] An almost paradigmatic visualization of this minoritizing bent can be found in an advertisement for Surf Excel detergent, which was released shortly before Holi (the festival of colors) in February 2019. The one-minute long advertisement, titled "Rang Laaye Sang" (Colors Bring us Together),

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30 Rajagopal, "Uniform civil code."

31 In view of the widespread notion that the codified Hindu family law needs no further reform or amendment, it is important that the Law Commission referred to all existing personal laws. As the Hindu Code is applied not only to Hindus, but also to members of the Sikh, Buddhist, and Jain communities, women's rights lawyer Flavia Agnes argues for an examination of whether the codified Hindu law has actually helped to bring about social transformation and change gender relationships. Flavia Agnes, "Has the codified Hindu law changed gender relationships?," *Social Change* 46, no. 4 (2016): 611.

32 Roy, "Temple and dam," 156.

33 Roy, 153.

34 Roy, 155–56.

35 Roy, 155.

features two children, a girl and an – evidently religious – Muslim boy. While all the other children in the clip are wearing non-traditional clothing (and are hence not visually marked as Hindu or religious), the boy is wearing a *shalwar kameez* and *taqiyah* (prayer cap). In the clip, the girl encourages the other children to throw balloons filled with colored water at her. She does this until the children have run out of balloons, which ensures that her Muslim friend can attend the nearby mosque to offer *namaaz* without ruining his white clothes. The clip ends with a female voice telling us that stains are good if you get them while doing good: "Agar kuch achha karne mein daag lag jaaye, toh daag achhe hain."

Still from the clip "#RangLaayeSang", Surf Excel, 2019.

The Surf Excel clip immediately received a lot of attention and was circulated across various media platforms. Many journalists, bloggers and twitter users were quick to comment on the advertisement, appreciating its positive message of togetherness and communal harmony, and the fact that it reminds audiences in India of how the festival of colors can bring people from different religious backgrounds together and thus conveys a beautiful message about the 'true essence of India', which lies in its 'unity in diversity.' Several marketing experts were also invited to share their views on the campaign and explained, for instance, that

> [i]t is not always about selling the product. The brand [Surf Excel, a Hindustan Unilever brand – author's note] has moved away from comparing

themselves to other detergent brands. The old approach was very product led, the age of selling a product that way has completely gone away. What brands are trying to do is helping the customer buy a product by attaching a good social message with it. [...] This ad film is a great one that touches upon the theme of religion [...] and it leaves the audience with a good message.[36]

However, as could be expected given the present political climate and context of digitally mediated communication, a backlash against the advertising campaign soon also gained momentum. On social media, there were calls to boycott both the product and the 'foreign' company which was "shoving one-sided secularism down our throat [sic]."

This photo montage from the "#boycotthindustanunilever" campaign was widely circulated on the internet in spring 2019.

Reactions to the advertisement quickly became so polarized that a more nuanced, not to mention critical discussion of its content was close to impossible, or so it seemed, as negative reactions were quickly associated with 'Hindutva bigots' or 'Hindu ethnonationalists.' As briefly mentioned in the introduction to this paper, Çinar, Roy and Yahya draw our attention to the striking convergence between "state and non-state visual elaborations of the secular-religious relationship:"

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36   N Chandramouli, CEO, TRA Research, quoted in: Noel D'Souza, "#RangLaayeSang goes well with Surf Excel's core philosophy: Carlos Pereira, Lowe Lintas," exchange4media.com, March 7, 2019, https://www.exchange4media.com/advertising-news/ranglaayesangh-goes-well-with-surf-excels-core-philosophy-carlos-pereira-lowe-lintas-95156.html.

