

PARTNERSHIP, PLANNING AND DECISION MAKING AS PRE
CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESS OF SOCIAL MARKETING: A CASE
STUDY OF NUTRITION CELL BALOCHISTAN

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To my loving brother
Mir Balach
And sister Dr Mahnaz
Rest in peace

Abstract

This research is based on an agreed definition approved by the European Social Marketing Association (ESMA), Australian Association of Social Marketing (AASM), and the International Social Marketing Association (ISMA). It acknowledges that the creation of effective partnerships and the incorporation of different theoretical perspectives can enhance the planned outcome of a social marketing campaign. This implies the centrality of partnerships and relationships in social marketing campaigns but it is not very obvious as there have been no reflections on how such campaigns have been viewed and practised differently in Pakistan.

Furthermore, Mowles claims that in societies like Pakistan, the role of people/stakeholders (called beneficiaries in this research) is fundamental in a partnership and practitioners need to recognise it. Without the right input from beneficiaries, value destruction will occur and this will increase barriers to change and make it harder to achieve the planned outcome of a campaign. This signifies the importance of the beneficiary in this research and the inefficiencies that can surface if it is neglected. The study fills these gaps by identifying the preconditions that are necessary for the creation of a valuable relationship for successful social marketing campaigns in Pakistan.

Hastings argues that like other marketing campaigns a social marketing campaign should prioritise relationships but did not comment on how to do it. This study finds that efficient partnerships coupled with effective planning and joint decision-making are the preconditions whereby social marketers can foster valuable relationships with beneficiaries. It also highlights the significance of beneficiaries during the process of planning and decision-making in a developing country like Pakistan where the *biradari* system (family and kinship ties) brings stability or change to the society. The research further highlights how the concept of partnership is viewed and practised differently in a developing country such as Pakistan.

It also adds the notion of power relations to the idea of partnership for the success of a social marketing campaign in Pakistan. It highlights how power relations can influence the process of partnership. Lack of accountability, transparency, mutuality

and monitoring are identified as influences of power relations. The research further demonstrates how partners work for the promotion of their organisational goals while ignoring the common aim of the partnership as a consequence of power relations.

Keywords

Social marketing, partnership, beneficiary, power relations, planning and decision-making, value creation, value destruction, responsibility, mutuality

Declaration of Authorship

I, Mir Sadaat Baloch, declare that this dissertation entitled ‘Partnership, Planning and Decision making as pre conditions for success of social marketing: A case study of Nutrition Cell Balochistan’ and the work presented in it is my own.

I confirm that:

1. This work has not been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.
2. This work is the result of my own investigation, except where otherwise stated and acknowledged. A list of references is appended.

Signed: *Mir Baloch*

Date: January 2019

Mir Sadaat Baloch

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List of Abbreviations

BHU

Basic Health Unit

CMAM

Community- Based Management of Acute Malnutrition

CMYP

Comprehensive Multi-year Plan

CPO

Chief Planning Officer

DG

Director General

EDOH

Executive District Officers Health

HEBS

Health Education Board for Scotland

IDA

International Development Agency

IDD

Iodine Deficiency Diseases

IYCF

Infant and Young Child Feeding

LHW

Lady Health Worker

NCB

Nutrition Cell Balochistan

NGOs

Non-governmental Organisations

NSMC

National Social Marketing Centre

PPPs

Private-Public Partnerships

RHC

Regional Health Centre

UNICEF

United Nations International Children Emergency Fund

VIP

Very Important Person

WFP

World Food Programme

WHO

World Health Organisation

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

Nutrition Cell Balochistan (NCB) was established in 1994 with the aim of improving the health of the general populace, particularly the nutritional aspect of the community. It was created in partnership with the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and World Food Programme (WFP).

The overall goal of the project is to improve the nutritional status of male and female children of less than five years of age, and women of reproductive age, by improving the coverage of nutrition campaigns in the selected districts of the province. However, among children under five years of age, malnutrition increased from 43 per cent to 52 per cent between 2001 and 2011, according to the National Nutrition Survey (PMRC, 2012).

In a bid to overcome malnutrition, a partnership was thus formed in 2008 among NCB, WFP, UNICEF and WHO. As part of the project, UNICEF is the leading stakeholder linked to the capacity building of the employees of the Balochistan Health Department. WFP ensures the provision of nutritious food, such as formula chocolate, fortified wheat, cooking oil and biscuits to NCB. The World Health Organisation (WHO) helps in Infant and Young Child Feeding (IYCF): children of less than five years of age and their mothers are treated at a hospital for chronic malnutrition. However, after this partnership, malnutrition is increasing in the country (PMRC, 2012) and the partnership is unsuccessful in delivering the desired outcome. The nutrition campaign under this partnership is a social marketing campaign (see Table 1.1) that requires investigation to understand the preconditions that are necessary for successful campaigns in Pakistan.

1.1 The research arguments

The following sections will identify pertinent research arguments in this study.

1.1.1 Social marketing

The understanding of social marketing for this study resonates to a consent definition sanctioned by the International Social Marketing Association (ISMA), European Social Marketing Association (ESMA) and the Australian Association of Social Marketing (AASM), which states that:

Social Marketing seeks to develop and integrate marketing concepts with other approaches to influence behaviours that benefit individuals and communities for the greater social good. Social Marketing practice is guided by ethical principles. It seeks to integrate research, best practice, theory, audience and partnership insight, to inform the delivery of competition sensitive and segmented social change campaigns that are effective, efficient, equitable and sustainable. (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016:9)

A key point to note is the acknowledgement to create effective partnerships and incorporation of other theories and approaches, which may include management theories. Social marketers must consider different theoretical perspectives to better apply social marketing to enhance outcomes (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016; Gordon, 2012).

Hastings (2003) presents the concept of relationship in social marketing and advocates the view that relational thinking is not just a tool but is a fundamental aspect of social marketing. Compared to Rothschild (1999), Hastings (2003) identifies more relational aspects of social marketing and develops a multi-relationship model of social marketing, which can be a useful tool to explore relationships. He asserts that a social marketer has to prioritise the relationship but did not comment on how it can be done. This study will fill this gap by identifying the preconditions that are necessary for the creation of such relationships for successful campaigns in Pakistan.

If we examine social marketing campaigns closely, we will realise that these aim to influence the voluntary behaviour of a targeted audience (in this study they are called

beneficiary) to improve their health and wellbeing. Knowledge and learning are acquired from commercial marketing for the resolution of health and social issues. Kotler and Zaltman (1971) claim that this does not constitute a theory, but a framework that draws from other disciplines to influence people's behaviour. The initial focus of social marketing is on voluntary behaviour, which means it is not about enforcement or compulsion. Implementing the principle of exchange induces the change in behaviour. The fundamental principle of exchange must be that there is a clear benefit for the target audience after the change. In order to influence the target audience, marketing techniques such as segmentation and targeting, market research and marketing mix are used. Most importantly, the principal aim of social marketing is not to benefit the organisation running the campaign, but to improve individual welfare together with the society. These distinctions separate social marketing from other forms of marketing (MacFadyen *et al.*, 2002).

Analysing social marketing campaigns further, Gordon (2012) asserts that people working for a social marketing campaign can belong to different walks of life such as public health, community politics, environmental issues, social justice, and other social sciences, as well as marketing. The inflow of knowledge and ideas in social marketing from a wide set of disciplines keeps the idea debatable and flexible to accommodate knowledge according to the issue and its context (French, 2011). Thinking on similar lines, the UK National Social Marketing Centre (NSMC) has acknowledged this in their definition of social marketing as 'the systematic application of marketing, alongside other concepts and techniques to achieve specific behavioural goals for a social good' (NSMC, 2007:32). This implies that any activity that can be an aid to a campaign aimed at specific behavioural goals can be considered social marketing. A campaign can use any activity as a tool to reach its goal, as indicated by Stead *et al.* (2007). It can even include training of staff or planning, amongst other managerial activities.

With the development of social marketing, it is being employed in a range of social issues; so, to better fit in, it needs an improved and better-adapted social marketing mix (French, Russell-Bennett, & Mulcahy, 2017; Buyucek *et al.*, 2016; Gordon, 2012). Social marketers unwilling to expand the boundaries of social marketing need to understand that negative influences that affect individual behaviour on a daily basis

cannot be tackled with the limited scope of social marketing (French, Russell-Bennett, & Mulcahy, 2017; Buyucek *et al.*, 2016).

When the popular culture fosters unhealthy behaviour such as drinking, developing persuasive messages cannot change that behaviour (Szmigin *et al.*, 2011). Under such circumstances, social marketers need to remove the negative environmental influences. Bearing this argument in mind, this research makes a case for innovations in the theory and practice of social marketing. Hastings and Saren (2003) argue in favour of learning new insights from social marketers. The researcher understands that such thinking may be challenging for the current order, as it has been carried out previously. For example, broadening the concept of marketing was opposed by Luck (1969) and Carman (1973), declaring it against the interests of marketing as it threatens its identity. Yet as Donovan and Henley (2011) explain, the test of time proved otherwise when marketers pushed for a broader and macro-marketing perspective.

Given all these changes and developments in the field, it would not be unsurprising if social marketing scholars expanded the idea of social marketing to incorporate further elements such as power relations, planning, policy or beneficiary, to name a few. Recognising these aspects, it seems fitting to rethink and re-assess the idea of social marketing.

1.1.2 Partnership

Partnerships have received growing scholastic and specialist interest as an innovative arrangement to deal with social problems that a single sector cannot resolve. A recent review of literature on partnerships in different fields such as management, political science, marketing and public policy indicates that researchers have concentrated on value creation (Kolk & Lenfant, 2015; Koschmann, Kuhn, & Pfarrer, 2012; Le Ber & Branzei, 2010). They highlight the importance of the beneficiary for creating value in a partnership.

