

‘Give It Up!’: A Macro-Social Marketing Approach to India’s Clean Cooking Fuel Access

Dr. Sujit Raghunathrao Jagadale

Indian Institute of Management Amritsar

Punjab Institute of Technology Building,

Inside Government Polytechnic Campus, Polytechnic Road

sujitj@iimamritsar.ac.in

Dr. Joya Kemper

Department of Management, Marketing and Entrepreneurship

The University of Canterbury Business School, New Zealand

This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Sage in the the Journal of Macromarketing on June 13 2022, available online:

<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/02761467221107556>

Cite as: Jagadale, S. R., & Kemper, J. (2022). ‘Give It Up!’: A Macro-Social Marketing Approach to India's Clean Cooking Fuel Access. *Journal of Macromarketing*, 02761467221107556.

‘Give It Up!’: A Macro-Social Marketing Approach to India’s Clean Cooking Fuel Access

Introduction

Cooking is socially and culturally significant across geographies, as it binds families together and affects health outcomes. Globally, however, three billion people (the approximate combined population of India and China) have no access to clean cooking fuels and technologies (World Health Organization 2021). Most people use solid fuels, such as coal, wood, farm residue, and cow dung, for cooking; they often employ traditional stoves for cooking (Sadath and Acharya 2017; Saxena and Bhattacharya 2018). Using such solid fuels and traditional cooking technologies cause indoor air pollution that leads to respiratory problems and heart diseases. Due to household air pollution, more than four million deaths are reported every year, half of which take place among children below the age of five (World Bank 2019). Because of high levels of exposure, women and children are disproportionately affected by household air pollution and the vagaries of the collection of solid fuels such as wood.

To access and afford the clean cooking fuel is a major challenge. Else, there are severe and adverse effects at the household and national levels. One example of this is the affordability of liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) in India. Clean cooking fuels burn with very few emissions and include gas (LPG, piped natural gas, biogas), electricity (coil, induction, solar), and ethanol (Gould and Urpelanien 2018). In low- and middle-income countries, LPG is especially promising because it can be easily liquefied under moderate pressure, thus allowing the ease of storage and transportation (Gould and Urpelanien 2018). Also, LPG can

deliver substantial health, as well as social and economic benefits over alternatives such as biogas (Rosenthal et al. 2018).

In the Indian context, the affordability of LPG is entrenched and structural because LPG subsidies are used by middle-class consumers who can afford to pay market prices for LPG (Lahoti, Suchitra and Goutam 2012; Livemint 2015). To tackle this issue of chrematistics in marketing systems (Kadirov 2019; Kadirov, Varey and Wolfenden 2016), which is defined as the regulative effect of powerful market actors, the Government of India (GOI) appealed to the Indian middle class or well-to-do households to “give up” (i.e., voluntarily surrender) LPG subsidies so that more government resources could be channeled to deserving poor households or access of LPG to poorer households could be increased. This would reduce the dependence of poor households on fossil fuels such as coal, wood, cow dung, and crop residues and reduce the drudgery they experienced, while simultaneously improving the natural environment. At the core of the Give It Up campaign was an appeal to high income households to buy LPG at market prices; the campaign is one of the most significant public health campaigns India has ever seen (Smith and Sagar 2016).

The campaign is part of a macro-social marketing (MSM) initiative called the *Pratyaksh Hastantarit Laabh* (PaHaL [Direct Benefit Transfer of LPG]), which has an objective of changing India’s energy sector (Mittal, Mukherjee and Gelb 2017). MSM addresses complex wicked problems at the macro level (e.g., Kadirov 2019; Kennedy 2016; Kennedy and Parsons 2012, 2015; Kennedy, Kemper and Parsons 2018; Previt and Pomfret 2019) by bringing a holistic systemic change (Kennedy 2017). It is this combination of change in norms and formal institutions that creates a coordinated approach to a systemic change (Kemper and Ballantine 2017). At its core, PaHaL enables transfers of cash subsidies on LPG cylinders directly to the bank accounts of 177 million subscribers (Mittal, Mukherjee

and Gelb 2017). The latest program under this scheme is the *Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana* (PMUY), which provides LPG to women in lower socioeconomic conditions. This paper focuses on both the Give It Up campaign and the PMUY initiative to illustrate the different institutional targets; while Give It Up focuses on institutional norms (i.e., informal institutions), PMUY utilizes formal institutions (i.e., regulation, policy) for the systemic change. Overall, the initiatives are a unique case of an attempt to reverse prior redistributive decisions (subsidies) through subsidy demarketing for one group so that the other could benefit; therefore, a consumer group is invited to engage in the market as a voluntary move so that subsistence consumers could be removed from the market.

The aim of this research is to explore how the GOI has used an MSM approach to simultaneously address the issues of energy access for consumers from below the poverty line (with PMUY), and tackle structural inequalities (chrematistics in system) by demarketing the availing of subsidies by users who could afford LPG at market prices (with Give It Up). The objective is to explore how, through the eyes of the target market, economic inefficiencies (in usage and distribution of subsidies) and structural inequalities (in usage of LPG) are addressed through the Give It Up and PMUY programs, especially focusing on institutional norms and structures, including the affordability, accessibility, awareness, and acceptability (also known as the “4As” framework). The 4As framework is a useful tool to organize actions/interventions in emerging markets where conventional frameworks like the product, place, price, and promotion (the 4Ps) may not be always sufficient (Dodd 2015; Maity and Singh 2021; Sheth and Sisodia 2012). The above objectives are met through the qualitative analysis of data collected through interviewing LPG consumers, including those who have given up subsidies following the Give It Up campaign and use PMUY to obtain free LPG connections, as well as secondary data in the form of newspaper articles and government documents. In this way, we provide an insight into how consumer viewed the

MSM initiative alongside campaigns and communications. In doing so, we also reflect on these findings in relation to MSM theories and the 4As framework.

The research contributes to the literature in multiple ways. First, the theoretical boundaries of MSM are expanded. Kemper and Ballantine (2019) suggest that MSM has only been examined in the context of consumer goods that are involved in wicked problems (i.e., fast food, tobacco). This is because MSM involves the marketing of desirable, or the “demarketing” of undesirable, goods and services (Kennedy 2016). Instead, this research investigates a campaign that addresses the issue of fuel poverty in India, in which, based on voluntarism, a group of consumers is invited to the market fold so as to remove a subsistence consumers group from it. Thus, it expands the possibilities for MSM frameworks in relation to poverty. Moreover, previous macro-marketing research has utilized the 4Ps framework to demarket unhealthy behaviors (e.g., Kennedy and Parsons, 2012), but developing markets are not usually well posed to the framework. Consequently, we fill this research gap by introducing the 4As framework to MSM as it may be better suited than the 4Ps (Maity and Singh 2021; Sheth and Sisodia 2012). Second, the research explores a unique MSM campaign in which the campaign’s target segments and beneficiaries are different. In previous macro-marketing campaigns such as anti-tobacco (Kennedy and Parsons, 2012) and helmet use (Truong, 2017), the actor was the beneficiary; yet, in the case of Give it Up campaign (giving up the LPG subsidy), the actor is not the (monetary) beneficiary. We aim to fill this gap by examining how institutional norms are created or heightened so that actors can be vertically connected in unequal reciprocity (Gardin 2014) and interconnect disparate interests (Akaka et al. 2021). Third, the research explores a campaign that requires changing an individual’s behavior, where that changed behavior is economically expensive. It explores an attempt that reverses the established redistributive mechanisms of subsidies based on voluntary actions. Accordingly, the 4A framework is used to highlight that MSM can address

the affordability, accessibility, awareness, and acceptability issues frequently found in developing economies. The limitations of MSM to address the continuing affordability of the LPG are also highlighted.

Theoretical Underpinning

Macro-social Marketing

Wicked problems are complex problems, and are layered with institutional factors and competing interests. They are associated with the macro-structures (Akaka et al. 2021). MSM emerged out of the need to theorize individual behavioral changes from a system's perspective (Kennedy 2016; Kennedy and Parsons 2012, 2014) and also from the need of developing specialized solutions to tackle wicked problems (Akaka et al. 2021). It deals with wicked problems at a systemic level, with the overarching aim of substituting the undesirable institutional norms that surround an issue with desirable values and beliefs, thus leading to an enduring change (Domegan et al. 2016). The key is to introduce, propagate, and institutionalize desirable institutional and social norms and replace those norms and micro-structures that perpetuate and sustain the wicked problem (Domegan 2008; Kennedy 2016; Kennedy and Parsons 2012). Such a process of institutionalizing norms—for example, of personal responsibility and inherent human dignity—is evident in the case of New Zealand's mental health advertisements (Kemper and Kennedy 2021). However, long-term changes in beliefs and attitudes need consistent presentation of these norms, devoid of contradictions (Kemper and Kennedy 2021). The process of institutionalizing norms is also present in Give It Up and PMUY programs but has yet to be analyzed.

To achieve a long-term and systemic change, structural modifications (Hastings 2012) and macro-level transformations, as opposed to individual-level desired modifications, are sought in MSM (Domegan 2008). However, MSM does not negate the importance of

phenomenon at a disaggregated level (transactional) but especially aims to connect micro, meso, and macro levels to address the systemic deformities. For example, Kennedy and Parsons (2012) suggest complementing MSM efforts with other interventions, such as regulations, legislation, taxation, community mobilization, education, and research. These authors examined the Canadian government's anti-smoking campaign and revealed how this government reduced the efficacy of the 4Ps by sabotaging the efficient use of traditional marketing strategies by companies selling tobacco products. While studies highlight the importance of multi-level interventions, most only examine problems related to the marketing or demarketing of products and services.

Yet, policy changes are inadequate to lead to overall societal changes, may be because of its limitations in positively shaping the micro-actions (actions of individual actors). As in the case of the Give It Up and PMUY programs, merely changing the policy does not address or acknowledge the stigma (i.e., acceptability), awareness, or accessibility issues, which may prevent targeted (disadvantaged) consumers from accessing LPG services. For example, Truong (2017), after examining four social marketing campaigns in Vietnam, emphasizes the need to consider the social and cultural environment that enables a societal change to occur. Kapitan (2020) extends this argument by identifying the specific (micro) social structures and conditions which drive a social change and led to the adoption of renewable energy in island development states. However, this complexity cannot be tackled unless responsibility and power are decentralized and a collaborative approach is adopted (Previt and Pomfret 2020). Co-creating a social value requires a greater understanding of the links between MSM and the cultural environment that structures socioeconomic relationships, which emphasize the links between micro, meso, and macro (French 2020). Thus, changes to policy and social structure, as well as norms, are necessary to advance the systemic change. Indeed, Kemper and Ballentine (2017) highlights the limitations of conventional social marketing interventions to

address health issues, such as obesity, and propose to target formal and informal institutions (that structure the wicked problems at meso and macro levels) to effect a system-wide change.

Skewed socioeconomic relationships engender powerful market actors reaping the benefits of the marketing system. As in the case of the Give It Up and PMUY programs, wealthy consumers, rather than the targeted disadvantaged consumers, are reaping the benefits of subsidized LPG. MSM interventions are needed to correct these systems, which lead to inequity and unhealthy behaviors. Current scholarly examples provide guidance in this domain. For example, using a chrematistics framework to identify power structures at the macro, meso, and micro levels that perpetuate the wicked problem of heating, Kadirov (2020) explores warmth rationing as a wicked problem in New Zealand. When power structures present barriers to macro-level change, then “when” and “how” to intervene become vital (Koch and Orazi 2017). Huff et al. (2017) extend the very scope of who can intervene to effect social change; they highlight how unconventional agents such as non-government organizations (NGOs) can be involved by targeting up-, mid-, and downstream agents to address the embedded problem of gun violence in America. However, research has yet to explore how uneven power may be held by other consumers, rather than more traditionally accepted powerful actors, such as corporations. This skewness is chrematistic in nature, which needs to be corrected with interventions affecting the entire system at macro level. The accessibility to, and affordability of, a desired service and product becomes the biggest inhibition to establish system-wide change; showcasing how micro-actions or micro-inactions led to the sustenance of societal problems.

To determine how different facets of poverty and inequality can be tackled using MSM to address this gap, twin complementary programs by the GOI are explored; these

target multiple structural ills in the economy and society by creating desired institutional norms, value systems, and structural changes in the provisioning system. Therefore, institutional theory and the 4A framework are used to understand MSM's lack of success in addressing facets of poverty and inequality. This is done through analyzing the Give It Up (focusing on institutional norms) and PMUY (focusing on formal institutions) programs; both of these try to change the 4As of LPG.