> In the private media landscape, as in the official or statist ideology, the constitutive relationship between secularism and religion – the fact that representations of secularism seem to require the constant representation of 'religion' – emerges as a dominant theme.[37]

The aforementioned minoritizing bent of Indian secularism described by Srirupa Roy is clearly recognizable in the Surf Excel clip. Moreover, the fact that the visual religionization[38] of the Muslim minority is even extended to or understood to shape young children's perceptions of each other, should not be overlooked. As one commentator pointedly argues:

> Let's not wheel our children into our religious identities – and our bitter divides. [...] They can learn about religion in their own good time. They can decide about it themselves when they feel like it. They can choose their own religion. Or choose not to be religious at all, if they like. Why should we celebrate an ad that instead shows small kids strait-jacketed into religion, and all its wonderful divides, before they can even spell 'lack of choice'?[39]

Yet at the same time, one could argue that the clip not only draws on or reproduces normative public imaginations of the secular but also challenges established perceptions, for instance by showing a deep friendship between the two children – who seem to live in the same neighborhood, despite an ever-increasing 'housing apartheid' in Indian cities.[40] The way the self-confident girl cares for and takes care of the boy is noticed by the other children and possibly makes them reflect and reconsider their initial reaction when they just saw a Muslim boy on his way to the mosque and initially wanted to throw colored water at him to spoil his white clothes. Furthermore, there can hardly be any doubt that the advertising agency must have been fully aware of the instant cry of 'love jihad' by Hindu

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37 Çınar, Roy and Yahya, *Visualizing Secularism and Religion*, 14.

38 The term religionization refers to "practices through which religion is homogenized and reified." In India, as in many other contexts, processes of religionization are entangled with the politics of secularism. See Markus Dressler, "Religionization and Secularity," in *Companion to the Study of Secularity,* ed. HCAS "Multiple Secularities – Beyond the West, Beyond Modernities," 2019, https://multiple-secularities.de/publications/companion/religionization-and-secularity.

39 (n.a.), "Detergent ad controversy: The biggest stain. Can we please keep our children away from the narrative which says 'we are different but together'?," *DailyO*, March 11, 2019, https://www.dailyo.in/variety/surf-excel-advertisement-controversy-holi-in-mythology-why-no-one-is-raising-this-question/story/1/29859.html.

40 Sowmiya Ashok and Mohammad Ali, "Housing apartheid flourishes in Delhi," *The Hindu*, July 6, 2012, https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/housing-apartheid-flourishes-in-delhi/article3613994.ece.

nationalist groups – a particularly vicious and widespread propagandist tool targeting Muslim boys and men who allegedly only pretend to fall in love with a Hindu girl or woman because they eventually want her to convert to Islam and thereby increase the number of Muslims living in India. As the title of the clip ("Colors bring us together") suggests, it is clearly championing the idea of mutual respect; of individuals learning to co-exist peacefully and even engaging in a care relationship. As such, there no longer seems to be a need for an external actor who 'manages' or 'accommodates' religious diversity, which had long been portrayed as inherently conflict-laden. The second clip goes a step further by weakening the idea of clear-cut boundaries between Hindus and Muslims in India – or at least it allows for such a reading.

#Shree Ganesh Apnepan Ka

In September 2018, Brooke Bond Red Label Tea released an advertisement entitled "#Shree Ganesh Apnepan Ka" during Ganesh Chaturthi, a popular annual Hindu festival celebrating the birthday of Lord Ganesh which is observed throughout India, but particularly in Mumbai and in the southern states. The advertisement aims to promote a sense of togetherness in a culturally and religiously diverse society which has seen a sharp increase in violence against religious and caste minorities in recent years. It was conceptualized by the international communication agency Geometry Encompass, which claims it is based on a true story. Arpan Jain, Creative Director of the branch office in Mumbai, explained the motivation and basic idea behind the campaign in a newspaper interview:

> Today, brands must tell stories that resonate with real life and encourage relevant, meaningful conversations. We saw a great human insight and wanted to tell a simple but thought-provoking story, luckily we found a perfect occasion. #Shree Ganesh Apnepan Ka poses a pertinent question to all of us.