Kolk and Lenfant (2015) and Selsky and Parker (2005) assert that over the years, the significance of partnership is growing, but it is still a poorly understood concept. They explain that the primary challenge that researchers in the area of partnership face is that the idea emerges from various disciplines such as healthcare, education,

economics, non-profit management, natural environment, administration, organisational studies and public policy. This makes it difficult for the researcher to reach a constant conceptualisation of the process of partnership. The conceptualisation of partnership in current literature shares an unarticulated assumption that there is no imbalance as each partner enjoys equal rights and responsibility, and they equally help one another to accomplish a collective goal. This coheres with the developed world's understanding of partnership with the developing world in welfare campaigns. However, other researchers such as Crawford (2003), writing from a developing country's perspective, in this case from Indonesia, assert otherwise that power differentials have a tendency to emerge in the process of partnership (see section 4.4).

Mainstream conceptualisation of partnership ignores the aspect of power relations. The issue of why partners join in a partnership and why it is created is addressed in research but the topic of how these partnerships are shaped through power relations is still unexplored. Unequal power relations are often mentioned but are not an issue. The question as to how these power relations affect the process is missing. Nowhere has there been any reflection on how the concept of partnership is perceived and practised differently in a developing country like Pakistan and how power relations affect it. This study addresses these questions to fill the gap in the literature.

1.1.3 Power relations

The role of beneficiaries is fundamental in social change, and social marketers need to realise it. Without them, it is difficult to bring about or analyse a change. The changes that occur within a society are the result of relationships among a target audience. The decision taken or action planned is a consequence of relationships among the target audience. This places them at the centre of any social change. Hence, change cannot be made from an external source; it has to come from within. The role of beneficiaries in societies like Pakistan becomes more vital as they are highly differentiated and still struggling to create a unified identity. Elias emphasised people and relationships, not the positions of power they hold (Mowles, 2015). He implied that a society transforms with the structure of social relationship or changes in its conditions. He believed that beneficiaries (people) should be regarded as plural, as part of groups and networks, with their unique identity and individuality existing only through and within those

networks or *figurations*. So the interdependency of individuals is not created because of the position they hold in the network but results from the relationship they hold in the network of people. This asserts that the focus of sociological analysis should be the relationship between human activities and their consequences.

This highlights the significance of the beneficiary in this study. It will look at the implication of the beneficiary in the process of partnership, planning and decision-making. For the purpose of analysis, NCB has been selected as a case study and its nutrition campaign will be studied for data and findings. It is relevant to mention here that any activity during the data collection phase that is performed by NCB can be considered for this research if the nutrition campaign qualifies as a social marketing campaign.

1.2 Does the nutrition campaign of NCB qualify as a social marketing campaign?

The difficulty with social marketing has been that its generic definitions are not precise enough to decide whether a campaign does or does not qualify as a social marketing campaign. A resolution to this problem is to check what essential ingredients are present in a social marketing campaign. In 2002, Andreasen introduced six essential benchmarks of a social marketing campaign that can be used for the qualification of a campaign. The Nutrition campaign of NCB has been checked against these six benchmarks in Table 1.1. The table demonstrates that the nutrition campaign under study meets the six criteria of social marketing to qualify as a social marketing campaign.

Table 1.1 Six essential benchmarks of a social marketing campaign

	Six Social Marketing Criteria	Steps taken by the Nutrition Campaign of NCB
1	Should have a specific behaviour change goal	To encourage mothers to breastfeed their children more often
2	Should use market research to inform the campaign	NCB in partnership with WFP, UNICEF and the government of Balochistan collected data from all the districts of Balochistan to assess the need for the campaign
3	Should consider segmentation and targeting	The campaign is operational in eight districts (segments) of Balochistan where lactating mothers and children under the age of five are targeted
4	Should demonstrate the use of more than one element of marketing mix	It offers products such as formula chocolate, fortified wheat, cooking oil and biscuits. Promotes breastfeeding through community-based campaigning and media advocacy
5	Should create attractive and motivational exchanges for the target audience	Mothers are offered food items such as formula chocolate, fortified wheat, cooking oil and biscuits in exchange for breastfeeding their children
6	Should use strategies that seek to minimise competition	The government of Balochistan passed the nutrition bill in the provincial assembly and built centres in the district hospital to fight malnutrition in mothers and children

Adapted from Andreasen (2002)

1.3 Conceptual framework

This section explains the conceptual framework; the term can be utilised in different ways. Ravitch and Riggan (2011) explain that it can express or refer to three different things. They define it as a visual representation of the main theoretical principles. In

such a case, it can be a stand-alone figure within the literature review. The second view treats theoretical and conceptual frameworks as fundamentally the same. This view of frameworks mainly depends on how the term theory is outlined in the research. The third view envisions it as a way to link all the elements of the investigation. For this research, the conceptual framework has been a tool that guided the research and linked all the elements. The literature review is the process whereby this conceptual framework was developed.

The literature review laid the foundation of this thesis to carry out the necessary groundwork to answer four research-based questions. The literature in the three chapters on social marketing, partnership and power relations served as a guide to develop the conceptual framework. The literature review has provided areas of research that need probing inductively from data. Development of this framework is an important part of the research process. The concepts included, and the relationship between them, have been changed and re-organised over the time (refer to Appendix A). Figure 1.1 illustrates the initial conceptual framework of this research.

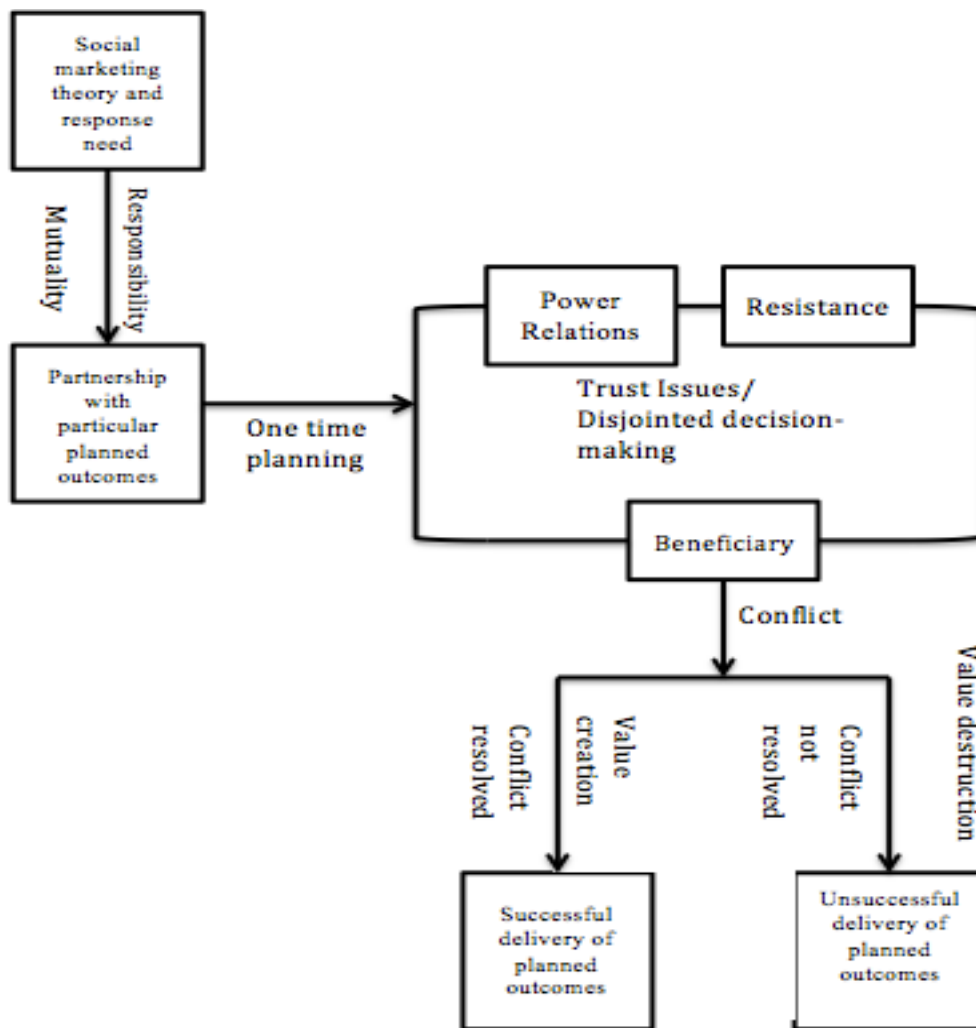


Figure 1.1 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework argues that social marketers opt for partnerships to overcome certain shortcomings in their campaigns. A partnership is created to achieve the particular outcomes of a social marketing campaign. The primary concern of social marketers is to create mutuality and responsibility through the partnership in order to achieve the planned outcomes. Contrary to the theory of partnership, the process of planning and decision-making takes place only at the start of the partnership (Brady, 2013). Due to this one-time planning and disjointed decision-making, trust issues emerge among campaign managers and beneficiaries that trigger power relations and resistance. Issues of trust, resistance and power relations lead to conflict developing among the stakeholders of a campaign. If these issues were not resolved it would lead to value destruction, which would eventually lead to unsuccessful delivery of planned outcomes. This research will particularly examine

the preconditions of partnership, planning and decision-making to identify ways in which value can be created for conflict resolution that would lead to successful delivery of planned outcomes.

The nine concepts of the framework require further explanations:

1.3.1 Partnership

It is important to realise the value of partnership in social marketing theory and response needs (Gregory, 2005). The partnership is created keeping in mind the characteristics of mutuality, trust, responsibility, planning and decision-making (Stern & Green, 2005).

1.3.2 Mutuality

The idea of mutuality is fundamental for partnership creation (Lister, 1999). It means that each partner should enjoy the same rights and responsibilities (Stern & Green, 2005). They should help one another to accomplish the collective goals of the partnership.

1.3.3 Responsibility

This research conceptualises responsibility for the achievement of the collective goal (Stern & Green 2005). However, this responsibility can be undermined if planning and decision-making are not collective.

1.3.4 Planning and decision-making

Partnerships require ongoing planning and evaluation rather than planning from the start and evaluation at the end, and during the process all stakeholders should be part of it (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016; Brady, 2013). This will help the partners to define roles and duties better. The partners can develop consensus for the common goals of the partnership (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016). This research conceptualises the process as a joint action that can ensure that partners would share responsibility for it. Considering the nature of the research and case under study, the beneficiary is envisioned as a part of this process. If planning and decision-making are only done at the start of the partnership then it will lead to issues such as lack of trust, resistance, power relations and value destruction.