Institutional Change

Institutions are a complex web of interconnected networks of socioeconomic relationships that shape (and are shaped by) institutional norms in their environment (DiMaggio 1988; Dixon 1984; Scott 1994). Institutions provide the expectations of behavior and also the pathways to resolve deviations from what is "normative." This may be focused on the formal, such as regulatory, legislative, or public policy changes, or the informal, such as social norms and values. Changes to laws may also result in restrictions to the marketing of undesirable products, such as limiting promotions and point-of-sale displays (Kemper and Ballantine 2017). In addition, institutional (informal) norms are the acceptable expectations of behavior within an institutional environment (Berger and Luckman 1967; Zucker 1977). These are standards of behavior that indicate what people should or should not do under specific conditions (DeJordy and Jones 2007). For example, market or exchange norms are institutionalized in marketing systems and are internalized by market actors. These frameworks become important because of the complexity of interdependence among individuals, the mutuality of their interests, and the network of interactions that constitute wicked problems. These norms could include the solidarity, mutuality, and harmonizing relationships (Heide and John 1992) that are essential for protecting the continuous interests of market actors and are also effective in enhancing the outcomes of marketing systems. To

ensure this, macro-social marketers should aim to change economic-task and cultural-institutional norms (Kennedy 2016). Efficiency expectations and outputs form the core of economic-task norms (Scott and Meyer 1983). Cultural-institutional norms, which are associated with everyday life, are meaning systems, symbolic elements, and regulatory processes (Scott 1994). These norms can be communicated through such elements as product, place, price, promotion, people, partnership, and policy, or a combination of these things (Kennedy 2017; Krisjanous 2014).

The 4A Framework

As emerging markets have unique challenges to market products and services (Mathur, Mehta, and Swami 2020), the commonly used marketing mix framework (4Ps) may not always be applicable (Anderson and Billou 2007; Prahalad 2002). The emerging markets are characterized by heterogenous and fragmented demands accompanied by the presence of huge mass market of subsistence consumers (Sheth 2011), and resource scarcity. In these conditions, the key is to generate aggregate demand and the 4A framework is useful for analyzing emerging market conditions (Maity and Singh 2021; Sheth and Sisodia 2012). For example, most of the population who live in poverty cannot access LPG because of affordability issues, and the subsidies are consumed by a populace who can afford to pay market prices. Thus, the awareness, accessibility, affordability, and acceptability of LPG and the subsidy must differ between two groups of consumers.

The 4As framework created by Sheth and Sisodia (2012) consists of awareness, accessibility, affordability, and acceptability in a market system. The first “A” (awareness) is the communication outcome in given markets. It concerns attempts to spread information about the products and services in question and overall understanding among consumers regarding its values and functionalities (i.e., quality, reliability) (Sheth and Sisodia 2012). It

consists of product awareness and brand knowledge. Low literacy rates, culture and value differences, and disparity in media use moderate their awareness about right product/services solutions (Payaud 2014). The second “A” (accessibility) includes the non-economic barriers to access desired products and services, involving both availability (e.g., supply) and convenience (e.g., time) (Sheth and Sisodia 2012). For example, spatial market separation imposes restrictions on accessing products and services in emerging contexts. It creates the task of getting products to customers difficult. The third “A” (affordability) involves both the consumers’ ability and willingness to pay for desired products and services. This may involve economic and psychological willingness to pay (Maity and Sing 2021). Consumers in this context have low disposable income which is not steady. Also, in these conditions many essential products and services are considered as discretionary, resulting in consumers engaging in suboptimal buying/usage decisions. These decisions reinforce their poor conditions viz. health, food, and environment hampering their physical and cognitive growth. The fourth “A” (acceptability) implies consumer desire to adopt a product and services, specifically the functional (i.e., capabilities, quality, reliability) and psychological dimensions (i.e., perceived value, fairness) (Maity and Singh 2021). Scholars emphasize the need to offer products and services that are adapted to the needs of subsistence consumers and retailers (Anderson and Billou 2007) in the areas such as food and energy (Dodd 2015). The products should meet the buyers’ psychological and environmental needs (Dodd 2015) and fit the aspirations and value systems subsistence consumers follow.

Amin et al. (2021) explored Bangladesh’s energy security using 4As framework and showed that the energy security trend in Bangladesh is improving on the account of awareness and accessibility. However, the other two dimensions of acceptability and affordability show that country is far from achieving energy security. Kennedy and Parsons (2012) implicitly allude to the awareness and acceptability dimensions (like community

mobilization and education) in MSM initiatives to bring about a societal change. MSM seeks macro-level transformations (Domegan 2008) and the 4As framework subsumes aggregated change—economic and/or societal. Besides awareness and accessibility, affordability and acceptability of the MSM interventions is also very important, be it in the case of obesity (Kemper and Ballentine 2017), gun violence (Huff et al. 2017), chrematistics (Kadirov 2020), or social marketing interventions in developing country settings such as Vietnam (Truong 2017). However, these studies do not explicitly reveal the relationship between 4As framework and MSM. In this study, we present the application of this framework in the MSM context and show the links between MSM and marketing concepts (Truong 2017).

Research Context

For decades, governments, multilateral agencies, and NGOs tried to address economic and structural inefficiencies by focusing on the distribution of “improved cookstoves” with inadequate results. Isolated successes (Adler 2010), low adoption (Mobarak et al. 2012), and irregular and inappropriate usage marred the “improved cookstoves” initiatives (Hanna et al. 2016). From the user’s perspective, LPG is a desirable option to tackle the above-mentioned issues (Lahoti, Suchitra and Goutam 2012; Ravindranath and Ramakrishna 1997). Because of hegemonic social structure and hierarchies, marginalized communities do not have equitable access to clean cooking fuels (Kumar 2018; Mosse 2018). Thus, affordability of the clean fuel is a formidable challenge (Pelz, Chindarkar and Urpelanien 2021) that remains a major barrier to LPG use (Saxena and Bhattacharya 2018). Structural anomalies and challenges increase the price poor customers have to pay for adopting LPG; thus, a systemic correction with a “targeted” subsidies approach is required (Jain, Agrawal and Ganesan 2018). As a result, India’s cooking gas subsidy is the largest DBT program in the world (Mittal, Mukherjee and Gelb 2017).

In 2015, the GOI began to offer 12 subsidized LPG cylinders to every household with an LPG connection (Kapur 2015). This led to the expenditure of approximately \$5 billion annually to the government treasury (Kapur 2015). However, the high installation price of LPG connections (i.e., capital cost) has become the biggest barrier in adopting LPG, resulting in the use of solid fuels (see also Gupta et al. 2020; Kar et al. 2020). Consequently, (relatively richer) urban households, instead of the poorer urban and rural households, have benefitted from LPG subsidies (Lahoti, Suchitra and Goutam 2012; Livemint 2015). The GOI made multiple attempts to bring this number down, but this was in vain because of popular pressure against the program (Kapur 2015). Instead of changing the policy around the subsidy, the GOI decided to bring a change in the informal institutions surrounding the subsidy. This was much more palatable to the public as well as the policy-makers vying for a re-election.

The consumption of these subsidies as reflected in LPG connections is very skewed; 86.6% of urban households use LPG, with rural areas representing merely 48.3% (Jacob and Jha 2019). Pro-poor policies such as subsidies can certainly expand the consumption choices of the poor by boosting their purchasing power. However, given the high level of concentration of LPG use among higher-income households, subsidies in the given format are not effective in providing equitable access of LPG to poor households (Ghosh and Ganesan 2015; Lvovsky et al. 2003). Thus, to promote giving up the subsidy, the Give It Up campaign tried to address concerns about the benefits of doing this, suggesting that leftover resources would be used for “developmental activities” and that “by giving up their LPG subsidy they have ensured that an underprivileged household can enjoy clean cooking conditions” as stated in communication messages in the Give It Up campaign (Give it Up 2021). In this vein, the campaign addressed economic-task norms (Kennedy 2016) by suggesting that economically, money should be diverted to another, more vulnerable, source.

In conjunction, to address the need to help the most vulnerable (women and children), in 2016, PMUY was launched. This provides support of Rs.1600 per connection. The monetary support gives upfront money security and supports the other expenses that consumers are required to pay.

Methodology

MSM phenomena are complex and consist of multiple interconnected sets of interactions and relationships across a multitude of stakeholders within the value chain. Qualitative research paradigms are appropriate for studying these phenomena (Samuel and Peattie 2016), as they allow an in-depth inquiry in a real-world context (Yin 2013).

The empirical context for this research is Maharashtra, a state in western India, and Odisha, a state in eastern India. While Maharashtra is one of the most developed and urbanized states in the country, Odisha is known for its chronic poverty. Approximately 33% of Odisha's population lives below the poverty line (as against the national average of approximately 22%), and most of the population works at menial labor in the primary sector (The New Indian Express 2019).

In this research, 19 people, belonging from the upper and lower economic strata, participated as data providers; they are beneficiaries of the two campaigns (Give It Up or PMUY). Most of the participants for the Give It Up campaign were male (the primary decision-makers in a family); most participants for PMUY were female (with an LPG connection in their names only). All the participants involved in the Give It Up campaign had a steady source of income from employment. In contrast, participants involved in PMUY belonged to underprivileged backgrounds with low literacy caused by a lack of resources. These participants were living in extreme conditions with no access to clean cooking fuel prior to the PMUY campaign. These participants also faced multiple constraints in accessing

resources and would manage their household activities alone without any support from their male partners. All participants except one were married. We tried to ascertain their age (particularly of participants from PMUY) from their GOI-issued identity cards.

Data Collection

In-depth interviews were held with two types of consumers – those who gave up their LPG subsidy (Give It Up) and those who took up an LPG connection (PMUY). The interviews were conducted with participants (Table 1) in respective local languages, Marathi (for Give It Up) and Odiya (for PMUY) (McCracken 1988; Silverman 2015). The main author conducted the interviews in Marathi; for Odiya-speaking participants, help was sought for interviewing, transcription, and translation. Participants were assured about the confidentiality of their identity and the purpose of research was shared before seeking their consent. A typical interview consisted of two parts: background questions about their life circumstances, and questions about the initiative and LPG. Interviewees could thus contextualize the later questions in terms of their life circumstances; this approach enabled detailed narratives about using cooking fuel in their life.

To help Odiya participants narrate their experiences with solid fuels and post-LPG connections, elicitation techniques within interviews were used, such as asking some hypothetical situations. Photographs were taken of participants' cooking practices and the drudgery they experienced when collecting solid fuels; this helped to interpret their responses during interviews. With the first group of participants (Give It Up), the main focus of the interviews was on their decision to surrender subsidies. With the second group (PMUY), the focus was on their adoption of LPG and the impediments to this. The average interview duration was 48 minutes. All interviews except three were audio recorded (these participants were not comfortable being recorded). Follow-up clarifying discussions were held with

almost all participants to ensure a nuanced understanding of the phenomenon. Follow-up discussions, although unrecorded, were more insightful as by then a rapport had been established with the participants.

Primary data were supplemented with secondary data to understand the campaigns in detail. These data included government documents, campaign promotional materials, and news items that appeared in national English dailies such as the *Indian Express*, *Hindustan Times*, the *Hindu*, and *Times of India*.

<<<<<<Insert Table 1 about here>>>>>>

Data Analysis

The recorded interviews were translated and transcribed verbatim (Poland 2002). The data analysis and collection were undertaken simultaneously. Open coding of the data was done and important codes were selected (Corbin and Strauss 2008). Open coding entails “categorizing the segments of data with [giving them] a short name” (Charmaz 2006, p. 43). These initial codes were rooted in contextual factors. Further, general patterns of meanings were identified in selective codes that pertained to questions under focus (Rice and Ezzy 1999). Multiple iterations led to the emergence of abstract general themes. The process of constant comparison of themes helped find the recurrent themes and further refined them.

The process of developing a general theme is discussed in detail. Figure 1 shows an example. Open codes were examined to arrive at the general theme of the “the norm of patriotism.” Open codes were “haves,” “have-nots,” and “resource transfer”; this led to a selective code of “sacrifice.” Additionally, the open codes “disgrace to the nation,” “our duty,” “difference in life,” and “small acts” led to a selective code of “commitment.” By applying the literature on “MSM” and “institutional change,” the general theme of “the norm

of patriotism” was derived. Representative cases (quotations) from the data were found where the norm of patriotism was prominent. A similar approach was followed to discern and develop other themes. Themes were triangulated with secondary data—in particular, the news items—and then refined further. The rest of the secondary data were simultaneously analyzed to understand macro conditions such as fuel-use patterns, their affects at the macro level, the cultural nuances, and the pitfalls for the physical and human environments. See Table 2 for overall themes and representative quotes.