> The film was shot in a Ganpati pandal (a marquee), huge numbers of which can be seen on the streets of Mumbai weeks before the homecoming of Bappa (Lord Ganesh). Devotees visit pandals to book or purchase an idol for the occasion and spend a long time choosing the perfect one.[41]

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41 (n.a.), "#ShreeGaneshApnepanKa: Watch Red Label Tea's new thought-provoking festive campaign," *Brand Equity. Economic Times*, September 15, 2019, https://brandequity. economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/advertising/shreeganeshapnepanka-watch-red-label-teas-new-thought-provoking-festive-campaign/65817225.

As Jain explains, the film is a

> conversation between an idol-maker and a first-time buyer of the idol. In the conversation, certain unknown facts about Bappa are revealed, along with what it truly means to bring home the 'lord of new beginnings'.[42]

In the clip, a young man in business attire who the viewer immediately assumes to be a Hindu enters a pandal and looks around for a Ganesh idol. The young man is impressed by the old idol-maker's deep religious knowledge and is about to select an idol when he sees that the old man has quietly put on his *taqiyah* (prayer cap) upon hearing the *azaan* from a nearby mosque. Visibly startled as he realizes that the idol-maker is a practicing Muslim, the young man pretends that he has some urgent business to do and will return the next day. Knowing exactly what is going on in the young man's mind, the old man asks the young man to at least have a cup of tea with him before he leaves, and the young man accepts the invitation. He ultimately decides to buy a Ganesh idol which the idol-maker had recommended to him at the beginning of their conversation.

Still from the "#Shri Ganesh Apnepan Ka" clip.

When the old Muslim idol-maker and his young Hindu customer have their glass of tea together, the camera focuses on the old man's hands – hands that serve the tea, and make the idol of Ganesh. Non-commensality as well as anxieties of ritual pollution are thus simply turned into "a matter of a cuppa," as my colleague Salma Siddique noted in an informal conversation about

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42   (n.a.), "#ShreeGaneshApnepanKa."

the clip, so that tea becomes a much more potent agent of social reform than the law. The dialogue in this scene is also very interesting. Still visibly perplexed, the young man asks the old man "Yahii kaam kyom?" which is translated in the English subtitles as "But why did you choose this profession?" The old man responds "Bhaijaan, yah bhii to ibaadat hai" – "this too is worship."

Stills from the "#Shri Ganesh Apnepan Ka" clip.

In Islamic contexts, the Arabic word *ibadah* (Hindi/Urdu: *ibaadat*) is usually translated as 'worship.' It refers primarily to religious rituals, but work can also be regarded as worship in Islam, and from the perspective of care ethics, paying attention, responding sympathetically and even empathizing with the visibly irritated young man could also be considered as work.

Whether the concept of *ibaadat* can actually be extended to other religious contexts would perhaps be a matter of some debate. But if Hinduism is primarily understood as a culture, not as a religion, and if Ganesh Chaturthi is seen as an inclusive festivity, the displayed notion of ethical secularity as care would apply to the shared public space of a cultural festival and not a religiously defined space. It is not unlikely at all that the advertisers consciously decided that the campaign should remain ambiguous about this distinction as well as the question of religious boundaries in general, precisely as it seeks to reach out and appeal to a hugely diverse audience with very different ideas about 'secularity,' 'religion,' and especially about Hinduism – either as a religion or a culture. Accordingly, I suggest that the clip is intentionally polysemic and allows for two different readings – through the lens of *bhakti* or through the lens of 'Hinduism as Indian culture.'