1.3.5 Trust

All the partners should be part of planning and decision-making based on trust. The concept of trust has two distinct dimensions: trustworthiness, which means support and acceptance, and believing, which means openness and sharing (Panteli & Tucker, 2009). Trust is placed due to prior investment in reputation or previous evidence of trustworthiness (Perks & Halliday, 2003); it has to be fostered during the partnership.

1.3.6 Power relations

There is an issue of power relations in partnership, which requires scrutiny. The need for a partnership is not derived from the less influential actors of society; it is the dominant groups that decide it (Mutch, 2011). This signifies that partnerships can have power relations from their inception and it is fundamental to understand the consequences.

1.3.7 Resistance

Resistance is often considered the opposite of power, as a reaction when power is exercised (Erkama, 2010). Resistance often emerges due to unequal power relations (Pieterse *et al.*, 2012; Scott, 1990). Resistance is often termed as opposition to the management and a barrier to change (Erkama, 2010).

1.3.8 Value

French, Russell-Bennett and Mulcahy (2017) highlight that value creation is an important concept for social marketing. They argue it is particularly significant in social marketing campaigns related to health care and transformative services. It comprises collaboration of actors and integration of resources at different levels during a campaign and understands that value is created by social contexts (Luca, Hibbert, & McDonald, 2016; Park & Vargo, 2012). When value is destructed it undermines the outcome of a campaign (Leo & Zainuddin, 2017). The aim should be to create value in order to achieve the desired outcome of the campaign. If value is destroyed then success cannot be achieved (Leo & Zainuddin, 2017).

1.3.9 Beneficiary

For this research, the targeted audience is called the beneficiary. The beneficiary is broadly defined as a stakeholder that receives the product or services in a social

marketing campaign (Le Ber & Branzei, 2010). Le Ber and Branzei (2010) claim that although beneficiaries contribute both directly and indirectly to value creation, their inputs are often ignored. The beneficiary is broadly understood as the intended ‘target’ of value creation (Lepak *et al.*, 2007) and typically refers to a marginalised, subjugated or vulnerable segment of society (Phills *et al.*, 2008) that a partnership serves for a desired outcome. This study conceptualises the beneficiary as one of the stakeholders with the potential to make a contribution to value creation in a partnership during a social marketing campaign.

The concept of the beneficiary is essential for two reasons. Firstly, its involvement is essential for the development of trust and value creation. Secondly, it can be said about Pakistan that the society is significantly strong and the state is weak (Lodhi, 2011). This implies that without the support of the beneficiary it can be difficult to bring about a sustainable change in Pakistan.

1.4 Aims and objectives

Discussion of conceptual framework, coupled with the literature and context of Pakistan, shaped the aims and objectives of this research.

1.4.1 Aims

- 1) To understand how partnerships can be designed to establish the preconditions for a successful social marketing campaign in Balochistan (Pakistan).
- 2) To understand the implications of planning and decision-making to a partnership in a social marketing campaign in Balochistan (Pakistan).

1.4.2 Research objectives

These two aims of the research will be accomplished by meeting the following eight objectives:

- RO1) To identify the need for preconditions of partnership in a social marketing campaign in Balochistan
- RO2) To explain the concept of partnership in Balochistan
- RO3) To explore the nature of planning and decision-making in Balochistan

RO4)To assess the access of the beneficiary during the planning phase of a campaign in Balochistan

RO5)To identify the consequences of planning and decision-making towards trust

RO6)To understand the nature of resistance during a social marketing campaign in Balochistan

RO7)To identify the consequences of power relations to partnership in Balochistan

RO8)To know if power relations can create conflicts in perceptions

1.4.3 Research questions

The research objectives are distilled into four deliberately broad research questions:

- 1) How is partnership conceived in a social marketing campaign in Balochistan?
- 2) How is the process of planning and decision-making carried out in Balochistan?
- 3) What is the nature of trust and resistance during a social marketing campaign in Balochistan?
- 4) What are the implications of power relations to a partnership in Balochistan?

The research answers these questions by analysing the data collected from the case study of NCB.

1.5 Preamble of research design

It can be difficult to reach complete objectivity about a lived experience because human beings make sense of events and objects based on their experiences (Garrick, 1999). Garrick (1999) argues that in order to understand an experience from an individual's viewpoint, it should be examined in his/her context. Holloway and Wheeler (2013) explain that a social phenomenon cannot stay free from space and time or the mind of the human, so fundamentally it is context-bound. It is pertinent to mention here that there is objective truth such as 'people need air and water to live' or 'water boils once it is heated to a certain temperature', but a social phenomenon cannot be objective. Lapan *et al.* (2011) claim that it is hard to achieve complete

neutrality and objectivity; the subjectivities of participants become a part of a lived experience. There is no reality as each is unique and creates a unique perception of a social phenomenon (Lapan *et al.*, 2011). This means that reality about a social phenomenon is formed and influenced by the experiences and social conditions of individuals. When we try to reproduce that reality, we only present what we experience, not how it exists ‘out there’.

In recent times more scholars believe that social science or natural science cannot be entirely objective as the background and values of the research can affect the process (Lapan *et al.*, 2011). Drawing from the thinking of recent scholars, the concepts of this research can have a distinctive meaning to individuals in Balochistan. People would regard the meaning based on their practices and interactions. For example, compared to the West, democracy and corruption have different perceptions in the minds of the people of Pakistan (see section 2.1.3). Hence, the knowledge related to this study is grounded in the context of Balochistan.

For the study of a social phenomenon, the case study approach could be appropriate. It can be a qualitative approach that explores a real-life case over time with the help of in-depth data collection. This method is helpful in assessing the efficacy of health campaigns and to develop a theory. Research cannot manipulate the behaviour of a participant; hence the case study approach will be fitting for this research. In order to enhance the data integrity, a number of data sources are considered such as interviews and observation.

Chapter 2

RESEARCH CONTEXT

2.0 Introduction

This chapter aims to establish an understanding of the society of Pakistan with particular regard to its cultural influences. The chapter includes five sections: the first will introduce Pakistan, focusing on the challenges faced by the community with particular emphasis on the cultural aspect of the *biradari* system. It will be followed by the narration of the problems encountered by the people of Balochistan. In the third section of this chapter, the structure of the Balochistan Health Department will be explained. The fourth section will explore how Nutrition Cell Balochistan is operating and the forthcoming chapter will end with a conclusion about the fundamental issues in the research context.

2.0.1 The significance of cultural influences in examining a social process

An individual's beliefs about what is appropriate and inappropriate are significantly influenced by their culture (Odongo, 2016). Dawar and Parker (1994) and Triandis (1995) define culture as a set of shared values, norms and beliefs of a group. When these groups and sub-groups aggregately own a clear national character and demonstrate firm patterns of values and behaviour it is called a national culture (Luna & Gupta, 2001). National culture infuses all features of life, directs cultural perceptions (Hofstede, 2001) and influences people's behaviour (Engelen & Brettel, 2011). Numerous investigations such as those of Schwartz and Ros (1995), Singh, Pereira, and Kwon (2003) and Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2004) empirically establish that culture and subcultures are dominated by national culture (Gentina *et al.*, 2014). The usage of national culture in earlier investigations coupled with the findings of these studies indicates the significance of cultural difference while examining any social process (Gentina *et al.*, 2014).

The cultural difference is specifically significant when choosing how services should be offered to a new foreign market (Fregidou-Malama & Hyder, 2105). While preparing strategies for a new foreign host market, managers may bank on plans that

they have commissioned in other overseas host markets or those that they have offered in their domestic market (Fregidou-Malama & Hyder, 2105). Standardisation or adaptation of products and services for an international market has been debated widely (Fregidou-Malama & Hyder, 2105). The literature on standardisation and adaptation argues that the focus should be on cultural diversity (Fregidou-Malama & Hyder, 2105). This implies that it is not feasible to transfer an entire concept, so certain modifications must be made to the product or service based on cultural differences when entering a foreign host market (Fregidou-Malama & Hyder, 2105). For this purpose, many cultural studies have been conducted over the years to understand cultural differences. The five main authors in cultural studies are summarised in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Five Main Cultural Studies

Authors	Focus	Outcome
Hofstede (1986)	Understanding cultural differences based on national culture	5 dimensions: power distance, individualism vs. collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, masculinity vs. femininity, long-term vs. short-term orientation
Hall (1976, 1989)	Intercultural communication	Paradigm for intercultural communication High-context communication, Low-context communication
Schwartz (1994)	Individual values recognised across cultures, analysed based on individual and cultural levels	3 dimensions (cultural level): embeddedness vs. autonomy, hierarchy vs. egalitarianism, mastery vs. harmony
Chang and Ding (1995)	Chinese perspective on cultural aspects, based on Hofstede's framework	4 dimensions: Integration, Confucian work dynamics, human heartedness, and moral discipline
Trompenaars (1997)	Focusing on the ways cultures develop to approach problem-solving and unknown situations	7 dimensions: universalism vs. particularism, affective vs. neutral, individualism vs. communitarianism, achieved status vs. ascribed status, specific vs. diffuse, time as sequence vs. time as synchronisation, and internal control vs. external control

Adapted from Waragarn and Ghazal (2007)

Literature highlights a range of issues regarding the usage of these models (Waragarn & Ghazal, 2007). The main argument is that these models are oversimplified, problematic, and were developed for specific needs (Waragarn & Ghazal, 2007). Hofstede's model of five national culture dimensions is regarded as the most influential framework for exploring national culture. Many authors such as Chen and Li (2005); Kirkman, Lowe and Gibson (2006), Ng, Lee and Soutar (2007) and Gupta (2012) have criticised Hofstede's work on cultural aspects such as: cutting culture into a few dimensions, ordering culture into discrete characteristics that do not change over time, narrow sample (only IBM staff), and failing to draw a distinction between business and social contexts, among others (Odongo, 2016). Based on these disagreements it may be inferred that it would be problematic to approve these models as the only approaches to studying culture. Hence, this research will examine Pakistan's cultural influences in light of other concepts such as *biradari*, *wasta* and *guanxi*, known as family and kinship-based practices (see section 2.1.2).