<<<<<<Insert Figure 1 about here>>>>>>

<<<<<<Insert Table 2 about here>>>>>>

Qualitative research needs to establish trustworthiness of the research process (Tellis 1997). Trustworthiness is associated with credibility (results are credible), dependability (findings are repeatable), confirmability (results can be confirmed by other researchers), and transferability (generalizability of results) (Lincoln and Guba 1986). We used data and investigator triangulation to assure the validity of the research processes (Denzin 1984). Peer feedback was used to increase credibility, which was achieved through author discussion and the peer review process (Shenton, 2004). Thorough explanations of the research process and purposeful sampling contribute positively to transferability (Bitsch, 2005) and credibility (Baxter and Eyles 1997; Creswell and Miller 2000). Transferability was also increased by thick descriptions (i.e., quotes), allowing findings to transfer to other contexts or individuals (Lincoln and Guba 1985). Source triangulation and using quotes from different participants also increased credibility (Baxter and Eyles 1997; Creswell and Miller 2000). Prolonged engagement and persistent observations also add to overall trustworthiness (Erlandson et al. 1993).

Results

Give it Up!

We firstly present the findings related to the Give it Up! Campaign. The data analysis reveals the institutionalization of new norms that motivate wealthier consumers to give up their LPG subsidy. First, the approach included addressing the expectations of “reciprocity” through institutionalizing “social responsibility,” with a key outcome, that of satisfaction and happiness, while participating in the Give It Up program. Second, this included linking the Give It Up initiative to the already established norm of patriotism as Indians have strong ties with their country and government (Athira 2014). Third, the social norm of the Give It Up initiative cultivated the belief that “everyone [respectable]” gave up the subsidy, thus socializing the “give up” action, that enhanced the program’s social acceptability.

Voluntary Reciprocal Actions

By these campaigns, the GOI inspired consumers to give up LPG subsidies to promote equality, inclusion, and social justice by strengthening the institutionalized norm of “reciprocity,” which is an important dimension of solidarity (common consciousness) and social cohesion. It is an overall attempt by the GOI to promote solidarity-based economy (citizen-based activities) (Cooney et al. 2016) to tackle the inequality in subsidy distribution and access to clean cooking fuel. In this case, the onus of welfare of consumers from subsistence marketplaces was kept on the relatively wealthy consumer-citizens. This was done by shaping the reciprocity norm, which is one of the guiding principles in social life (Gouldner 1960) and solidarity economy. It is closely associated with the fundamental norms of equality, gratitude, justice, and obligation (Becker 2014). Here, reciprocity becomes the foundation for equitable markets and citizen-consumers solidarity. It shapes the overall discourse related to the appropriation of subsidies by actors who can afford market prices,

thus, democratizing access to the LPG and improving quality of life by linking the solidarity economy through reciprocity to the larger macro-economic trends like subsidy maldistribution.

Positive reciprocity implies a reward for a kind treatment and negative reciprocity denotes punishment for unkind treatment (Falk and Fischbacher 2006). This is the expectation that people will help you if you help them. In the case of giving up the LPG subsidy, a consumer asks, “What is in it for me?” They expect some positive returns for giving it up, which may not be in the form of monetary or material rewards but some kind of gratitude and recognition in return for their kind act. Here, the larger community needs are expected to be satisfied through the reciprocity dimension. In fact, every consumer giving up an LPG subsidy is also recognized by being listed on a “scroll of honor” (Give It Up 2021) and mapped on to the name of a corresponding below-the-poverty-line family receiving an LPG connection (Smith and Sagar 2016). This is a form of “tangible” exchange for one’s “good” deed of giving up the subsidy. These are voluntary relations created through reciprocity between disparate actors (collectivities). This is redistribution of value that brings in a larger socio-cultural and economic change. R11, a 29-year-old software developer working in a multinational corporation, succinctly identified the need for this campaign but had reservations about what would happen to the subsidy should they give it up (i.e., where does the money go?):

I always knew I do not need subsidized LPG cylinders. I could always buy it at market price. I am tax payer. You know, in this country not many people pay taxes [he meant base is thin]. I was very wary about what do I get in return [of taxes].

Where would the subsidy go if I forgo it was always a million-dollar question for us [he meant family].

The democratizing effect of the economic actions was not clear to the actors. By devising mechanisms such as the scroll of honor, the GOI shaped the embeddedness of the norms like reciprocity in the larger economic systems. This norm bridges the gap between micro-economic actions (voluntary subsidy forfeiture) and macro social-effect (LPG connection). The challenge for the campaign was to highlight these effects. Many consumers saw no need to voluntarily commit to surrender the subsidy before this campaign. R12, a 48-year-old participant, is a small cafeteria owner. He stated:

I would not see any need to let go subsidy on LPG cylinder [before the campaign]. I would consider it as our right. We would not even realize the burden it is on treasury. And, we were absolutely oblivious to the fact of how it perpetuates inequality. I would never think of how poor and rural people cook their food. It was never my concern. I would get subsidized LPG cylinders every month and I was happy with it. I do have good income though.

The emancipatory impact of voluntary economic actions was unknown to the actors before this campaign. This campaign, essentially, socially integrated two segments of citizen-consumers based on the principles of solidarity. This restrain-based solidarity cements the social cohesion and addresses the larger challenges of inequality (in this case, unequal access to LPG). R13, a 65-year-old retired bank manager, initially felt anguish at the idea of ceding the subsidy. He said:

Government [has] many schemes for poor. We pay government huge money through direct and indirect taxes. Where do all that money go? Helping poor is all right but why should we burden ourselves? How do we really know about the authenticity of the beneficiary if we forgo the subsidy?

These inhibitions in forgoing LPG subsidies are significant predicaments for upstream actors who wish to institute system-wide changes. These inhibitions emanate from the expectations about what “rights” people have to a certain resource. People question what is in it for them (as current LPG consumers) and how other people (poor non-consumers of LPG) would benefit from a seemingly insignificant act, such as giving up a subsidy. They would not comprehend this unequal reciprocity (Gardin 2014) where actors have vertical relationships. The nature of exchange between actors is not known to either groups, importantly the “power” (i.e., economic power) actor in this relationship (subsidy-giver group). Moreover, the rewards individual LPG consumers would get from ceding a subsidy are not tangible; therefore, this may deter pro-social behavior. Similarly, the ill-effects of solid fuel use on people’s lives and the natural environment are usually beyond their consideration and comprehension. Thus, the campaign was aimed at tackling these issues. The campaign mechanisms helped in adjusting (strengthening) the societal relationships particularly between disparate group of actors.

In addition, the campaign introduced psychological mechanism that addressed the vertical linkage issues (between group of actors) in this unequal reciprocity by highlighting how it brings the “happiness in someone’s life,” that is, linking voluntary actions (by subsidy givers) to the outcome of “happiness creation.” A campaign communication by a noted Bollywood actor emphasizes that there is nothing like the happiness that we get from making a small contribution to someone’s life. In essence, happiness is the “exchange” received from giving up the subsidy. As R15, a 48-year old teacher, noted:

I wish I could once meet a family who got benefited from my contribution. That happiness and smile would be unparalleled. I know I have not done much nonetheless I did spread some happiness around.

The campaign asked givers to “feel the joy of giving.” The idea of spreading happiness governed the reciprocal exchange relationship in this case and formed the basis of an exchange fiction. Holmes et al. (2002) refers to such narratives as “exchange fictions.” This denotes the cover story that people need to justify their positive actions (generosity) toward others (who may not be related to them or even an acquaintance) as rational actions. In an Aristotelian sense, this norm is *eudemonic* (Robinson 1989). It entails living in harmony in relation to the self and other members of a society based on social cohesion and solidarity. This exchange fiction is a bond between social acts based on solidarity and economic actions based on reciprocity. Thus, this exchange (receiving happiness from giving up the subsidy) forms the basis of a change movement that shapes marketing systems where all the actors in the system, particularly the weaker ones, can thrive sustainably alongside environmental and social systems. Happiness becomes an overarching principle for the exchange process that positively affects social, economic, and personal circumstances in someone else’s life. Overall, this dimension of the campaign is oriented toward bringing in more equality (in accessing LPG) and common good (tackling public health and environmental issues). This, in contravention to the market logic of profit maximization thus, can be called as counter-market mechanism.

Strengthening Solidarity through Responsibility

Moreover, to address these issues and the expectations of reciprocity, the question of “what I have in it for me?” was linked to the norm of “social responsibility” as a moral duty—which is a cultural-institutional norm (Scott 1994). It represents a broader theme, however, as addressing the vulnerabilities of targeted users of LPG was of utmost importance. The campaign required a transparent and reliable reward system based on a positive narrative that could motivate enhanced pro-social actions, transgressing the mundanity of the questions

mentioned above. The campaign woven around the concept of Give It Up addressed these inhibitions and provided a new narrative by engendering the desired social norms that needed to be embraced by well-to-do consumers. It is an attempt to create and then strengthen the solidarity bonds. It helped end-users to overcome the challenges in accessing LPG. We argue that it is not just some kind of one-time charity act; rather, it is an attempt to create a different kind of relationship between disparate/heterogenous groups of consumers. This act of responsibility has underlined principles of social morality without which these campaigns may not be successful.

Social responsibility entails helping each other, alongside the imperative to create a better world (a moral duty of every individual). This injunctive norm, which transmits group approval about a particular behavior (in this case, the need to give up an LPG subsidy), has become “the right thing to do.” It is embossed in voluntarism. When a person does give up the subsidy voluntarily, they are a “hero” (“[t]his heroic act also helps conserve the environment thus helping create a greener and pollution free India” in communication messages of the campaign, (Give It Up 2021)). R14, a 42-year-old female IT professional, delineated her responsibility as a vigilant citizen as a reason to surrender LPG subsidy:

I get so much from this society and environment that it becomes my moral responsibility to pay it back. I could build my career because of help from many known and unknown people. Now, it is my turn to repay it. It is not something obligatory but a solemn responsibility where I really feel positively compelled. This campaign has given me an opportunity to discharge my responsibility.

R14 asserts that the campaign, as an external event, was an opportunity to display responsible actions. This is key to shape a new norm. Specifically, the social responsibility norm is

articulated by the participants as revealing those who give up the subsidy as having “empathy,” “giving-back,” “pride,” and “participation” (participants’ words).

Patriotism as Unity of Cause

The theme of “patriotism” refers to the sense of unity of people living in the same land and their [conscious] understanding of the shared fate and attachment toward each other. Thus, the feeling of patriotism made it morally obligatory for citizens to look after each other’s welfare. India is a country with millions of people still living below the poverty line (per day income of \$2.0) and poverty is a great public concern. A few participants looked at giving up the LPG subsidy as a small sacrifice and a way to build a nation, thus deriving happiness from helping compatriots. The campaign itself utilized phrasings such as “make a personal contribution toward nation-building” (Give It Up 2021). Further, the small act of MSM at a disaggregated (exchange) level is linked to the bigger institutional norm of patriotism in the form of nation building—in the form of poverty eradication as a national priority.

Interestingly, the prime minister’s appeal was promoted as an act of appeal to patriotic feelings and, thus, the urge to help one’s fellow compatriots. Overall, the campaign was centered around the collective well-being of actors in the marketing system. Here, the concept of marketing systems was used in a broader sense to include physical and cultural spheres (Jagadale, Kadirov and Chakraborty 2018).

Overall, this was a case of resource redistribution, where actors with resources transferred “additional” resources to actors who did not have them. The justification, or exchange fiction in this case, was patriotic feelings toward “have-nots” in the country. R16, a 38-year-old provision store owner, noted how the act of giving up the subsidy was a nationalistic act:

Our country has so many poor people. They cannot afford to cook their food. It is harming our name (he meant country's image) in outside world. I am just not helping a family here but helping my nation and PM to get good name for us. We can save so many lives by giving all these poor households proper gas (LPG) connections. It is not at all big act. But so many people doing it make a big act.

Individuals can clearly see the difference they are able to make. This drives their ambitions to help individuals and the nation. It is through such a lens that consumers can perceive the collective difference an individual can make. A respondent compared this campaign with the mythological story of *Ram Setu* (i.e., the bridge). Indian epic *Ramayana* mentions a story wherein the epic hero Rama builds a bridge between India and Sri Lanka (ancient Lanka) with the help of Vanara (ape-men) so that his wife Sita can be rescued. She had been captured by Ravana, a demon king from Lanka. Interestingly, a squirrel also helped build this bridge. Respondent R18, a 68-year-old retired teacher, said:

Our participation in this campaign is like that squirrel. Our role may be small but we are helping create a bridge to destroy poverty (he did not say fuel poverty). It is our duty to participate in this campaign.