Bhakti – or the 'participation in God' – is often associated with the term 'popular' religion and refers to diverse, widespread forms of Indian religiosity that were long neglected by scholars of religion and South Asianists, or treated "lopsidedly," as Martin Fuchs puts it.[43] As *bhakti* "threatens the idea of a unitary character of 'Hinduism'" and "weakens the distinctions between Hinduism and other religions, as it develops into a thread that infiltrates everwider circles of Indian religion,"[44] the renewed interest in a philosophical compass provided by *bhakti* in India can be seen as a response to the rise of majoritarian religious nationalism. This particularly holds true for the 'rediscovery' of the 15th-century saint-poet Kabir for whom 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' were not dichotomous categories and who strongly criticized both the caste ideology of the Brahmanic Sanskrit tradition and institutionalized Islam in India.[45] *Bhakti's* link to individual experience and mutual recognition – not only by and through God, but also through other humans, is particularly interesting within the scope of this paper. Recognition in *bhakti* is a triangular constellation, as Martin Fuchs explains:

> The underlying assumption is that human subjects can relate to themselves in a positive manner, and assure themselves of their identity, only when they experience themselves as fully accepted by others. [...] The meaning of the relationship to other humans is that of confirming the individual's

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43   Fuchs, "Indian Imbroglios," 125.
44   Fuchs, 131.
45   Bergunder, "Religionsvergleich," 46–47.

experience of interaction with the Divine, as it prepares the other bhaktas for their personal experience of God. And as some forms of bhakti contend, God too requires recognition by humans who love or worship him or her.[46]

Reading the "#Shree Ganesh Apnepan Ka" campaign through this lens, the way the old Muslim idol-maker and the young Hindu customer form a bond of mutual respect and recognition prepares them for their individual experience of God, so there is no 'outside' of the religious sphere, but the religious modalities vary and the idea of a unitary Hinduism as well as of distinct religious communities, is blurred or even rendered irrelevant. On the other hand, reading the clip through the 'Hinduism as Indian culture' lens and especially reading Ganesh Chaturthi as a cultural festival or eventsphere which allows space for all religions and also for non-religious positions, would confirm the differences and distinctions, but nevertheless provide an inclusive and shared space. 'Hinduism as Indian culture' is a notion that has been increasingly monopolized by Hindu nationalists and turned into an ideology of cultural nationalism which does *not* support cultural pluralism or the equal treatment of religious and other minorities. But as Shylashri Shankar argues in her article "Secularity and Hinduism's Imaginaries" (2017), a "zone of ambiguity" which has been created with regard to Hinduism should not be seen as something which has only weakened Indian democracy and secularism.[47] Shankar finds the same ambiguity as well as an interesting "interplay between the three imaginaries of Hinduism – as a religion, a culture, and an ancient order – in the constitution and in subsequent interpretations by the Supreme Court"[48] have also prevented the state from "being torn apart in the fierce battles between majority and minority religions and between co-religionists"[49] and thus actually strengthened Indian democracy.[50] This could help explain why – despite the strong negative reactions that a cause marketing campaign such as the one discussed here was sure to receive (regardless of the amount of enthusiastic reactions and positive publicity) – Hindustan Unilever and the

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46 Fuchs, "Indian Imbroglios," 133.
47 Shankar, "Secularity and Hinduism's Imaginaries," 133.
48 Mirjam Künkler and Shylashri Shankar, "Introduction," in *A Secular Age Beyond the West: Religion, Law and the State in Asia, the Middle East and North Africa*, ed. Mirjam Künkler, John Madeley, and Shylashri Shankar (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 18.
49 Künkler and Shankar, "Introduction," 19.
50 Shankar, "Secularity and Hinduism's Imaginaries," 147.

advertising agency, Geometry Encompass in Mumbai, consciously chose Ganesh Chaturthi as the perfect occasion.