2.1 Pakistan

Pakistan was created as a nation of contradictions. Despite the secular foundation laid by the founder, the country has turned into a haven for fundamentalists. Since the inception of Pakistan resilience has been part of the narrative, clouded by the single-issue lens of extremism through which outsiders have lately viewed the nation (Lodhi, 2011). Attention has deflected away from the firmness and strength of its underlying social structure that has empowered the nation to endure numerous crises. The floods of 2008 in Pakistan exposed a paradox that is at the heart of the country's predicament today: a strong society and a weak state (Lodhi, 2011). When the government was unable to respond effectively to the situation, ordinary citizens, civil society, the business community and even the media, came out to help the flood victims.

Ever since its creation, Pakistan has pursued a well-orchestrated official nationalism in search of solace in the crisis. Concentrated media combined with a dysfunctional educational system has led to the diffusion of mistrust and misrepresentations (Kapur, 2006). The fabricated narrative by officials signifies the history of Pakistan echoing

an unconvincing account of Islamic ideology. The intellect of the country is made subservient through bribes or fear (Jalal, 2011). The vast majority of literate Pakistani is forced to absorb the official truths and take comfort in scepticism, ignorance, and believe in conspiracy theories (Jalal, 2011). The habit of public denial coupled with self-glorification of an imagined past has pushed the country into a crisis, because of which Pakistan is under far more serious threat than it previously was (Ayza, 2013).

The country is facing enemies within and outside; the media attributes all its problems to invisible external hands while ignoring the historically precise causes of internal decline and decay (Kapur, 2006). There is a prevalent belief that America and Israel are in pursuit of breaking up the only Muslim nuclear force (Jalal, 2011). Any foreign entity is attributed to the external invisible hand that is working for its destruction (Kapur, 2006). International development agencies (IDAs) that are working on social issues and health projects are not exempted from such labelling (Ahmad, 2012). Under the fear of gloomy apprehensions, the society seeks refuge beneath the canopy of Islam.

2.1.1 Society of Pakistan

Pakistani society is overwhelmingly Muslim (97 per cent) despite being racially diverse (Qadeer, 2006). A middle class is developing but a limited section of elite families uphold exceptionally disproportionate control over the nation's wealth, and almost one-third of people live below the poverty line (Blood, 1996). Considered a male-dominated society in which social improvement has trailed significantly behind economic change, as revealed by critical indicators such as sanitation, literacy, and access to health care (Qadeer, 2006), Pakistan has an immense regional diversity. Baloch, Punjabis, Sindhis, and Pathans speak different languages and have disparate cultural traditions. National loyalties are often subjugated by ethnic, regional, and most importantly, family commitments (Qadeer, 2006). Punjabis, the dominant ethnic group, dominate the federal government and the army. Pathans, Sindhis, and Baloch find this dominance at odds with their targets for provincial autonomy (Blood, 1996). Ethnic mixing in every province further confuses social and political relations.

Pakistan finds it hard to develop a national identity among its diverse population (Jalal, 2011). History is distorted for ideological and political gains; hence people cannot develop a historical consciousness (Jalal, 2011). The nation is striving to shape

the outer and inner forms of its identity (Ayaz, 2013). There is just an emerging structural imbalance in the state due to centre-province tension, weak political parties and the suppressed media (Kapur, 2006). This has resulted in a centralised state with a federal form of government. There have been several attempts by the centre to resolve the tension, but all such attempts were no more than rhetoric (Bukhari, Roofi, & Bukhari, 2015).

In 2009 through a constitutional amendment, provincial autonomy was given to the provinces. After the passing of the bill, the provinces are still waiting for the delegation of power. Living in such an imbalanced society is difficult for the people of Pakistan, so they survive with the support of their *biradari* (family and kinship connections) (Lieven, 2011).

2.1.2 The cultural dimensions of *biradari*, *wasta* and *guanxi*

The consequences of culture on healthcare need to be examined for the success of a campaign (Borisova *et al.*, 2017). Cultural dimensions justify the variation in public support for healthcare campaigns (Borisova *et al.*, 2017). Countries vary significantly in terms of cultural dimensions. The understanding of their cross-national variations is a precondition for the avoidance of intercultural miscommunication (Meeuwesen, Brink-Muinen, & Hofstede, 2009). An improved understanding of nations' cultural values and norms for communication can contribute to improved working of partners (Meeuwesen, Brink-Muinen, & Hofstede, 2009). The following section will discuss three such cultural dimensions of *biradari*, *wasta* and *guanxi*. This research will refer to these dimensions as family and kinship connections.

Biradari is the epicentre of Pakistani social life; even the highly educated and westernised families acknowledge its importance (Blood, 1996). It provides both protection and identity, and it is very rare and rebellious for an individual to live without the support of family and relatives.

Descent is reckoned patrilineally, so only those related through the male kin (the patrilineage) play a significant role in social relations. Its members neither hold moveable property in common nor share earnings, but the honour and shame of individual members affect the general standing of the *biradari* within the community.

A common proverb expresses this view: ‘one does not share the breed, but one shares the shame’ (Blood, 1996:102).

Lieven (2011) explains that a person or group with the slightest power within the society will practise it to loot the state for nepotism and patronage. The disadvantages of the state are not limited to patronage for the endurance of governments. The *biradari* system is the underlying reason for the weakness of state, but it also brings steadiness in the society (Lieven, 2011).

Blood (1996) claims that Pakistani political elites, particularly in the countryside, rely for their power not just on their fortune but their headship of clans or kinship networks. It plays a vital role in upholding the control of the elites. Chaudhary (1999) while asserting the influence of this system claims that it is so convincing that it can influence a father to kill a much-loved daughter or son for marrying outside the *biradari* without permission. Discussing on similar lines, Lieven (2011) further explains that defence of the interests and honour of the *biradari* usually compensates for loyalty to the state, to a party or any code of ethics, and this is true not only of a common Pakistani but of most officials and politicians. It is essential to realise therefore that ‘much Pakistani corruption is the result, not of lack of values (as it is usually seen in the West) but of the positive and ancient value of the loyalty to the family and clan’ (Lieven, 2011:14). Chaudhary (1999) thinks this *biradari* system is probably strong enough to prevent any attempt to change the society, may it be positive development and reform. He further explains that the system is responsible for the maintenance of the basic stability of society and even its existence, but it is also dangerous for the development of the country. Pakistan’s society is influenced by ethnic, regional and family loyalties. The people find it difficult to develop a common identity other than their *biradari* (Lieven, 2011). This kinship power is essential to the functioning of the society (Lieven, 2011). If the power of the people is neglected, it can be dreadful for the development of the country. Hence the role of the people is key to bringing change in the society.

Barnett, Yandle and Naufal (2013) claim that family and kinship connections like *biradari* are not something unique to Pakistani culture; they are also practised in other parts of the world with a few variations. The following section will highlight two

such concepts known as *wasta* and *guanxi* that operate in the Arab world and China respectively.

2.1.2.1 Family and kinship-based practices in different cultures

Izraeli (1997) highlights that in Israel *protektzia* is similar to *wasta*. Sobel (1986) explains *protektzia* as ‘preferential treatment’, ‘favouritism’ and/or ‘nepotism’ but really what it means is having the correct links at the right time and the right place to get your work done. *Jeitinho* is practised in many segments of the Brazilian society. Smith *et al.* (2011) refer to it as creative ways to reach a short-term solution to problems. Unlike *wasta* or *guanxi*, the people working together may or may not be formerly acquainted.

2.1.2.1.1 The concept of *wasta*

Wasta is an Arabic word that means to obtain benefits through social connections that otherwise would not be provided (Mohamed & Hamday, 2008). It is an intervention of a patron to gain favour for a client from a third party. The use of *wasta* can be a noun (the patron) or a verb (the act of negotiation), and the degree of its use changes among Arab countries (Mohamed & Hamday, 2008). Loewe *et al.* (2011) claim that in Arab countries performing a simple task without it can become a frustrating exercise. Mohamed and Hamday (2008) further argue it plays a vital role in the promotion and hiring decisions in an Arab organisation. They claim that in extreme cases, a person with poor qualifications can get a job over a more qualified person with the help of a strong *wasta*. It is an extraordinary influence enjoyed by members of the same tribe or group (Loewe *et al.*, 2011). Barnett, Yandle and Naufal, (2013) refer to it as an implicit social contract enjoyed within a tribal group that obliges its members to provide favourable treatment. They suggest there is an unqualified obligation among the group members to assist and there is no obligation to provide any direct compensation for the help provided. With its help, people can gain favourable treatment in bureaucracy, business and government. They see it as a source of cronyism, nepotism, and corruption.

Cunnigham and Sarayrah (1993) explain two types of *wasta*: intercessory and intermediary. Intergroup or interpersonal conflicts are resolved through intermediary *wasta* where it reinforces social norms and human relations. Intercessory *wasta*

involves someone intervening on behalf of a client to overcome a barrier or obtain an advantage from authority. It has evolved in Arab societies and is viewed as a social construct that can provide better solutions to social problems (Barnett, Yandle, & Naufal, 2013). It can provide better alternatives than other institutional arrangements. Hutchings and Weir (2006) draw similarities between *wasta* and *guanxi*, a practice in China. The following section will discuss the idea of *guanxi*, followed by a comparison of both concepts.

2.1.2.1.2 The concept of *guanxi*

Guanxi is a term used in China for interpersonal connection. It is believed to be a vital factor in business transactions and could secure wide benefits (Gold & Guthrie, 2002). Fan (2002) regards it as a basic solution for most business problems while operating in China. In early research, *guanxi* was studied as a cultural phenomenon. In earlier studies, the focus was placed on the social and human effect of *guanxi* rather than its economic value (Fan, 2002). Gradually the focus was shifted to the business perspective spotlighting two main themes: possible links between *guanxi* and some Western concepts, such as networking, competitive advantage and relationship marketing; and business benefits and implications of the *guanxi* (Fan, 2002).