Socialization and Acceptability

Socialization is an important aspect of a pro-social behavior providing support and education for a particular behavior. Indeed, the idea that “everyone” supports the subsidy helped establish the social norm of giving up the subsidy (“many able and aware citizens are not in favor of subsidies and would rather pay the full price for the products” in the communications of the campaign (Give It Up, 2021)). The belief that “everyone” would give up the subsidy added to its social *acceptability*.

Moreover, interpretation of the cues in this campaign has major implications for the macro-level change. The campaign clearly highlighted publicly the need of poor people for clean cooking fuel and instigated empathetic responses from LPG consumers. In this way, it brought *awareness* of the issue to wealthier consumers. Understanding the situation (i.e., that LPG subsidies should be given up) and caring for the well-being of these poor were central to the empathetic response. R17, an engineer by profession, said:

I am proud giver of subsidy. I look at my colleagues who have not given up their subsidies with disdain. It is greedy act on their part. Why should they not participate in it. The campaign has in-built feature of accountability. The scroll of honor is thing of pride for me. I also know where the subsidy I gave up went. I know the beneficiary. This is very transparent and accountable campaign.

Non-participation is construed as greediness and is thus discouraged. In this case, solidarity as a value underpins participation. Solidarity is for poorer consumers, who are fellow citizens. The above-mentioned quotation highlights the discouragement of becoming a “free-rider” (someone who benefits unfairly from the system and does not pay their fair share). Due to this, even the middle-class consumers from rural areas came forward to surrender their subsidy. Therefore, the campaign was viewed by consumers as a communal process, rather than a mere economic transaction, where the collective interests of all became paramount.

Overall, the GOI was required to shape the social and cultural sub-systems within the existing marketing systems that enabled desirable changes in individual behaviors (Kennedy 2016). This study illuminates how, by creating norms, by communities accepting these norms, and by shaping the socio-cultural environment, the micro behavior of individuals can be changed.

Showcasing New Behavior

Also, the analysis revealed that participation in the campaign also become part of revealing a new behavior through displaying one's values, morals, and identity. The transaction cost for participating in the subsidy was minimal, as the target group could afford LPG at market rates. The campaign ensured that subsidies could be given up by "clicking" on links and numbers (SMS, online, or through an app), which addressed the need for *accessibility* (decreasing the barriers to access). Therefore, non-participation was viewed as a selfish act of appropriating money that one does not deserve and thus, reflecting poorly on one's character. Conversely, giving up the subsidy displayed one's social values and a sense of pride of in participating in the initiative. As R13 noted:

One should not consider it as a big sacrifice. For me, my giving up subsidy was just an act of compassion. I was government employee and despite financial hardships post retirement I can certainly forgo this much amount for people in need. It will help a greater cause. Government appeal was very important for me here.

Participation in the program was accompanied by transparency and accountability underpinned by pride.

Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana

The Issue of Continuous Affordability

PMUY provides monetary support through upfront security and running expenses (INR1600) for LPG.

<<<<<< Insert Image 1 and 2 about here >>>>>>

Recently, however, the economic downturn due to COVID-19 has affected poor household's incomes even more (negatively) and may leave 100 million women in extreme poverty (Pandit 2020). Consequently, the cost of LPG is forcing households to return to earlier cooking methods (Chakraborty, Sundria and Pandya 2021). R10, a 55-year-old domestic helper, narrated the misery her family was experiencing owing to their reduced income:

For the last more than three years, we were using LPG gas stove and had become habitual to cook food on it. My son lost his job. He was the main bread earner for us. We had to cut down our expenses. We decided to use LPG sparingly, whenever very urgent only. We restarted cooking on earthen chullah (traditional cookstove). I, on my way back home, collect firewood from jungle and stash it at home. This is the only way. We cannot afford INR 900 (approximately \$13) per refill. It is huge amount for us in these days now. It is like a white elephant that we cannot sustain.

This turn of events revealed the Give It Up campaign's limitations. Affordability of the service is not a one-time barrier. Instead, it is continuous affordability of the product that is the main issue, because it entails a continuous ability to pay in the consumer (Sheth and Sisodia 2012). The MSM Give It Up campaign addressed the issue of willingness and ability to pay for accessing the initial LPG service, but it did not address the ability to afford LPG refills (Johari 2021). Indeed, recently, the cost of a 14.2 kg domestic LPG cylinder was raised by Rs 25 (Johari 2021). This is the seventh LPG price hike imposed by the central government since December 2020 (Johari 2021). PMUY was thus introduced as a possible avenue to reduce the costs of LPG for poor women in rural communities, but it has failed to address economic barriers in the long term.

The Issue of Awareness, Accessibility, and Acceptability

India has a scattered geography with communication challenges in its hinterland. However, the poor consumers interviewed for this research were *aware* of LPG and its multiple benefits. It was kind of an aspirational product for many of them, and in some cases, participants stated that it was not “meant” for them. Additionally, there were some challenges of (mis)information (i.e., awareness issues). A few participants stressed that LPG was not safe to use and sometimes might lead to fires (because of its inflammatory nature). Most were unaware of the process of obtaining an LPG connection. They did not know who to approach for a new connection:

Who would not want to use LPG? We are very much aware of its benefits to us. I have been seeing so many people using it around us. (R5)

I am really not sure about whom to approach for new LPG connection... I sometimes worry that my family members should be able to use it appropriately and safely. (R6)

LPG is a bulky product: a normal size bottle is more than 14 kg. The nature of the product is such that it is not convenient to carry it either on foot or bicycle (i.e., *accessibility* issues). Rural spatial segregation makes it difficult to access distributors easily, and to carry the product home. Distributors find it difficult to deliver LPG to a few households, as the demand is dispersed, unlike in urban centers. However, dealers are changing their business models to ensure delivery to the nearest hub. These are small marketplaces where people from dispersed habitation centers assemble.

Some poor consumers also stated that they had no issues going to a hub and procuring an LPG bottle. However, this arrangement also accrued an opportunity cost to rural consumers that may not exist for better off urban consumers:

It should not be the issue. It is always better to spend a few hours bimonthly than spending more than it per day to collect wood. (R6)

In terms of acceptability, the normalization of traditional cooking practices creates a challenge. These cooking practices pose difficulties for poor consumers as they do hard work, requiring resources that can be otherwise used to improve their short- (i.e., cash for food) and long-term well-being (i.e., health outcomes of inhaling fumes). A respondent said that in the rainy season, they sometimes cook only once each day (cooking food twice a day is the norm in India), and they cook only rice as they lack dry wood to burn in the chullah (traditional earthen cookstove). However, the new social norm of using LPG may penetrate through communities and consumers may feel pressure to “keep up with the Joneses”:

We want it badly. People ask questions about how we cook food. My son is to get married now. And people ask if would be daughter-in-law going to slog on Chullah (traditional earthen cookstove) only. (R10)

Table 3 displays the analysis of the Give It Up and PMUY initiatives through the 4As framework.

<<<<<< Insert Table 3 about here>>>>>>

Figure 2 displays the initiatives of Give It Up and PMUY and their outcomes; the campaigns are discussed and analyzed in detail below.

<<<<<<Insert Figure 2 about here>>>>>>

Discussion

Overall, the initiatives, discussed here, demonstrate how macro level change can be enabled by tackling the wicked problem of access to LPG through challenging the societal belief

system (Head 2008). This was done by introducing interventions at the upstream level (policy) (Kennedy, Kemper and Parsons 2018) by bringing in enabling mechanisms where transaction cost for participating in the MSM campaign was reduced. These twin campaigns considered the structural impediments to behavior change, such as why should one forego the subsidy, by shaping the norms that reduced the internalities (psychological costs) for participating members. Thus, this research builds on the earlier studies by Kennedy and Parsons (2014) and Peters (2017) by highlighting the mechanisms to tackle the perceived costs incurred in social system change. This study also underlines how various actors can be vertically connected in unequal reciprocity (Gardin 2014) to encompass multitude of social actors and weave in their disparate interests (Akaka et al. 2021).

This campaign is an example of how policy makers can shape an environment to make dramatic changes to economic and social systems. Previous research demonstrates that policy makers are usually reluctant to make dramatic changes (Domegan, 2008). The Give It Up campaign through demarketing of subsidies and through the marketing of LPG to poor consumers, mobilized communities by shaping the external environment as suggested by Kennedy and Parsons (2012). We demonstrate that macro-interventions shaped the micro-actions due to the campaign's consideration of socio-cultural environment (Truong 2017) through introducing norms like patriotism. In this campaign the onus of social change was put on individual actors, it decentralized the responsibility and power and also promoted collaborative approach between disparate group of consumers as posited by Previt and Pomfret (2020). This collaboration broke the power structure (Koch and Orazi 2017) in the system (chrematistics) that promoted equitable access to LPG.

Theoretical Contribution

The research contributes to macromarketing theory and practice in multiple ways. Lusch (2006) posit that understanding microactions of market actors and government is starting point of macromarketing research as these microactions and actors shape the macrostructure. Macrostructures are associated with wicked societal problems since these problems impacts cross-sections of people and various aspects of human lives (Akaka et al. 2021). Unmasking these complexities of macrostructures is necessary to resolve the wicked problems (Hunt 2020). Our research contributes to this conversation by unmasking the microactions (using 4As framework) that structure the aggregate systems supporting wicked problems. We empirically highlight the interrelatedness of macro (overall systemic issues of subsidies and differential LPG adoption deforming the marketing system) and micro (subsidies availed by consumers who can afford market prices and consumers who are out of the market) to tackle the problem of clean cooking fuel poverty. Akaka et al. (2021) argue that wicked problems require specialized solutions. We explore the campaign “Give It Up” to underscore one such potential solution to correct deformed macrostructures (marketing systems) and brought in enduring change (Domegan et al. 2016). The campaign inspires individual actor’s actions to give up subsidy and adopt LPG. While doing so we show how MSM can potentially bridge the gap between micro and macro thus, organically weaving MSM in macromarketing literature.

Second, it expands the theoretical boundaries of MSM and highlight how MSM can be used using 4As framework to shape dignified marketing systems. We showcase the mechanism to do so by introducing desired social behavioral norms. The LPG campaign was analyzed using the 4As framework in marketing. It underscored the relationship between the campaign and changes to the marketing system. The research explored the interrelationship

between MSM and marketing concepts (Truong 2017), thus, operationalized some elements of MSM. The ability to pay for desirable products and services is key in Bottom of the Pyramid markets (Maity and Singh 2021). This research uniquely showcases how the issues of an ability to pay and the rectification of economic inefficiencies (i.e., addressed by the PMUY initiative) in marketing systems can be addressed using the MSM framework. These issues are inherent problems of marketing systems which are institutionally sustained thus impacting system actor's well-being (e.g., Kennedy 2016). In this sense, macro-marketers are concerned about the wicked problem of energy poverty and access to the relatively clean source of fuel. In this research, we provide framework that can be used by macro-marketers to address the norms that sustain the wicked problems resulting in the deformed marketing system. While doing so we agree with Layton's argument on the management of macro-marketing system (Layton 2014). Layton cautions about unintended consequences of management of macro-marketing systems on social systems which cannot be managed. Our research empirically show that this approach can be adapted by introducing desired norms and 4As perspective to tackle the systemic wicked challenges, Thus, this paper contributes to the macromarketing theory and practice by demonstrating that dominant economic ideologies (e.g., LPG subsidies) and norms associated with these ideologies that perpetuate and sustain the wicked problems (e.g., LPG access) can be challenged.

However, in practice, PMUY still falls short of fully addressing the affordability dimension. It highlights the limitations of MSM, and suggests that further theorization is needed. The campaign transcended earlier boundaries of the MSM framework by suggesting how this could address wicked problems beyond just the ill-effects of marketing products and services. While doing this, it also encompasses the differential material endowments of market actors with different needs.

MSM is usually examined in the context of consumer goods that are involved in wicked problems (i.e., fast food, tobacco) (Kemper and Ballantine, 2019). This research instead expanded the possibilities for MSM frameworks in relation to (fuel) poverty and inequality. The case study also highlights that MSM can result in unexpected externalities and even internalities (i.e., negatively affecting the parties to the exchange) (Kennedy and Parsons 2014; Peters 2017). This is seen in Give It Up, as this was a campaign initiated because too many households were using subsidized LPG even when they could afford market rates.