Ursula Rao has highlighted both the significance of public rituals for socio-political processes and the strong links between different platforms of public communication.[51] The hypervisibility of Hindu politics in the 1990s was a result of the connections that were successfully established between diverse communicative spaces, even more so with the explosion of new festivals in the same decade which added significantly to the image of a vigorous and dominant Hindu nation. Hindu nationalist organizations clearly envisioned similar religious-political synergies with the promotion of festivals such as Ganesh Chaturthi in regions and states of India where they had not been celebrated before, such as Kerala in South India. As Richard Cashman's research has shown, Ganesh Chaturthi was expanded and politicized at the end of the 19th century by Indian freedom fighters who supported it as an event which could increase nationalist fervor and a sense of unity among Hindus – across castes, classes and communities – to counter the divisive politics of the British colonial administration.[52] This inevitably alienated other religious communities and secular-minded individuals, as Cashman argues, although the festival always remained open to new interventions and to individuals who developed their own particular projects in the larger festival framework.[53] Today, in the very different context of networked communication and digital media cultures, state and non-state actors are challenging the appropriation of Ganesh Chaturthi by Hindu nationalist groups. The "#Shree Ganesh Apnepan Ka" campaign can be seen as an intervention and attempt to break the monopoly that Hindu nationalists claim to hold over this important festival. Indeed, the inclusive character of the festival, which provides space for all religions to join in, is what makes it secular. Commenting on the campaign, a journalist for the *Free Press Journal* wrote that:

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51 Ursula Rao, "Inter-publics' Hindu Mobilization beyond the Bourgeois Public Sphere," *Religion & Society* 2 (2011).

52 Richard Cashman, "The Political Recruitment of God Ganapati," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review* 7, no. 3 (1970).

53 Cashman not only considers Ganesh Chaturthi as a festival which enabled individuals in the past "to develop their own particular projects within the larger festival framework," but also argues that Hindu festivals are generally "sufficiently pliable to accommodate diverse political and social ideas." See Cashman, "The Political Recruitment," 372–73.

the video gives a clear idea of the secular aspect of Ganesh Chaturthi festival. People from different communities and religions celebrate this festival, which reminds us about the fact that Ganesh Chaturthi also delivers a message of fraternity and unity.[54]

The notion of secularity espoused here is based on the aspect of mutual respect for and recognition of religious diversity in public eventspheres, and the importance of Ganesh's increasing appeal as a 'god for all.' There were many other voices and events in 2018 which stressed the perception of Ganesh Chaturthi as a social event that bridges gaps between castes, classes and communities and hence provides a space for bottom-up initiatives for a new sense of connectedness between the different groups. As Ganesh Chaturthi coincided with the Mourning of Muharram in 2018, some communities, most notably in Pune, deliberately made an effort to display and publicly perform this understanding of secularity which was, however, expressed in a language of religion and for religious people exclusively. The Muslim and Hindu communities in Pune which celebrated together in the same pandal – and did so again during Ganesh Chaturthi in 2019 – also sought to claim and re-establish a public memory of a much longer history of religious festivals which used to be shared and lived together before communal riots broke out in the city in the 1990s.

4 Conclusion

While the self-understanding and representation of the Indian state as the sole guarantor and manager of peaceful religious co-existence has been increasingly questioned, the emerging alternative visualities and imaginaries of living in difference in focus here are nevertheless strongly centered on religious beliefs and, more importantly, on religiously defined communities. Interestingly, however, there are also many individuals who actively use the event of Ganesh Chaturthi to reflect publicly on the question of why they, as people who call and see themselves as atheists, celebrate this religious festival every year. In this vein, the headlines of related articles

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54 (n.a.), "This two-minute clip on Ganesh Chaturthi explains secularism in the simplest yet heart-warming manner; watch now," *Free Press Journal*, September 12, 2018, https://www.freepressjournal.in/cmcm/this-emotional-video-gives-a-glimpse-of-secular-aspect-of-ganesh-chaturthi-watch-now.

as well as blog entries in 2018 were, for instance: "An Atheist's Ganesha," "I might be an atheist, but I'm going to miss you terribly Bappa," or "Ganesh Chaturthi 2018: Finding value (as an atheist) in religion & faith." Other commentators used the festive occasion to lash out against the practice of idolatry in Hinduism. For example, a person who signed his article as Anish Upadhya, triggered a very vivid discussion on quora.com in September 2018 when they asked "Why do Hindus still celebrate Ganesh Chaturthi as if it is a religious festival when it was started by Lokmanya Tilak to mainly generate nationalistic fervor among people in Maharashtra against the British colonial rule?"