‘In everyday communication, *guanxi* has a pejorative connotation referring to the use of someone's authority to obtain political or economic benefits by unethical persons’ (Fan, 2002:546). In literature, the term *guanxi* is discussed as a relationship, a connection, exchange, a resource and a process to get work done (Fan, 2002; Gold & Guthrie, 2002). Fan (2002) summarises it as a process that primarily starts with two parties, the number of parties will rise gradually and it stops only when a resolution is discovered or the task is abandoned. It can be classified into three categories: ‘family’, ‘helper’ and ‘business’ but in reality they are mixed or entwined, so it is hard to distinguish them (Fan, 2002).

2.1.2.1.3 A Comparison of *wasta* and *guanxi*

Wasta and *guanxi* are traditional modes of interpersonal connections and networks that operate in the Arab world and China respectively. Hutchings and Weir (2006) claim significant empirical and theoretical literature suggestion that *guanxi* is based on Confucian ethics, whereas the *wasta* connections are based on deeper

infrastructures of belief, obligation, family, and kin. They suggest that in *guanxi* the relationship between two people is based on the 'relationship network' (*guanxi wang*) but it is not limited to their *guanxi wang*; they may tap into the networks of those with whom they have *guanxi*. On the other hand, the social networks of *wasta* are rooted in kinship and family ties. These relations work through their social and politico-business networks to exercise power and influence (Loewe *et al.*, 2011).

Mohamed and Hamday (2008) further compare them for the use of social networks to gain favours. They argue that while *wasta* violates the Muslim ethics that prescribe equity and justice, *guanxi* reinforces the Confucian ethics that focus on strengthening collective ties within the society. Researchers have attributed *guanxi* to benefit organisational performance and competitiveness, but no such claims are associated to *wasta* (Mohamed & Hamday, 2008). In fact, it is blamed for poor economic performance and the brain drain of the Arab world (Loewe *et al.*, 2011). It is also distinct from cronyism and nepotism, as it is not restricted to the hiring of relatives and friends; it may involve strangers (Mohamed & Hamday, 2008). We can say nepotism is only one aspect of it.

'We are inclined to argue that *wasta*-like customs exist in every settled society to one degree or another and are rooted in the evolution of humans and their communities. Along these lines, we propose that *wasta*-influenced transactions gradually dissipate as tribe members become more engaged with the broader impersonal markets' (Barnett, Yandle, & Naufal, 2013:6).

2.1.2.1.4 How *biradari* is different from *wasta* and *guanxi*

The comparison between *wasta* and *guanxi* indicates that the concept of *wasta* has a closer resemblance to the *biradari* system of Pakistan. Arab countries and Pakistan share the same religion of Islam; hence most of their cultural and social networks have a close resemblance to each other. It can be said that the concept of *biradari* in Pakistan draws its inspiration from *wasta*, but the consequences of these two are different. Not following the *biradari* system can get people killed, whereas in *wasta* or *guanxi* no such thing happens. *Wasta* or *guanxi* is mostly associated with economic transactions whereas the *biradari* system runs the whole social life in Pakistan. *Wasta* and *guanxi* help in operating the economic system but *biradari* helps in living a regular life in Pakistan (Lieven, 2011).

2.1.3 Analysis of Pakistan from a Western viewpoint

The ways of Pakistan's society can be difficult to explain from a Western perspective. This can be a limitation of the research, but it is dealt with in this chapter to create a better insight into the context of the study. Westerners believe that institutions like 'police' and 'the law' work as they are supposed to work in the West, according to procedures rather than negotiation. Lieven (2011) claims that the West suggests that corruption in Pakistan should have no place in their political system. He further asserts that the political system runs on kinship and patronage, and corruption is tangled with kinship and patronage. 'To cut it out would mean gutting Pakistani society like a fish' (Lieven, 2011:32).

Pakistan is part of the more than 5,000-years-old Indus Valley civilisation. Foreign invaders frequently attacked the Indus Valley for wealth accumulation. The locals instead of fighting them would reach a negotiation for the patronage of their kinship. They would accept any condition, as long as they were protected from any other aggressor. That negotiation and deal breaking is still a part of the culture. Dissociating the people from their culture can have a substantial impact on the society. Due to this culture of patronage, negotiation, and corruption, the concept of democracy is distinctive in Pakistan (Lieven, 2011).

Western-styled democracy has become so associated with the past generation of human rights, wealth, progress and stability that to accept that a country cannot at present generate stable and fruitful forms of it is an admission so grating that both Westerners and educated Pakistanis naturally shy away from it; Westerners because it seems insulting and patronising, Pakistanis because it seems humiliating (Lieven, 2011:37).

After reading about Pakistani society one may feel that the society is almost non-functional, but the interesting fact is that life still moves on. The country is economically regressive, unsystematic, violent, corrupt, unjust, home to extremely dangerous forms of terrorism and extremism, and often viciously unfair towards women and the poor (Lieven, 2011). Pakistan 'is in many ways surprisingly tough and resilient as a state and a society. It is also not quite as unequal as it looks from the outside' (Lieven, 2011:4).

2.2 Balochistan

Balochistan accounts for nearly half of Pakistan's land and is massively rich in natural resources including gas, oil, copper, coal, and gold (Bukhari, Roofi, & Bukhari, 2015). Despite this vast mineral abundance, Balochistan continues to be one of the poorest regions of Pakistan (ibid.). The people of Balochistan have suffered more at the hands of the mullahs and militants than any other community in Pakistan (Fatah, 2008).

Baloch is one of the major ethnic groups of Pakistan. The Baloch population extends to three regions: Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan, with the majority living in Balochistan (Pakistan) (Hughes, 1977). They migrated from Aleppo, Syria, before the Christian era (Hughes, 1977) and settled in the present day Balochistan between 14th and 16th centuries. Under the command of Mir Jalal Khan, they migrated to Balochistan, and then Mir Chakar, Chieftain of the Rind tribe, briefly seized parts of the Punjab and Sindh, setting the beginning of a large-scale Baloch movement in those lands (Hughes, 1977).

'Tribe' can mean several different things in different parts of Pakistan (Lieven, 2011). 'Among the Baloch tribes, a tribe means something like the old clans of Scotland, a tightly knit group under an autocratic chieftain' (Lieven, 2011:38-39). Family and kin are also important to the Baloch but their perception is distinct from that of other people in Pakistan. The Baloch like other Pakistanis consider ancestry patrilineally. However, ancestries play a minor role in the lives of most Baloch (Blood, 1996). They are very adaptable in arrangements with both friends and family.

The difference between population and territory shapes the actual situation in Balochistan (Bukhari, Roofi, & Bukhari, 2015). Area-wise it is the largest province but has the lowest population. The province is host to huge natural resources such as energy and mineral resources, but it has a little role or worth in national policy-making and limited control over its massive resources (Bukhari, Roofi, & Bukhari, 2015).

Radical Baloch nationalists, based on these assumptions, have fought against the government many times but never succeeded in their cause. Almost 1,000 people died in the recent fighting in Balochistan including militants, local Punjabis, soldiers and the police. ‘Between 600 and 2,500 suspected militants were arrested and held without any charge by the Pakistani intelligence services (the figures differ widely depending on whom you are listening to), and while most were eventually released again, some have disappeared for good’ (Lieven, 2011:351).

Apart from the Baloch militancy, the province also confronts extremism from the radical Pathans who sympathise with the Taliban.

2.3 Health Department in Balochistan

Pakistan has a diverse and multi-level healthcare system that has developed remarkably in the past three decades (WHO, 2013). It has witnessed an upsurge in interventions and facilities with a number of projects and programmes many of which are disjointed and time-bound (ibid.). Different development partners and the government support these projects with overlapping thematic and geographical areas, leading to wastage and duplication of resources (ibid.). The healthcare system includes both non-state and state; and not for profit and profit services provision (ibid.). The provincial and district health departments with the help of non-governmental organisations, parastatal organisations, social security institutions and private sector financing provide health services (ibid.). The country’s health sector is characterised by rural-urban disparities in healthcare provision, and there is an imbalance in the health workforce, with insufficient nurses, paramedics, health managers and skilled birth attendants in peripheral areas (ibid.).

Much of the population in Balochistan is malnourished, illiterate, and semi-destitute, living in poor housing with no electricity or clean drinking water (Fatah, 2008). These conditions have created serious health issues, and one of them is malnutrition among the young mothers and their children (UNICEF, 2012). A mother can be as young as thirteen years of age (UNICEF, 2012). The Health Department of Balochistan is trying to overcome the issue of malnutrition with the help of international

development agencies: the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), World Food Programme (WFP), and World Health Organisation (WHO).

The Ministry of Health in Balochistan is part of the government; it is the department for the provision of medical services, responsible for framing and enforcing health policies at the provincial level (Balochistan, 2012). The Health Minister of Balochistan heads it at the democratic level; the Secretary of Health and the Director of General Health Services control it at the bureaucratic level. Figure 2.1 illustrates the structure of the Health Department in Balochistan.