Third, the study analyzed an MSM campaign in which the target segment of the campaign and the beneficiary of the campaign were different. Other MSM studies focus on the target and beneficiary being the same (i.e., obesity). The campaign was able to connect the seemingly unrelated concerns and interests of consumers from different socioeconomic strata. In this case, the campaign was successful in the creation of norms through communication campaigns to motivate well-to-do consumers to give up a subsidy for LPG that was then correspondingly availed by poor consumers seeking an LPG connection. The campaign was able to institutionalize the new norms of social responsibility and link to the norm of patriotism to provide an exchange fiction about why giving up the subsidy was the “right” thing to do. In addition, the social desirability and norm of giving up the subsidy was highlighted. Social conformity shows that people tend to conform to what other people do (Cialdini and Goldstein 2004). Research demonstrates that appropriate reference groups must be used (Burchell et al. 2012); in this case, the campaign highlighted those who gave up the subsidy were associated with positive attributes such as patriotism. The Indian socio-cultural context is different and fragmented (based on geography, gender, caste, and class) (e.g., Jagadale, Kadirov and Chakraborty 2018; Roy-Chaudhuri and Jagadale 2021), and the practices of consumption (in this case fuel use) are contingent on one’s status in the

(perceived) hierarchy. In this way, giving up the subsidy not only highlighted the social acceptability of the act, but also linked to an individual's values (and social class), enabling the expression of that individual's associated "altruistic" identity to others.

Fourth, this research explored the campaign that required changing the behaviors of poor individuals, where changed behavior is economically expensive and extensive subsidies are needed to correct economic and structural inefficiencies, extending the theoretical boundaries of MSM (Huff et al. 2017; Kemper and Ballantine 2017; Kennedy 2016; Truong 2017). For example, past MSM campaigns focused on wealthier countries and on tobacco, drink-driving and helmet use, targeting health concerns and, which are economically viable responses (Kennedy and Parsons, 2012; Truong, 2017). The GOI, through the Give It Up campaign, has tried to alter cultural understandings of the subsidy on LPG fuel and to shape the environment by creating institutionalized norms and displaying social norms to address economic inefficiencies in the consumption of subsidies. Through these new institutional norms, consumers view the campaign as communal process rather than a mere economic transaction where collective interests are considered paramount.

The 4A framework also highlights the importance of affordability, awareness, accessibility, and acceptability to generate effect at aggregated system's level, which are addressed through changes in both formal and informal institutions. The contextuality of the 4A framework is highlighted here. By affecting changes in the environmental context (i.e., introducing a new value-system as with MSM), the issues of affordability and acceptability can be addressed. The 4A framework can help connect macro frameworks with micro transactions or challenges in transactions. Thus, shaping the macromarketing systems at disaggregated (i.e., exchange) and aggregated levels. The 4As framework here help shape macromarketing systems that are dignified (e.g. Jagadale, Roy-Chaudhuri and Kadirov 2021)

and just (e.g. Jagdale and Santos 2021). While doing so, market actors' overall understanding of their acts (as in the case of customers giving up their subsidies) is enhanced, which increases the potency of the 4A framework in tackling wicked problems.

Surrendering the subsidy did not remain a mere economic exchange. The creation of an exchange fiction reminds individuals of why giving up the subsidy was the “right” thing to do—in this case, the new norms of social responsibility and the link to the norm of patriotism provided new relational norms that resulted in secondary rewards, such as a feeling of happiness and pride. Therefore, it provided a new cultural-institutional norm (Scott 1994). The peculiarity of this campaign is its seamless maneuvering from the political to the social sphere to address economic and public health challenges. In the first stage, through the MSM Give It Up campaign, the GOI addressed issues of structural inequalities in LPG consumption by motivating the surrender of LPG subsidies by well-to-do consumers. Here, the key outcome for the GOI was awareness of the issue and resource availability. In the second stage, these resources were used by GOI to provide LPG connections to poor female consumers (PMUY); this led to improved well-being for poor consumers. Over 71 million PMUY connections have been released. However, there some issues remain with addressing all four areas needed for the market system to change (awareness, accessibility, acceptability, affordability).

Practical Implications

The research has also provided several practical implications for social marketers and policy makers. First, while three of the 4As have been addressed by the Give It Up campaign and PMUY initiative, the issue of affordability still remains as a significant issue. Thus, the MSM strategy (in this case by the GOI) may not be sufficient to address the structural issue of poverty (or different facets of it), because of the dynamic and volatile nature of the external

environment. Research suggests that the COVID-19 pandemic-driven recession has resulted in the Indian middle class shrinking by one-third and the number of poor (with income of \$2 or less a day) may have increased by 75 million (Special Correspondent 2021). Thus, a top-down approach to manage product and service affordability for consumers from the low-income strata has limitations: continued support is needed. Therefore, the findings here highlight that strategies should be contingent on dynamics in the marketing system (Sheth and Sisodia 2012), and strong consumer understanding.

Second, the research presented on Give It Up and PMUY provides a model for other reforms, especially those utilizing subsidies, such as food and fertilizer, as well as for other countries seeking to improve the efficiency and equity of subsidies (Mittal, Mukherjee and Gelb 2017). The creation of institutional norms alongside related formal institutional change has been crucial to providing a more equitable LPG system, and continues to highlight the need for a coordinated approach, as well as to address the 4As.

Third, as the campaign was successful in communicating pro-social effects, these efforts could be applied to other structural challenges in economies where pro-social and pro-active individual behavior is desperately needed, such as with COVID-19 vaccine accessibility issues (i.e., individuals with the ability to pay can purchase their vaccination to reduce the burden on the GOI).

Limitations and Future Research

This research has some limitations, such as the methodology. As government officials could not be interviewed, secondary data (newspaper articles and government documents) was used to understand the MSM campaign. Future research would gain in-depth insights if government officials could be interviewed. The research found that there were various factors that affected poor consumers, which resulted in them going back to traditional methods of cooking with

solid fuels. This certainly warrants attention such as untangling the cultural, social, and infrastructure challenges further. Future research should continue to explore how MSM can tackle vulnerable populations; for example, it would be interesting to explore if MSM can be used as a constructive engagement tool (Laczniak and Shultz 2021; Shultz 2007, 2016, 2017) to induce positive cultural change in dealing with complex issues such as ethnic conflict, exclusion, casteism, and racism. Further, LPG is seen as a transition fuel; it has negative environmental effects and future research should take up topic of clean, green fuel, such as wind and solar, in developing countries.

References

- Adler, Tina (2010), "Better Burning, Better Breathing: Improving Health With Cleaner Cook Stoves," *Environmental Health Perspectives*, A124–A129.
- Andadari, Roos Kities, Peter Mulder, and Piet Rietveld (2014), "Energy Poverty Reduction by Fuel Switching. Impact Evaluation of The LPG Conversion Program in Indonesia," *Energy Policy*, 66, 436-449.
- Anderson, Jamie, and Niels Billou (2007), "Serving the World's Poor: Innovation at the Base of the Economic Pyramid," *Journal of Business Strategy*, 28 (2), 14-21.
- Arantani, Lauren (2020), "How did Face Masks become a Political Issue in America?" *The Guardian*, (accessed December 20, 2020), [Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jun/29/face-masks-us-politics-coronavirus>].
- Asante, Kwaku Poku, Samuel Afari-Asiedu, Martha Ali Abdulai, Maxwell Ayindenaba Dalaba, Daniel Carrión, Katherine L. Dickinson, Ali Nuhu Abeka, Kwesi Sarpong, and Darby W. Jack (2018), "Ghana's Rural Liquefied Petroleum Gas Program Scale Up: A Case Study," *Energy for Sustainable Development*, 46, 94-102.
- Athira, M. (2014), "My Idea of patriotism is..," (accessed October 20, 2021), [available at <https://www.thehindu.com/features/metroplus/society/my-idea-of-patriotism-is/article6317375.ece>]
- Balakrishnan, Kalpana, Cohen, Aron, and Smith, Kirk R. (2014), "Addressing the Burden of Disease Attributable to Air Pollution in India: The Need to Integrate across Household and Ambient Air Pollution Exposures," *Environmental Health Perspectives*, A6-A7.

- Baxter, Jamie, and John Eyles, (1997) "Evaluating qualitative research in social geography: establishing 'rigour' in interview analysis," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 22(4), 505-525.
- Becker, Lawrence C. (2014), *Reciprocity*. Routledge.
- Berger, Peter. L. and Thomas Luckmann (1967), *The Social Construction of Reality*. New York, NY: Doubleday
- Behera, Digambar. and T. Balamugesh (2005), "Indoor Air Pollution as a Risk Factor for Lung Cancer in Women," *The Journal of the Association of Physicians of India*, 190-192.
- Bitsch, Vera. (2005), "Qualitative Research: A Grounded Theory Example and Evaluation Criteria," *Journal of Agribusiness*, 23 (345-2016-15096), 75-91.
- Blois, Keith J., and Bjoern S. Ivens (2006),"Measuring Relational Norms: Some Methodological Issues," *European Journal of Marketing*, 40 (3/4), 352-365.
- Burchell, Kevin, Ruth Rettie, and Kavita Patel (2013), "Marketing Social Norms: Social Marketing and the 'Social Norm Approach'," *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, 12 (1), 1-9.
- Census (2011), *Provisional Population Totals*. New Delhi: Government of India.
- Chakraborty, Debjit, Saket Sundria, and Dhvani Pandya (2021), "Deadly Smoke Set to Return as India Cuts Outlays on Cooking Gas Program," (accessed July 6, 2021), [available at <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/industry/energy/oil-gas/deadly-smoke-set-to-return-as-india-cuts-outlays-on-cooking-gas-program/articleshow/81404608.cms?from=mdr>].
- Charmaz, Kathy (2006), *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis*. London: Sage Publications.

- Cialdini, Robert B., and Noah J. Goldstein (2004), "Social Influence: Compliance and Conformity," *Annu. Rev. Psychol.*, 55, 591-621.
- Commonwealth of Australia. (2007), "Tackling Wicked Problems: A Public Policy Perspective," (accessed on July 6, 2021), [available at <http://www.apsc.gov.au/publications-and-media/archive/publications-archive/tackling-wicked-problems>].
- Cooney, Kate, Marthe Nyssens, Mary O'Shaughnessy, and Jacques Defourny (2016), "Public Policies and Work Integration Social Enterprises: The Challenge of Institutionalization in a Neoliberal Era," *Nonprofit Policy Forum*. 7 (4), 415-433.
- Corbin, Juliet and Anselm Strauss (2008), *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. London: Sage Publications.
- Creswell, John W., and Dana L. Miller (2000), "Determining Validity in Qualitative Inquiry," *Theory into Practice*, 39 (3), 124–130.
- DeJordy, Rich and Jones, Candace (2007), "Institutional Theory," in *International Encyclopedia of Organizational Studies*, Stewart Clegg and James R. Bailey, ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1046-1047.
- Denzin, Norman (1984), *The Research Act*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- DiMaggio, Powell J. (1988), "Interest and Agency in Institutional Theory," in *Institutional Patterns and Organizations: Culture And Environment*, Lynne G. Zucker, ed. Cambridge: Ballinger, 3-21.
- Dixon, Donald F. (1984), "Macromarketing: A Social Systems Perspective," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 4 (2), 4-17.