> I am neither disrespectful to the *bhakt*s, nor will I force my ideology on them. Finding or not finding God is a very personal journey, and everyone goes through it. But if someone asks me, I'll help them with a rational approach. For rationality has liberated me. While saying good-bye to my beloved Bappa, I say to him – *Pudhchya varshi lavkar ya* – please come early next year. You may not exist in reality, but humanity's belief in you brings joy, and we can always do with a little bit of that.[55]

It is hence precisely the ambiguity surrounding Ganesh Chaturthi, which can be understood as both a religious and cultural, but also as a national festival, that provides a communicative space for the self-representation of people and individual reasons to celebrate this festival. It may only be a temporary space and we can doubt whether it is really an option that is available and meaningful to the majority.[56] However, it is interesting to note that festivals such as Holi or Ganesh Chaturthi are seen as an opportunity to contest, negotiate or to reproduce existing ideas and forms of secularity as well as religious plurality in India. The two clips discussed in this paper were informed by and contributed to these ongoing negotiations, if only marginally, while the highly polarized reactions to each of them shows how difficult it is and will be to find a common basis for shared vision or consensus.

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55 Ashish Dikshit, "I might be an atheist, but I'm going to miss you terribly, Bappa," *The Quint*, September 15, 2016, https://www.thequint.com/voices/blogs/my-relationship-with-lord-ganesha-and-why-it-transformed-from-blind-faith-to-a-rational-enthusiasm.

56 If we consider the fact that a number of well-known atheists were murdered in recent decades, it is very clear that organized atheists in India increasingly experience terrorist violence and strategic attempts to silence their critical voices in public. However, for those who uncouple their public positioning as non-religious or atheist individuals from any critique of caste-based discrimination in Hinduism, there seems to be little or no risk in publicly expressing their conviction.

What I hope to have shown with this exploratory analysis in the field of cause marketing is that the visualities and imaginaries of secularity in the Indian context are more varied than is often assumed. While these visualities and imaginaries cannot be seen as mere effects of state policy, the fact that they are increasingly being articulated as *alternative* imaginaries has a lot to do with the general disillusionment with political secularism. Against the background of the Hindu nationalist party BJP's landslide victory in the Indian election of 2019, many actors in diverse contexts and social spheres are searching for a philosophical compass for a new kind of secularism that can form "deep ties of friendship between diverse groups," as documentary filmmaker and media scholar Fathima Nizaruddin put it in a personal conversation. However, while the state may be visually absent in cause marketing campaigns and corporate visions, Ajay Gudavarthy argues that such a new kind of secularism does require a welfare state that works according to the principles of equality and compassion:

> Secularism in essence is the ability to forge friendships with unlikely social groups or the ability to express solidarity with strangers. It is, in a sense, the opposite of xenophobia, which means phobia of strangers. If the idea is to strike at the root of xenophobia and build friendships, not merely tolerate the differences, then surely secularism needs to have a wider canvas than merely being obsessed with the way [the] state deals with the issue of religious differences. Even that role of the state has to be toned with the essential philosophical compass of how best to forge close-knit ties between different cultural groups, not merely religious but also caste, ethnic, regional, linguistic, among others. All of these ties concern secularism as a social philosophy.

> The wider canvas in the context of India, and elsewhere too, should beg the question: can we afford a secular ethos in society without a welfare state?[57]

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57   Ajay Gudavarthy, "India Needs to Rethink How It Looks at Secularism," *The Wire*, February 1, 2018, https://thewire.in/politics/india-secularism-rethink-state-religion.

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