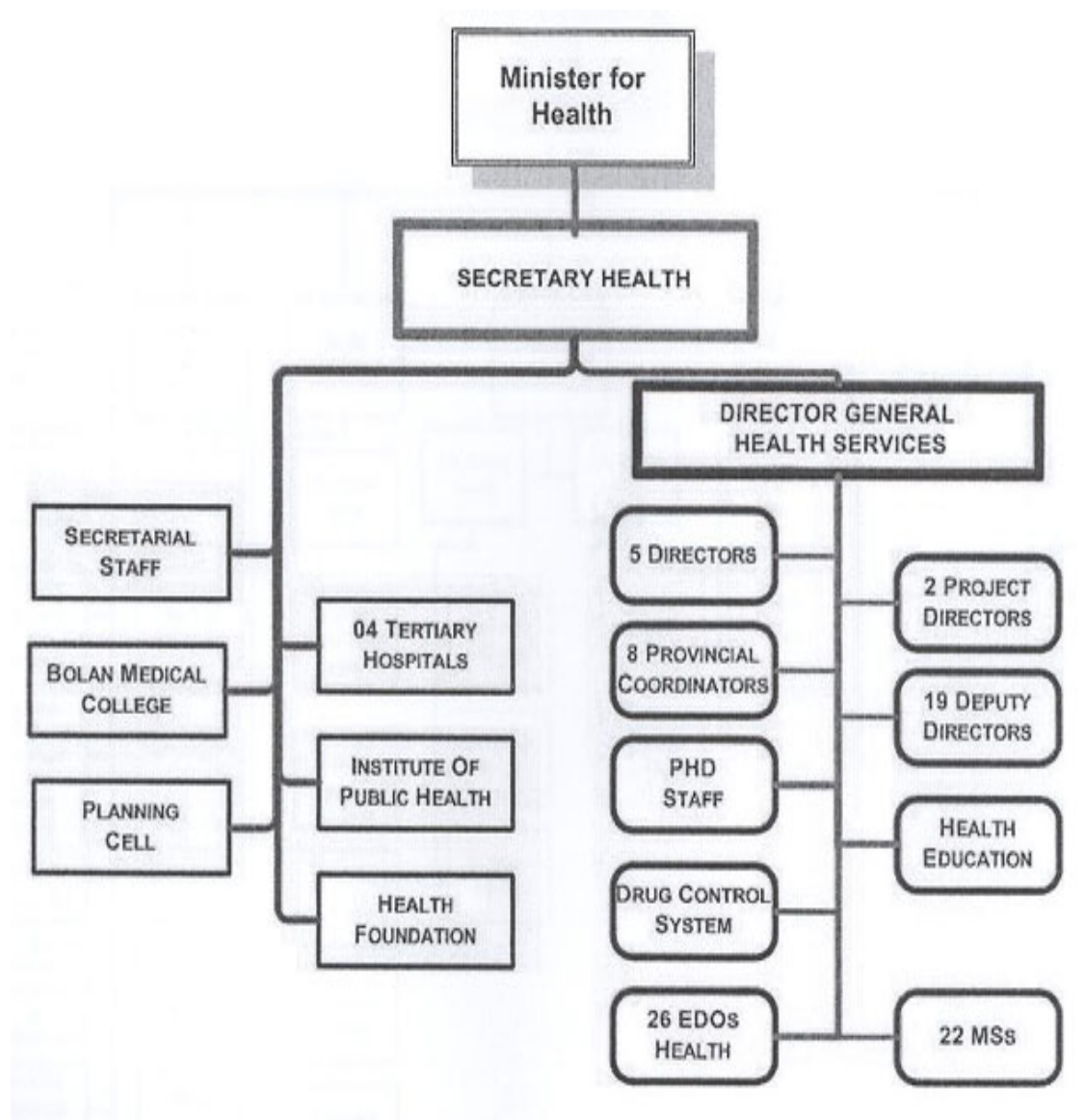


Figure 2.1 Structure of the Balochistan Health Department (Balochistan, 2012)

The organisational setup is further divided into the administration of Director General (DG), Health Services. The provincial coordinators in the first row (right) represent partnerships under the DG Health Services (see Figure 2.2). The head of the nutrition cell does not enjoy the status of a provincial coordinator, and he operates the nutrition campaign as Deputy Director, Nutrition (see the bottom second row from the right).

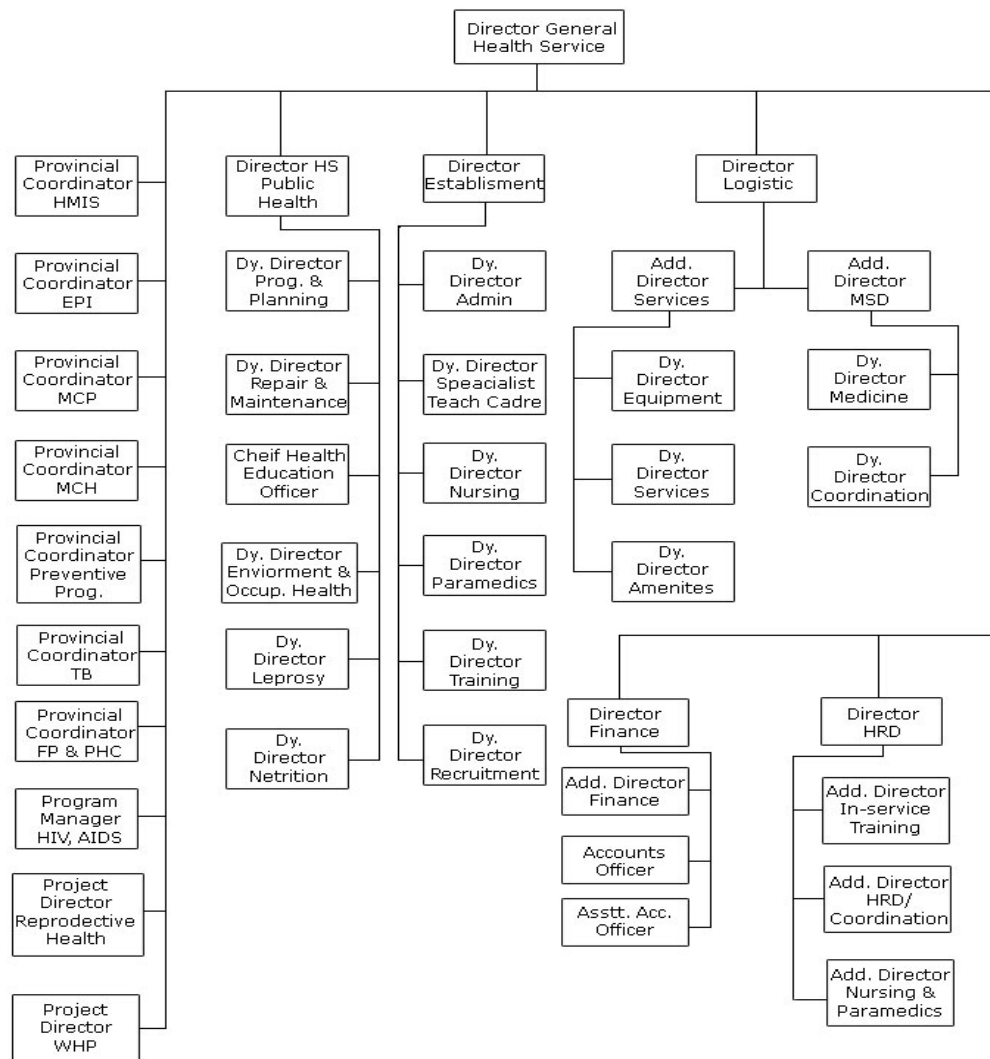


Figure 2.2 Structure of the Directorate of General Health Services (Balochistan, 2012)

The following Figure 2.3 shows the organisational setup at the district level. Executive District Officer Health (EDO) heads all the partnerships at the district level. Regional Health Centres (RHC) and Basic Health Units (BHU) provide services associated with all partnerships. Field workers and lady health workers provide relevant services under the supervision of a doctor. For this research, the focus will be

on EDOH, fieldworkers, and lady health workers as they are the main implementers of the campaign.

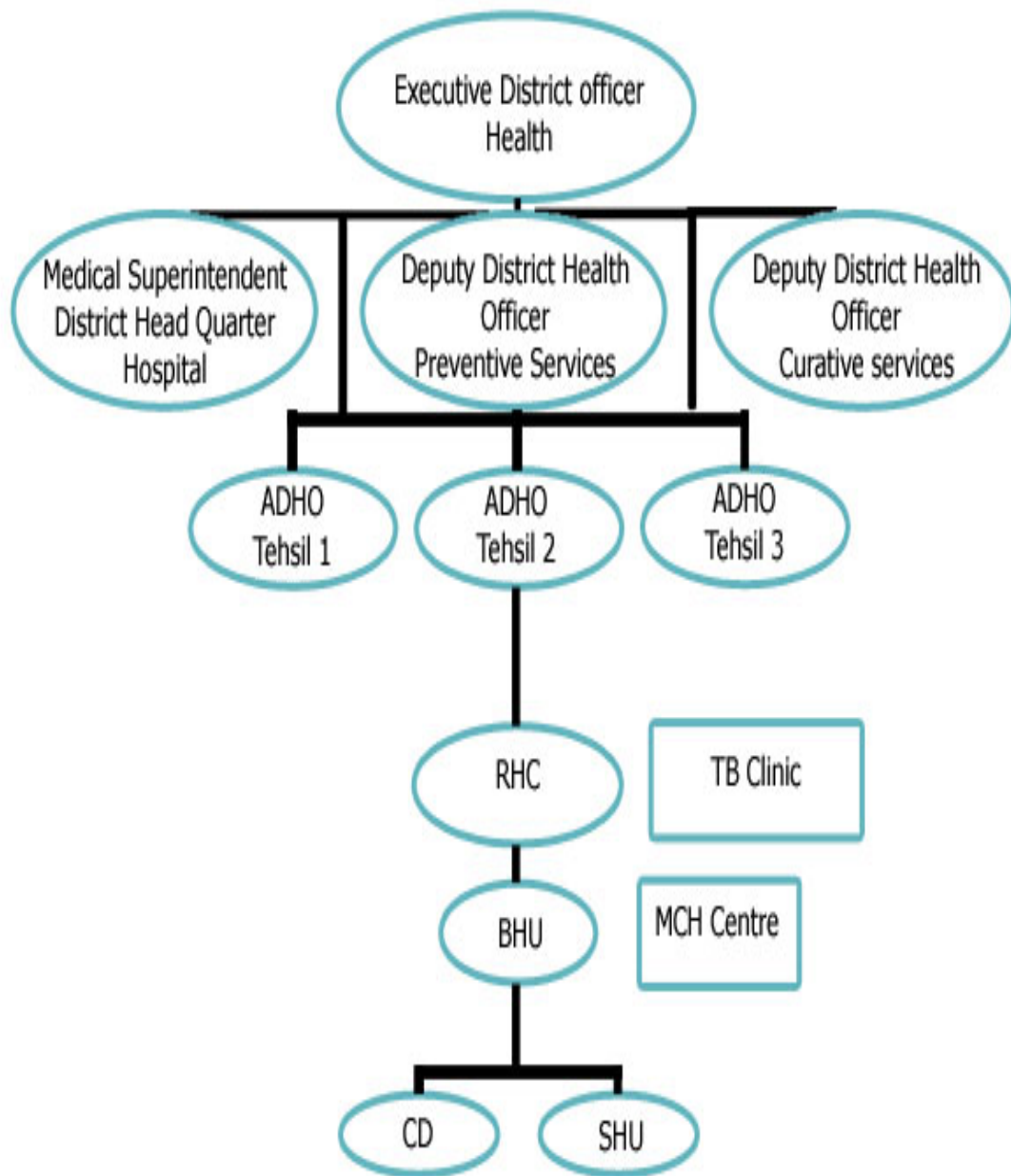


Figure 2.3 Health Department at District Level (Balochistan, 2012)

2.4 Nutrition Cell Balochistan (NCB)

Nutrition Cell Balochistan (NCB) was established in 1994 with the aim of improving the health of the general populace, particularly the nutritional aspect of the

community. It was created in partnership with the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and World Food Programme (WFP). The goal of NCB is to ensure that malnutrition does not pose a threat to public health in the province. The campaign takes place in eight of the thirty districts with the following objectives.