- Dodd, David G. (2015), "Why You Need the 4A's and the 4P's for Effective Marketing," (accessed January 12, 2021), [available at <https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/why-you-need-4as-4ps-effective-marketing-gdavid-dodd>].
- Domegan, Christine T. (2008), "Social Marketing: Implications For Contemporary Marketing Practices Classification Scheme," *Journal of Business and Industrial Marketing*, 23 (2), 135-41.
- Domegan, Christine, Patricia McHugh, Michelle Devaney, Sinead Duane, Michael Hogan, Benjamin J. Broome, Roger A. Layton, John Joyce, Marzia Mazzonetto, and Joanna Piwowarczyk (2016), "Systems-Thinking Social Marketing: Conceptual Extensions and Empirical Investigations," *Journal of Marketing Management*, 32 (11-12), 1123-1144.
- Eisenhardt, Kathleen. M. (1989), "Building Theories From Case Study Research," *Academy of Management Review*, 14 (4), 532-550.
- Erlandson, David A., Edward Harris, Barbara L. Skipper, and Steve D. Allen (1993), *Doing Naturalistic Inquiry: A Guide to Methods*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Falk, Armin, and Urs Fischbacher (2006), "A Theory of Reciprocity". *Games and Economic Behavior*, 54 (2), 293-315.
- French, Jeff (2020), "Social Marketing's Contribution to Macro-Social Policy and Economics, Beyond Upstream, Midstream, and Downstream Analysis," in *Macro-Social Marketing Insights: Systems Thinking for Wicked Problems*, A. M. Kennedy, ed. New York, NY: Routledge: 131-148.
- Gardin, Laurent (2014). "Solidarity-Based Initiatives Field Realities and Analysis," in *Social Enterprise and the Third Sector: Changing European Landscapes in a Comparative*

- Perspective*, J. Defourny, L. Hulgaard, and V. Pestoff, Ed. New York: Routledge: 114-130.
- Ghosh, Arunabha, and Karthik Ganesan (2015), "Policy: Rethink India's Energy Strategy," *Nature News*, 521 (7551), 156.
- Give it Up (2021), "#Giveitup The Ministry of Petroleum & Natural Gas," (accessed November 5, 2021), [available at <https://www.givitup.in/index.html>].
- Global Alliance for Clean Cookstoves (2013), *"India Cookstoves and Fuels Market Assessment,"* Dalberg: Dalberg Global Development Advisors.
- Gould, Carlos F., Samuel Schlesinger, Andres Ochoa Toasa, Mark Thurber, William F. Waters, Jay P. Graham, and Darby W. Jack (2018), "Government Policy, Clean Fuel Access, And Persistent Fuel Stacking In Ecuador," *Energy For Sustainable Development*, 46, 111-122.
- Gould, Carlos F., and Johannes Urpelainen (2018), "LPG As A Clean Cooking Fuel: Adoption, Use, And Impact in Rural India," *Energy Policy*, 122, 395-408
- Gouldner, Alvin. W. (1960), "The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement," *American Sociological Review*, 161-178.
- Gupta, Aashish, Sangita Vyas, Payal Hathi, Nazar Khalid, Nikhil Srivastav, Dean Spears, and Diane Coffey (2020), "Persistence of Solid Fuel Use in Rural North India," *Economic & Political Weekly*, 55 (3), 55.
- Hanna, Rema, Esther Duflo, and Michael Greenstone (2016), "Up in Smoke: The Influence of Household Behavior on the Long-Run Impact of Improved Cooking Stoves," *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 80–114.
- Hastings, Gerard (2012), *The Marketing Matrix: How The Corporation Gets Its Power, and How We Can Reclaim It*. London: Routledge.
- Head, Brian W. (2008), "Wicked Problems in Public Policy," *Public Policy*, 3 (2), 101-118.

- Heide, Jan B., and George John (1992), "Do Norms Matter in Marketing Relationships," *Journal of Marketing*, 56 (2), 32-44.
- Hoek, Janet, and Sandra C. Jones (2011), "Regulation, Public Health and Social Marketing: A Behaviour Change Trinity," *Journal of Social Marketing*, 1 (1), 32-44.
- Holmes, John G., Dale T. Miller, and Melvin J. Lerner (2002), "Committing Altruism Under the Cloak of Self-Interest: The Exchange Fiction," *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 38 (2), 144-151.
- Hsu, Eric, Noah Forougi, Meixi Gan, Elizabeth Muchiri, Dan Pope, and Elisa Puzzolo (2021), "Microfinance For Clean Cooking: What Lessons Can Be Learned For Scaling Up LPG Adoption In Kenya Through Managed Loans?," *Energy Policy*, 154, 112263.
- Huff, Aimee Dinnin, Michelle Barnhart, Brandon McAlexander, and Jim McAlexander (2017), "Addressing the Wicked Problem of American Gun Violence: Consumer Interest Groups as Macro-Social Marketers," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 37 (4), 393-408.
- Hunt, Shelby D (2020), "Institutional Norms and the Institutionalization of Macromarketing: Historical Insights, the Long Macro View, and Service-Dominant Logic," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 40 (3), 286-93.
- Jacob, Shine, and Somesh Jha (2019), "Only 61% Households Used LPG For Cooking As Of Dec 2018, Shows NSO Data," (accessed May 20, 2021), [available at https://www.business-standard.com/article/economy-policy/only-61-households-use-lpg-for-cooking-not-91-as-govt-claimed-nso-data-119112501446_1.html].
- Jagadale, Sujit Raghunathrao, Djavlonbek Kadirov, and Debojyoti Chakraborty (2018), "Tackling the Subaltern Quandary: Marketing Systems of Dignity," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 38 (1), 91-111.

- Jagadale, Sujit Raghunathrao, Himadri Roy-Chaudhuri, and Djavlonbek Kadirov (2021), "Quality-Of-Life as Chronotopefication and Futurization: Subsistence Consumer Experiences in India," *Journal of Consumer Affairs*, 55 (1), 59-86.
- Jagadale, Sujit Raghunathrao, and Nicholas JC Santos (2021), "Constructively Engaging Exploitive Waste Management in India: The Case of Paryavaran Mitra and its Justice Motivated Effort at Empowering Rag-Picking Women," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 02761467211061344.
- Jain, Abhishek, Agrawal, Shalu and Ganesan, Karthik (2018), "Lessons from the World's Largest Subsidy Benefit Transfer Scheme: The Case of Liquefied Petroleum Gas Subsidy Reform in India," in *The Politics of Fossil Fuel Subsidies and Their Reform*, Jakob Skovgaard and Harro van Asselt, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 212–228.
- Johari, Aarefa (2021), "India's Poor Were Struggling to Refill LPG Cylinders. Now With Record Price Hike, Many Have Given Up," (accessed May 10, 2021), [available at <https://scroll.in/article/988886/india-s-poor-were-struggling-to-refill-lpg-cylinders-now-with-record-price-hike-many-have-given-up>].
- Kadirov, Djavlonbek (2020), "Warmth Rationing as a Macro-Social Problem: The Application of the Chrematistics Framework," in *Macro-Social Marketing Insights: Systems Thinking for Wicked Problems*, A. M. Kennedy, ed. New York, NY: Routledge, 235-248.
- Kadirov, Djavlonbek, Richard J. Varey, and Sally Wolfenden (2016), "Investigating Chrematistics in Marketing Systems: A Research Framework," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 36 (1), 54-67.
- Kapitan, Sommer (2020), "Macro-Social Marketing as a Tool to Increase the Share of Renewable Energy in Developing Island Nations," in *Macro-Social Marketing*

Insights: Systems Thinking for Wicked Problems, A. M. Kennedy, ed. New York, NY: Routledge, 27-53.

Kapur, Manavi (2015), "What Makes The Give-It Up-Campaign Click," (accessed March 25, 2021), [available at https://www.business-standard.com/article/beyond-business/what-makes-the-Give-It-Up-campaign-click-115072500902_1.html#:~:text=The%20government%20offers%2012%20subsidised,exchequer%20Rs%2040%2C000%20crore%20annually.&text=On%20the%20rural%20front%2C%20the,subsidy%20that%20is%20given%20up.].

Kar, Abhishek, Shonali Pachauri, Rob Bailis, and Hisham Zerriffi (2020), "Capital Cost Subsidies Through India's Ujjwala Cooking Gas Programme Promote Rapid Adoption of Liquefied Petroleum Gas but Not Regular Use," *Nature Energy*, 5 (2), 125-126.

Kemper, Joya A., and Paul W. Ballantine (2017), "Socio-Technical Transitions and Institutional Change: Addressing Obesity Through Macro-Social Marketing," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 37 (4), 381-392.

Kemper, Joya A., and Paul W. Ballantine (2020), "The Power Of 'Talk': Frames and Narratives in Macro-Social Marketing," in *Macro-Social Marketing Insights: Systems Thinking for Wicked Problems*, A. M. Kennedy, ed. New York, NY: Routledge:72-93.

Kemper, Joya, and Ann-Marie Kennedy (2021), "Evaluating Social Marketing Messages in New Zealand's Like Minds Campaign and Its Effect on Stigma," *Social Marketing Quarterly*, 27 (2), 82-98.

Kennedy, Ann-Marie (2016), "Macro-social Marketing," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 36 (3), 354-365.

Kennedy, Ann-Marie. (2017), "Macro-Social Marketing Research: Philosophy, Methodology and Methods," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 37 (4), 347-355.

- Kennedy, Ann-Marie, and Andrew Parsons (2012), "Macro-Social Marketing And Social Engineering- A System's Approach," *Journal of Social Marketing*, 2 (1), 37-51.
- Kennedy, Ann-Marie, and Andrew Parsons (2014), "Social Engineering and Social Marketing: Why is One "Good" and Other "Bad"?," *Journal of Social Marketing*, 4 (3), 198-209.
- Kennedy, Ann-Marie, and Andrew Parsons (2015), "Special Issue on Macro-Social Marketing: Journal of Macromarketing, 2017," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 35 (2), 279-280.
- Kennedy, Ann-Marie, Joya A. Kemper, and Andrew Parsons (2018), "Upstream Social Marketing Strategy", *Journal of Social Marketing*, 8 (3), 258-279.
- Koch, Matthias, and Davide Christian Orazi (2017), "No Rest for The Wicked: The Epidemic Life Cycle of Wicked Consumer Behavior," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 37 (4), 356-368.
- Kranti, Anurit (2017), "1.3 Million Deaths Every Year in India Due to Indoor Air Pollution" (accessed July 4, 2021), [available at www.businessworld.in/article/1-3-Million-Deaths-Every-Year-In-India-Due-To-Indoor-Air-Pollution/09-09-2017-125739/].
- Krisjanous, Jayne (2014), "Examining the Historical Roots of Social Marketing Through the Lights in Darkest England Campaign," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 34 (4), 435-451.
- Kumar, Ankit (2018), "Justice and Politics in Energy Access for Education, Livelihoods and Health: How Socio-Cultural Processes Mediate the Winners and Losers," *Energy Research & Social Science*, 40, 3-13.
- Kyridemos, Chris, Elisa Puzzolo, Borgar Aamaas, Lirije Hyseni, Matthew Shupler, Kristin Aunan, and Daniel Pope (2020), "Health and Climate Impacts Of Scaling Adoption Of Liquefied Petroleum Gas (LPG) For Clean Household Cooking In Cameroon: A Modeling Study," *Environmental Health Perspectives*, 128 (4), 047001.

- Lahoti, Rahul, J. Y. Suchitra, and Prodyumna Goutam (2012), "Subsidies for Whom? The Case of LPG in India," *Economic & Political Weekly*, 16-18.
- Laczniak, Gene R. and Shultz, Clifford (2021), "Towards A Doctrine of Socially Responsible Marketing (SRM): A Macro and Normative-Ethical Perspective," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 41 (2), 201-231.
- Layton, Roger (2014), "On the (Near) Impossibility of Managing a Macromarketing System," in *Macromarketing and the Crisis of the Social Imagination, Proceedings of the 39th Annual macromarketing Conference*, Alan Bradshaw, Mikko Laamanan, and Alex Reppel, ed. Egham, UK: Macromarketing Society, 731-39.
- Lincoln, Yvonne S. and Egon G. Guba (1985), *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, Ltd.
- Lincoln, Yvonna S. and Egon G. Guba (1986), "But is it rigorous? Trustworthiness and Authenticity in Naturalistic Evaluation," *New Directions for Program Evaluation*, 1986 (30), 73-84.
- Livemint. (2015), "News In Numbers | 67% Indian Households Still Use Firewood For Cooking," (accessed May 12, 2021), [available at, <http://www.livemint.com/Politics/XCkY9VUZGTBZ1GhfIDwFhJ/News-in-numbers-67-Indian-households-still-use-firewood-f.html>].
- Lusch, Robert F. (2006), "The Small and Long View," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 26 (2), 240-44.
- Lvovsky, Kseniya, Priti Kumar, Masami Kojima, Robert Bacon, Shubhashis Gangopadhyay, Bharat Ramaswami, and Wilima Wadhwa (2003), *Access of the Poor to Clean Household fuels in India*. New Delhi: Joint United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)/World Bank Energy Sector Management Assistance Programme (ESMAP).
- McCracken, Grant (1988), *The Long Interview*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Maity, Moutusy, and Ramendra Singh (2021), "Market Development and Value Creation for Low Socioeconomic Segments in Emerging Markets: An Integrated Perspective Using The 4A Framework," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 41 (2), 373-390.
- Mander, Manav (2016), "Indoor Pollution Taking A Toll on Residents' Health," (accessed April 10, 2021), [available at <https://www.tribuneindia.com/news/archive/features/indoor-pollution-taking-a-toll-on-residents%E2%80%99-health-192950>].
- Mathur, Mahima, Ritu Mehta, and Sanjeev Swami (2020), "Developing a Marketing Framework for the Bottom of the Pyramid Consumers," *Journal of Advances in Management Research*, 17 (3), 455-71.
- Mittal, Neeraj, Anit Mukherjee, and Alan Gelb (2017), "Fuel Subsidy Reform in Developing Countries: Direct Benefit Transfer of LPG Cooking Gas Subsidy in India," (accessed March 20, 2021), [available at <https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/fuel-subsidy-reformdeveloping-countries-india.pdf>].
- Mobarak, Ahmed Mushfiq, Puneet Dwivedi, Robert Bailis, Lynn Hildemann, and Grant Miller (2012), "Low Demand for Nontraditional Cookstove Technologies," in *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 10815–10820.
- Mosse, David (2018), "Caste and Development: Contemporary Perspectives on A Structure of Discrimination and Advantage," *World Development*, 110, 422-436.
- National Sample Survey Office (2015), *Energy Sources of Indian Households for Cooking and Lighting, 2011-12*. New Delhi: Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India.
- National Sample Survey Office (2009), *Level and Pattern of Consumer Expenditure*. New Delhi: Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Government of India.

- Pandit, Ambika (2020), "Covid May Leave 100 Million Women In Extreme Poverty By 2021," (accessed December 15, 2020), [available at [https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/covid-may-leave-100-million-women-in-extreme-poverty-by-2021-un/articleshow/78116697.cms#:~:text=NEW%20DELHI%3A%20An%20estimated%2087,Nations%20Development%20Programme%20\(UNDP\).](https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/covid-may-leave-100-million-women-in-extreme-poverty-by-2021-un/articleshow/78116697.cms#:~:text=NEW%20DELHI%3A%20An%20estimated%2087,Nations%20Development%20Programme%20(UNDP).)].
- Payaud, Marielle A. (2014), "Marketing Strategies at the Bottom of the Pyramid: Examples From Nestle, Danone, and Procter & Gamble," *Global Business and Organizational Excellence*, 33 (2), 51- 63.
- Pelz, Setu, Namrata Chindarkar, and Johannes Urpelainen (2021), "Energy Access for Marginalized Communities: Evidence from Rural North India, 2015–2018," *World Development*, 137, 105204.
- Peters, B. Guy (2017), "What Is So Wicked About Wicked Problems? A Conceptual Analysis and A Research Program," *Policy and Society*, 36 (3), 385–396.
- Poland, Blake D. (2002), "Transcription Quality," in *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method*, Gubrium, Jaber F., and James A. Holstein, ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 629-49.
- Prahalad Coimbatore K. (2002), "Strategies for the Bottom of the Economic Pyramid: India as a Source of Innovation," *Society for Organizational Learning and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology*, 3 (4).
- Press Information Bureau (2019), "Nearly 1.04 crore LPG consumers voluntarily surrender their LPG subsidy under 'GiveItUp' campaign," (accessed July 8, 2021), [available at <https://pib.gov.in/Pressreleaseshare.aspx?PRID=1563847>].

- Previte, Josephine, and Liam Pomfret (2020), "Collaborative Systems Thinking for Social Change," in *Macro-Social Marketing Insights: Systems Thinking for Wicked Problems*, A. M. Kennedy, ed. New York, NY: Routledge: 169-192.
- Ravindranath, N. H. and Ramakrishna, J. (1997), "Energy Options for Cooking in India," *Energy Policy*, 25 (1), 63-75.
- Rice, Pranee Liamputtong, and Douglas Ezzy (1999), *Qualitative Research Methods: A Health Focus*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press.
- Robinson, Daniel N. (1989), *Aristotle's Psychology*. Columbia University Press.
- Rosenthal, Joshua, Ashlinn Quinn, Andrew P. Grieshop, Ajay Pillariseti, and Roger I. Glass (2018), "Clean Cooking and the SDGs: Integrated Analytical Approaches to Guide Energy Interventions for Health and Environment Goals," *Energy for Sustainable Development*, 42, 152-159.
- Roy Chaudhuri, Himadri, and Sujit Raghunathrao Jagadale (2021), "Normalized Heterotopia as a Market Failure in a Spatial Marketing System: The Case of Gated Communities in India," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 41 (2), 297-314.
- Sadath, Anver C., and Rajesh H. Acharya (2017), "Assessing the Extent and Intensity of Energy Poverty Using Multidimensional Energy Poverty Index: Empirical Evidence from Households in India," *Energy Policy*, 102, 540-550.
- Samuel, Anthony and Peattie, Ken (2016), "Grounded Theory as a Macromarketing Methodology: Critical Insights from Researching the Marketing Dynamics of Fairtrade Towns," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 36 (1), 11-26.
- Saxena, Vibhor, and Prabir C. Bhattacharya (2018), "Inequalities in LPG and Electricity Consumption in India: The Role of Caste, Tribe, and Religion," *Energy for Sustainable Development*, 42, 44-53.

- Scott, W. Richard (1994), "Institutional analysis: Variance and Process Theory Approaches," in *Institutional Environments and Organizations: Structural Complexity and Individualism*, Richard Scott, and John W. Meyer ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 81-99.
- Scott, W. Richard. "e Meyer JW (1983), "The Organization of Societal Sectors," in *Organizational Environments: Ritual and Rationality*, Richard Scott, and John W. Meyer ed. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Sehgal, Meena, Suliankatchi Abdulkader Rizwan, and Anand Krishnan (2014), "Disease Burden Due to Biomass Cooking-Fuel-Related Household Air Pollution Among Women in India," *Global Health Action*, 7 (1), 25326.
- Sen, Amartya (1995), "The Political Economy of Targeting" in *Public Spending and the Poor: Theory and Evidence*, Dominique va de Walle, ed. Baltimore and London: John Hopkins University Press, 11-24.
- Shenton, Andrew K. (2004), "Strategies for Ensuring Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research Projects," *Education for Information*, 22, 63-75.
- Silverman, David (2015), *Interpreting Qualitative Data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sheth, Jagdish N. (2011), "Impact of Emerging Markets on Marketing: Rethinking Existing Perspectives and Practices," *Journal of Marketing*, 75 (4), 166-182.
- Sheth, Jagdish N., and Rajendra Sisodia (2012), *The 4 A's of Marketing: Creating Value for Customer, Company and Society*. New York: Routledge.
- Shultz, Clifford J. (2007), "Marketing as Constructive Engagement," *Journal of Public Policy & Marketing*, 26 (2), 293-301.
- Shultz, Clifford J. (2016), "Marketing an End to War: Constructive Engagement, Community Wellbeing, and Sustainable Peace," *Markets, Globalization & Development Review*, 1 (2), 1-23

- Shultz, Clifford J. (2017), "Marketing: The Next 40,000 Years," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 37 (3), 328-330.
- Smith, Kirk R. (2000), "National Burden of Disease in India from Indoor Air Pollution," in *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, Vol 97, No 24, pp 13286–93.
- Smith, Adrian, Stirling, Andy and Berkhout, Frans (2005), "The Governance of Sustainable Socio-Technical Transitions," *Research Policy*, 34 (10), 1491-510.
- Smith, Kirk R. and Ambuj D. Sagar (2016), "LPG subsidy: Analyzing the 'Give It Up' Scheme," (accessed July 7, 2021), [available at <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/blogs/et-commentary/lpg-subsidy-analysing-the-Give-It-Up-scheme/>].
- Special Correspondent (2021), "Coronavirus | Pandemic May Have Doubled Poverty In India, Says Pew Study," (accessed May 10, 2021), [available at <https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/coronavirus-pandemic-may-have-doubled-poverty-in-india-says-pew-study/article34110732.ece>].
- Tellis, Winston (1997), "Application of a Case Study Methodology," *The Qualitative Report*, 3 (3), 1-19.
- The New Indian Express (2019), "Odisha Second Bigger State In BPL Rank," (accessed October 19, 2021), [<https://www.newindianexpress.com/states/odisha/2019/jul/20/odisha-second-bigger-state-in-bpl-rank-2006663.html>]
- Truong, V. Dao (2017), "Government-Led Macro-Social Marketing Programs in Vietnam: Outcomes, Challenges, and Implications," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 37 (4), 409-425.

World Bank (2019), "Clean Cooking: Why it Matters," (accessed on January 17, 2021), [available at <https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/feature/2019/11/04/why-clean-cooking-matters>].

World Health Organization (2021), "Global Launch: Tracking SDG7: The Energy Progress Report," (accessed July 16, 2021), [available at Retrieved from World Health Organization: <https://www.who.int/news/item/07-06-2021-global-launch-tracking-sdg7-the-energy-progress-report>].

Yin, Robert K. (2013), "Validity and Generalization in Future Case Study Evaluations," *Evaluation*, 19 (3), 321-332.

Zucker, Lynne G. (1977), "The Role of Institutionalization in Cultural Persistence", *American Sociological Review*, 42, 726-743.

Table 1- List of Informants

| Serial Number | Informant | Gender | Age | Profession | Campaign Involved In |
|---------------|-----------|--------|-----|-----------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 | R1 | Female | 32 | Home maker/Agricultural labourer | PMUY |
| 2 | R2 | Female | 38 | Home maker/Agricultural labourer | PMUY |
| 3 | R3 | Female | 42 | Home maker/Agricultural labourer | PMUY |
| 4 | R4 | Female | 29 | Home maker/Agricultural labourer | PMUY |
| 5 | R5 | Female | 39 | Home maker/Agricultural labourer | PMUY |
| 6 | R6 | Male | 45 | Agricultural labourer | PMUY |
| 7 | R7 | Female | 19 | College student | PMUY |
| 8 | R8 | Male | 42 | Labourer | PMUY |
| 9 | R9 | Male | 48 | Rikshaw Puller | PMUY |
| 10 | R10 | Female | 55 | Domestic helper | PMUY |
| 11 | R11 | Male | 29 | Software developer | Give it Up |
| 12 | R12 | Male | 48 | Small cafeteria owner | Give it Up |
| 13 | R13 | Male | 65 | Retired nationalized bank manager | Give it Up |
| 14 | R14 | Female | 42 | IT professional | Give it Up |
| 15 | R15 | Male | 48 | Teacher | Give it Up |
| 16 | R16 | Male | 38 | Provision store owner | Give it Up |
| 17 | R17 | Male | 40 | Engineer | Give it Up |
| 18 | R18 | Male | 68 | Retired teacher | Give it Up |
| 19 | R19 | Male | 45 | Distributor of LPG | Give it Up |

Table 2 – Themes and Exemplary Quotes

| Major Campaign | Theme | Subsumed General Sub-themes | Selective Codes (for example) | Supporting/Exemplary Quotes |
|----------------|------------------------------|---|---|--|
| | Institutionalizing new norms | Voluntary reciprocal actions | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive reciprocity • Discrete exchange • Reward system | <p>“When this campaign was launched people had so many questions about its efficacy for them. Many would ask me what they are going to get after let going LPG subsidy. Everything here is based on rewards- immediate gratification is what people look for. I tried to convince so many people at the launch of this campaign but many people were apprehensive and think that I have some vested interests in it. Whatever people had for them was all very discrete in this. But once they realized its value there was really no going back.” (R19)</p> |
| | | Strengthening solidarity through responsibility | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pro-social actions • Needy citizen • Better world • Helping each other • Hero • Empathy • Giving-back • Pride • Participation • Exchange Fiction | <p>“My personal agenda for this was very clear. I could see no way for me to do some good for people. Whenever I get chance to do something I do it. It was really a small act but important. I know that subsidy (meant that he let it go) would have brought some good to some people at least. I can’t meet them, I am happy, nonetheless. Government has given me clear reason to do what I did.” (R11)</p> <p>“It is big issue. Temperatures are souring in this town. Once upon a time we did not have fans here and see now we can’t live without air conditioners. I am giving back to my society by involving into a small act. Actually, I am helping myself and taking pride in it. Key is to participate in the campaign to make it impactful. I did exactly the same as a responsible citizen.” (R15)</p> |