Objectives of the nutrition campaign

1. To eliminate Iodine Deficiency Diseases (IDD) and universalised iodised salt
2. To reduce iron deficiency anaemia in children and women of reproductive age
3. To promote food diversification
4. To extend micronutrient supplementation at the primary healthcare level
5. To promote healthy nutritional practices
6. To introduce food technology models at both the household and village levels to improve the availability of food and to stabilise prices throughout the year
7. To enhance awareness among the population of healthy nutritional practices
8. To conduct formative and operational research for effective planning
9. To design an appropriate process and impact indicator
10. To assess progress of the project implementation
11. To identify the constraints and take corrective measures
12. To conduct training

(Balochistan, 2012)

NCB is primarily working on the seventh objective stated above: To enhance awareness among the population of healthy nutritional practices.

In order to achieve this objective a partnership was formed among NCB, WFP, UNICEF and WHO in 2008. The cell is situated on the premises of the Director General Health Services' Balochistan Office; it comprises one office, a conference room, and a computer room. The employees use the conference room as their office and the head of the cell uses the main office. They usually get together over a cup of tea with some snacks in late morning or afternoon, and in an informal manner discuss daily activities. There is an unwritten understanding among them to help and support one another. They take a sense of pride in their work and feel disappointed at times when other people restrain their work. At the time of research, eight employees were

working at the cell: The Head of the Nutrition Cell, Senior Manager Nutrition Cell, Coordinator Nutrition Cell, Information Officer, Social Mobiliser, Data Analyst, Senior Field Worker and Finance Officer. Figure 2.4 below represents a possible structure of the partnership.

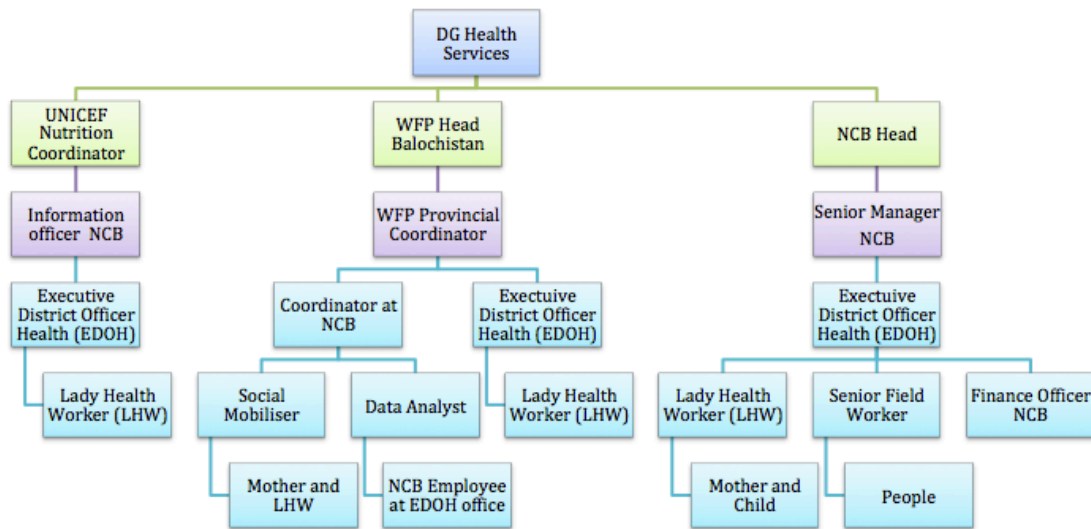


Figure 2.4 Structure of the Partnership

At the district level, the partnership is run by the EDOH. At the EDOH’s office, NCB has three employees to ensure the smooth administration of the campaign. WFP supplies commodities to NCB at Quetta, whereas the cell sends them out to the districts. At the EDOH office, the employees of NCB receive the items. EDOH then identifies the RHC where the items will be handed over under the supervision of the NCB staff. The supervisor of RHC then transfers the items to BHU.

Lady Health Workers (LHWs) collect the commodities from BHU and delivers them to the community. At the end of each month, each district sends the data of their distribution to the data analyst of NCB. The data analyst compiles a report and submits it to the head of NCB. The role of the finance officer is to compare the feasibility of activities with the actual cost incurred. The social mobiliser is a lady and her job is to visit districts and educate the LHWs about healthy nutrition practices. She also visits the community to educate the mothers directly. The NCB Coordinator looks after the activities related to WFP and prepares a report on these.

The Information Officer supervises activities related to UNICEF and reports them.

The head of NCB and senior manager attend meetings related to the partnership. Quarterly they have to present a progress report to DG Health. At the end of each year, they have to present a progress report to WFP at the annual review meeting.

2.5 Conclusion

National culture infuses all features of life, and directs cultural perceptions and influences people's behaviour. The usage of national culture in earlier investigations indicates the significance of cultural differences while examining any social process. Culture is specifically significant when choosing how services should be offered to the foreign market. The argument is that the focus should be on cultural diversity because it is not feasible to transfer the entire concept, so certain modifications must be made to the product or service based on cultural differences when entering a foreign host market such as Pakistan.

Pakistan has an immense regional diversity. Baloch, Punjabis, Sindhis, and Pathans speak different languages and have diverse cultural traditions. This ethnic mixture, in every province, further confuses social and political relations making it difficult for Pakistan to develop a cohesive national identity.

The *biradari* system is the epicentre of Pakistani social life. It offers both protection and identity, and it is quite rare and difficult for an individual to live without its support. In Pakistan, it is a significant political fact that in its diverse forms the society is still stronger than the state. The fundamental reason for the weakness of the state is the *biradari* system but it also brings steadiness in the society. This kinship loyalty is probably strong enough to prevent any attempt to change the society, may it be a positive development and reform. Pakistan's society is influenced by ethnic, regional and family loyalties. The people find it difficult to develop a common identity other than through the *biradari* system. This kinship power is essential to the functioning of the society. If the power of people is neglected, it can be extremely harmful for the development of the country.

The *biradari* system is not unique to the Pakistani culture as it is also practised in other parts of the world with a few variations. Practices like *wasta* and *guanxi* exist in

other parts of the world and are still practised in many societies with a few variations. In Israel *protektzia* is similar to *wasta* and in Brazil *jeitinho* is practised in many segments of society. *Wasta* and *guanxi* are traditional modes of interpersonal connections and networks that operate in the Arab world and China respectively. The comparison between *wasta* and *guanxi* indicates that the concept of *wasta* has a closer resemblance to the *biradari* system of Pakistan. Arab countries and Pakistan share the same religion of Islam; hence, most of their cultural and social networks have a close resemblance. It can be said that the *biradari* system in Pakistan draws its inspiration from *wasta* but the consequences of these two are different. Not following the *biradari* system can get people killed, whereas in *wasta* or *guanxi* no such thing happens. *Wasta* and *guanxi* are mostly associated with economic transactions whereas the *biradari* system runs the whole social life in Pakistan.

The Health Department of Balochistan is trying to overcome the issue of malnutrition with the help from international development agencies: The United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), World Food Programme (WFP), and World Health Organisation (WHO). NCB was set up in 1994 with the aim of improving the health status among the population, particularly the nutritional aspect of the community campaigns, mainly in partnership with UNICEF and WFP.

The goal of NCB is that malnutrition should no longer be a public health problem in the province. Despite this partnership, malnutrition is increasing in the country and the partnership is unsuccessful in delivering the desired outcome. This partnership requires an investigation in order to understand the preconditions that are required for a successful outcome.

Chapter 3

SOCIAL MARKETING

3.0 Introduction

During the growth of social marketing in the 1980s and 1990s, numerous streams of thoughts and disciplines informed the field. Gordon (2012) claims that the public health sphere dominated the application of social marketing and has also taken ideas from health and behavioural sciences.

He asserts that a social marketing campaign can use theories and models such as the health belief model or the theory of planned behaviour, paving the way for social marketing practitioners to be not only marketers. This implies that the people working for a social marketing campaign can hail from many different fields such as public health, politics, environmental issues, social justice and other social sciences, as well as marketing (Saunders, Barrington, & Sridharan, 2015). The inflow of knowledge and ideas in social marketing is from a wide set of disciplines.

This keeps the idea debatable and flexible to accommodate knowledge according to the issue or context (French, 2011). The UK National Social Marketing Centre (NSMC) acknowledges this in its definition of social marketing: 'It is the systematic application of marketing, alongside other concepts and techniques to achieve specific behavioural goals for a social good' (NSMC, 2007:32). This signifies that any activity that can be an aid to a campaign and aimed at specific behavioural goals can be considered under the framework of social marketing. A campaign can use any activity as an instrument to achieve its goal, as indicated by Stead *et al.* (2007). It may even include managerial activities such as training of staff or planning.