| | | | | |
|------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|--|--|
| Give It Up | | Patriotism- as unity of cause | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sacrifice • Commitment • Personal contribution • Resource transfer • Happiness from helping | <p>“I am old person. Who would have otherwise gotten an opportunity to contribute towards nation building. See this is new India. My times were different. Now I truly feel that we can be global leader but we need to solve these small problems here. By paying small price (he meant sacrifice) if I could help poor people of my country- what else I want then? This can be a small token from my side. I am very elated to do it, though.” (R18)</p> |
| | | Socialization and Acceptability | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collective efforts • Miniscule efforts (e.g. Ram-setu) • Social acceptability • Non-participation • Greediness • Free-rider • Awareness of issue • Communal process • Honour | <p>“This is not one man’s job (he referred to incumbent Indian Prime minister). These are deeply embedded issues which require everyone’s help to resolve it. One cannot be always greedy for small things when it comes to big problems. I completely refused to do so initially but later on felt that I am being selfish and accept my part of the responsibilities. Ultimately, it is my society too. I must perform my part.” (R12)</p> <p>“What is important is to know what you can do for people around you and the nation. It is everyone’s process (he meant communal). I really felt honoured when I saw my name in a scroll of honour. But it was all about the leadership because of whom we realized what we can do with these small acts of ours. Otherwise we would not have in know-how of the processes and the scheme for sure (she meant the campaign).” (R14)</p> |
| | Showcasing new behaviour | Social values and identity | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-participation • Selfish act • Pride • Transparency • Accountability | <p>“I never wanted to be seen as appropriating something which is lawfully not mine. I realized this very early-on of this campaign. But targeting be honest (fund transfers to LPG poor people) was always an issue for me. Fortunately, it was the face most popular leader in the country and the transparent processes I went on with fore-going my LPG subsidy. Once I saw my name on the scroll of honour I started convincing others too. I would never think that I</p> |

| | | | | |
|--|---------------|---------------|--|---|
| | | | | would be the brand ambassador of the campaign but you know selfless acts of others changed me from being selfish to proud giver of subsidy.” (R17) |
| | | Accessibility | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ease of use • Convenience | “LPG is always very convenient to use. But the real question is whether poor consumers get it easily. Probably this scheme should help ensure that poor consumers access the LPG at their doorstep. I understand its distant dream but not unachievable at all.” (R14) |
| Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana | Affordability | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equitable access • Hegemony • Targeted approach • Dynamic environment | “Noway we could have afforded expensive gas (LPG) connection. What do you think how much I make by pulling rikshaw every day? I do not even get INR200 sometimes in a day and whole family of six to support. I always wanted to have LPG at home but it was all luxury for us. And you never know how much dealers would ask from we poor? There were always apprehensions to even approach them. Powerful control everything. Luckily, I came to know about it (he meant PMUY) from a fellow rikshaw-puller and officials also helped us. Now I do have it with me.” (R9) |
| | Awareness | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge • Energy justice • Resource scarcity | “Who would not want to use LPG? We are very much aware of its benefits to us. I have been seeing so many people using it around us”. (R5) |
| | Accessibility | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Convenience • Opportunity cost • Long vs short term cost/gain | <p>“It should not be the issue. It is always better to spend a few hours bimonthly than spending more than it per day to collect wood”. (R6)</p> <p>“I am really not sure about whom to approach for new LPG connection... I sometimes worry that my family members should be able to use it appropriately and safely”. (R6)</p> |
| | Acceptability | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aspirational product • Normalization | “Ever since I came to know about the scheme from my employer lady I was continuously behind my son and husband to get the connection for us. So many of my relatives were having the connection. I never wanted this drudgery for my future generations now. Earlier days not many people from my relation would have |

| | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|---|
| | | | | <p>LPG connection but things have changed now. No one would marry their daughter to my son unless we have LPG connection and Toilet (laughs). I did not want to miss on this opportunity. We invited all our neighbours over tea once we got the connection.” (R10)</p> |
|--|--|--|--|---|

Table 3 - 4A Analysis of LPG initiatives in India

| 4A Framework | Poor Consumers | Wealthier Consumers |
|---------------|---|--|
| Awareness | Poor consumers were very much aware of the LPG and its value to them. | Not aware of the consequences of taking up the subsidy. The campaign brought out the need of poor people for clean cooking fuel in the public domain and instigated an empathetic response from LPG consumers. As a corollary, millions of consumers gave up their subsidy to build larger solidarity with fellow citizens and build the nation. |
| Accessibility | Accessibility of LPG is a challenge in rural areas. However, dealers are trying to ensure delivery of LPG to the nearest hub. | Ease of convenience to cancel subsidy through online 'clicks.' |
| Affordability | Most of consumers were willing to buy LPG connections. Nevertheless, the cost is prohibitive for them. Consumers cannot pay for it or its ongoing cost (i.e., not a one-off cost). However, LPG were availed by a customer segment who can afford to pay market prices for LPG. | Consumers had different levels of motivation for giving up the LPG subsidy. These motivations ranged from helping individual household to better quality of life to the nation building. |
| Acceptability | In principle, LPG is acceptable to poor consumers. It is an aspirational product for them. However, its continuous use is discouraged due to the affordability of the LPG. | The initial barrier of 'what is in it for me' by giving up the subsidy. Responsibility and patriotism norms shifted, and has manifested in new behaviour. |

Figure 1- Data Analysis

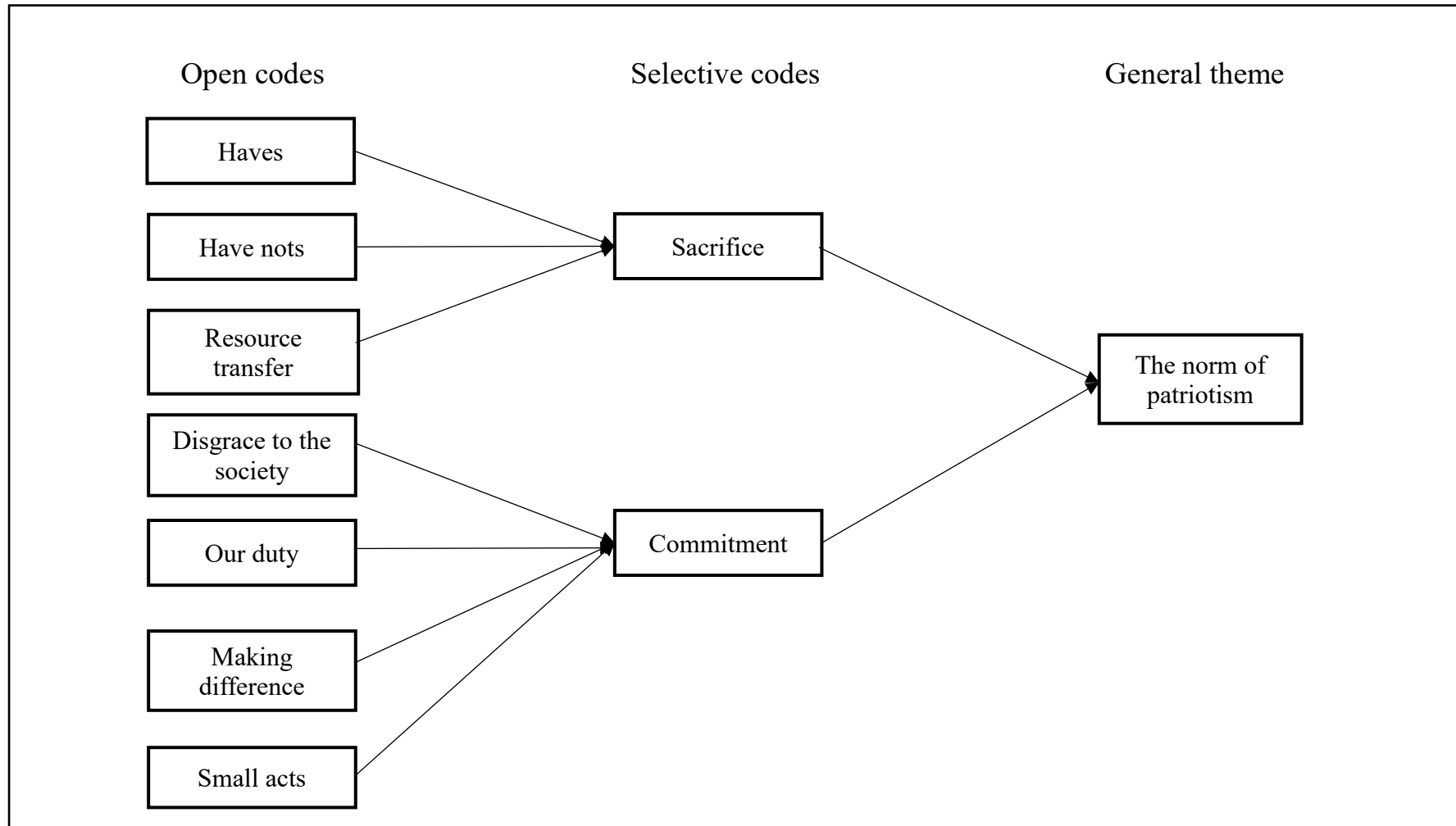


Figure 2- Macro-social Marketing Intervention for Access to Clean Cooking Gas (LPG) in India

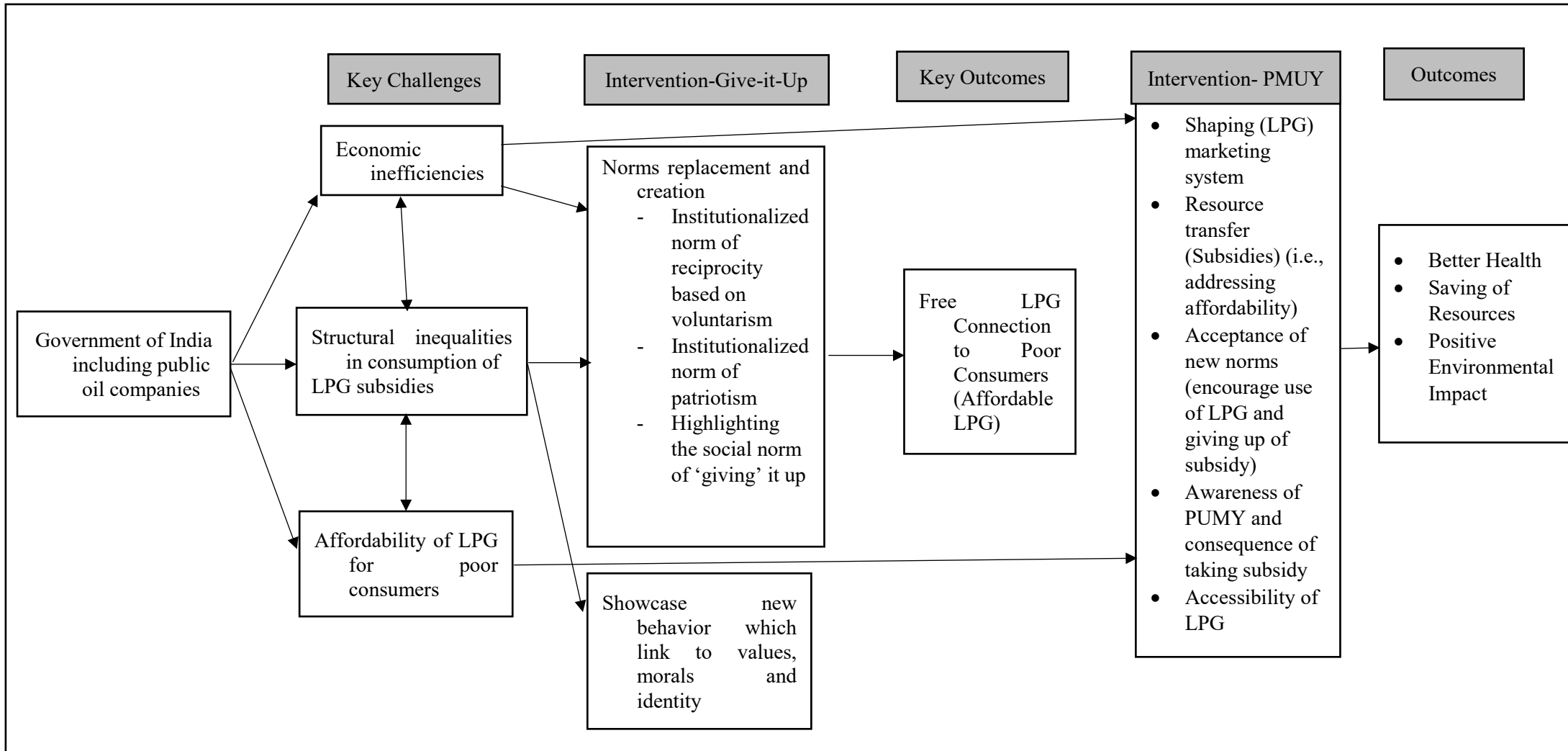


Image 1. Stacked Fuel-wood for Use



Source- Author's image

Image 2. Cooking Stove



Source- Author's image