Bryant (2000) elucidates that social marketing represents a new approach to healthcare issues and organisations, where success is often measured vis-à-vis behavioural change. French and Gordon (2015) and Peattie and Peattie (2009) think that it can be useful to a range of social problems and leading among them is healthcare. Donovan (2011) explains that social marketing clarifies that the behavioural change can be voluntary or involuntary and focused on an individual or a

community. He states that when the social marketers provide free and open choices without any force or coercion it is called voluntary behaviour change. On the other hand, when they provide a behavioural change without the will or conscious control of the final consumer, it is termed an involuntary behaviour change. For example, adding iodine in salt requires a voluntary behavioural change among the salt producing company executives, whereas the final consumers' change in iodised salt intake is involuntary behavioural change.

This study focuses on a campaign that emphasises changing the eating behaviour of lactating mothers and their children under the age of five years. Influencing psychosocial factors associated with nutrition such as self-efficacy for eating a better diet and attitudes towards healthy eating are classified as a social marketing campaign (Gordon *et al.*, 2006). Health campaigns are studied as a significant part of social marketing when the emphasis is on a community-based campaign for sustainability (Peattie & Peattie, 2009). They assert that with the growth of social marketing it is being implemented on a range of social issues and to better fit in it needs an improved and better-adapted social marketing mix.

Lefebvre (2013), while reviewing the history and domains of social marketing, highlights two courses for the conceptualisation of social marketing. The first route concerns the business systems and related academic research. In the 1960s a debate looked beyond the commercial application of marketing to address the needs of non-profit organisations, cultural and educational institutions and social change campaigns. Kotler (1969:10) started the debate about broadening the concept of marketing; at that time, the idea was seen as 'a function peculiar to business firms'. Marketing activity was already present in politics, education and anthropology, but was ignored by the students of marketing (Kotler, 1969). The debate paved the way to use the principles of marketing for the promotion of social ideas. The discussion originated in a society where the shortage of food and shelter was not a major problem, so they focused mainly on ideas such as: 'win friends and influence people' and 'visit your police station' to improve community relations (Lefebvre, 2013:11). The focus was turned towards social and health issues such as poverty and HIV when campaigns were initiated in developing countries such as Pakistan.

The second course of conceptualisation started when social change and public health practitioners around the world faced challenges to find innovative ways to implement effective and efficient changes. However, initiatives such as economics, policy, education, information campaigns and law and regulations are only partial solutions to social issues (Lefebvre, 2013). The health practitioners had to look beyond these proposals to add innovation (Saunders, Barrington, & Sridharan, 2015). Social marketing is considered a framework that may add innovation to social problem-solving (French & Gordon, 2015).

Primarily, the focus of social marketing was to offer a product (solution) to the consumer who should have a valuable exchange and intangible outcome (behaviour change). This has emerged as a way to bring change among recipients that can be sustainable and have a positive impact on their wellbeing and health (French & Gordon, 2015).

The Australian Public Service Commission reported that while addressing social problems/issues, three conventional approaches could be used (Lefebvre, 2013). Through an *authoritative* strategy, a group or individuals having coercive powers ensure that the entire stakeholders abide by their decisions (Lefebvre, 2013). Secondly, through *competitive* strategies stakeholders search for power and influence to implement a decision (Lefebvre, 2013). Finally, with the help of a *collaborative* model, power is shared among the stakeholders, and this approach is becoming popular among governments (Lefebvre, 2013).

These social marketing approaches indicate two emerging issues within the field: power relations and partnership (collaboration). The issue of power relations surfaces while addressing social issues using the social marketing framework. The governments and social marketers are using the idea of partnership in the hope of marginalising the issue of power and creating effectiveness. There is something more that needs to be done, which can supplement social change campaigns. This study explains how partnerships can be developed to establish the preconditions for successful social marketing campaigns. In this chapter, the conceptualisation of social marketing is analysed. The chapter further presents an argument for why we need to rethink the concept of social marketing and upstream social marketing.

3.1 What is social marketing?

Before any further discussion the researcher desires to clarify his view of the concept of social marketing. This section will form a case to respond to the question, ‘What is social marketing?’ The literature on it clearly indicates that social marketing as a theoretical term is debatable.

Alves (2010) emphasises that there is a lack of definitional clarity to the idea, which has created confusion within the field of social marketing and outside the discipline as well. French (2011) claims the potential canvas of social marketing is vast: civic engagement, social responsibility, parenting, health, crime and the environment to name a few. He suggests it is a rapidly developing field and there is a need to understand how it can contribute to different types of campaigns in more efficient ways. While contributing to diverse forms of campaigns, the efficiency of social marketing is continuously discussed.

Over the years, research has been carried out to examine the effectiveness of social marketing (Wettstein & Suggs, 2016; Truong, 2014; Helmig & Thaler, 2010; Stead *et al.*, 2007; Gordon *et al.*, 2006). The review by Stead *et al.* (2007) suggests that there is evidence of social marketing effectiveness when the aim is to achieve change at an individual level (downstream), but the effectiveness is limited when it comes to policy or environmental change (upstream). Helmig and Thaler (2010) imply that the effectiveness of social marketing is also influenced by the environmental impact.

This means that social marketers should also consider upstream activities along with downstream activities for the effectiveness of campaigns. However, as French (2011) explains, there is an ongoing debate about the concept, the debate will not reach a fixed and final resolution and will remain an ‘essentially contested concept’.

Kotler and Zaltman (1971) describe social marketing as a way to improve the wellbeing of a person through the application of marketing skills. Lazer and Kelly (1973) add an economic dimension to the process of social marketing and suggest that after achieving the targets, the impact should be analysed. There is an indication that policies and techniques should be evolved through evidence and research. Kotler and Zaltman (1971) and Lazer and Kelly (1973) both reflect that commercial marketing knowledge is sufficient for the resolution of social issues/problems. Andreassen

(2000b) combines the themes of Kotler and Zaltman (1971) and Lazer and Kelly (1973) to identify that social marketing influences people's voluntary behaviour for their personal welfare and the overall societal benefit.

Hastings (2003) imparts the importance of exchange in social marketing. He challenges the view of previous researchers and proclaims that social marketing takes learning from commerce instead of commercial marketing. He further argues that the concept of exchange stems from commerce and for it to be mutually beneficial the focus should also be on the context along with the individual.

Dann (2008) arguing on similar lines claims that instead of using commercial marketing tools, social marketers adapt those tools according to the requirement of a campaign. He suggests that the primary aim of social marketing is to achieve a social goal with the help of behavioural change and the span of that behaviour change can vary (from individual to group).

Earlier, Andreasen (1995) claimed that social marketing is about voluntary behavioural change. Donovan (2011a) challenges this view as he claims that we also need to consider involuntary behaviour change while designing a social marketing campaign. He is critical of Rothschild's (1999) assertion that education, law and regulation are the fundamental methods to achieve the desired social change while using marketing efforts. He indicates that as well as downstream activities, upstream activities can be helpful in achieving the desired change.

Social marketing can be contemplated as a framework rather than a theory of behavioural change that borrows concepts, primarily from commercial marketing. This research considers social marketing to be about practical considerations, emphasising that the needs and demands of a campaign change according to the context and related social issue. We need to look beyond the application of commercial marketing technologies (Wymer, 2009) and to understand it as a framework commissioned by different fields in order to tackle any social issue. The discourse of social marketing has evolved over the years from a subsidiary of commercial marketing to an entity of its own.

3.2 How the discourse of social marketing has developed over the years

It was during the 1990s when the discourse of social marketing took a stride, and some critical research was published (Alves, 2010). Hastings and Haywood (1991) started an ever-growing debate within the field when they deliberated on the implications of social marketing in health services. Their work is significant as they explain the concept of exchange from a social marketing perspective. They indicate the importance of the external and internal environment while implementing social marketing. Their indication is more implicit than that of Lazer and Kelley (1973), as they imply the significant aspects of the environment. Buchanan *et al.* (1994) critically respond to Hastings and Haywood's (1991) claim about social marketing. They challenge the novelty of social marketing by raising ethical concerns while it is implemented in health services. Their work has raised questions regarding the assumptions made by social marketers and it claims that altruism is confused with the concept of exchange. The debate between Hastings and Haywood (1991) and Buchanan *et al.* (1994) reveals a clear divide between the social marketers and health promoters, as both parties are sceptical about each other.

By the end of the decade, Rothschild (1999) in his work tries to bridge the gap; he explains how marketing can be a strategic tool in the management of a social issue. He identifies the concept of power in social marketing regarding manager and customers. The conceptual framework developed by Rothschild (1999) is a useful tool for the analysis of a target population. However, he does not state the power relations between the social marketer and the financier of a campaign and the implication of power relations for partnerships in social marketing campaigns. Alves (2010) claims that in the early 2000s, social marketing lacked its tools and benchmarks. However, Andreasen (2002) develops six benchmarks for social marketing now used as a means to measure the effectiveness of campaigns. He asserts that social marketers have to expand their focus beyond products associated with behavioural change, but does not explain how this focus can be shifted. Hastings (2003) imparts the concept of relationship in social marketing and claims that relational thinking is not a tool but a fundamental aspect of social marketing. Unlike Rothschild (1999), Hastings (2003) identifies all the possible relational aspects of social marketing and develops a multi-

relationship model of social marketing, which can be a useful tool to explore relationships.

He asserts that the social marketer has to prioritise relationships but does not comment on how that can be done. The work of Stead *et al.* (2007) is important to the field of social marketing as it gives detailed evidence on its effectiveness in behavioural change management. They claim that social marketing is also effective in upstream activity, whereas, the criteria used to judge the effectiveness of a campaign only has four Ps (Product, Place, Price, Promotion) and the remaining 3Ps (Policy, People, Partnership), which are vital for upstream activity, are missing. In the present era, Donovan (2011a) has made a fair attempt to clarify the misunderstandings about social marketing. He challenges Andreasen's (2002) claim that social marketing is only about voluntary behaviour and argues that it is also about involuntary behaviour. He contends that law, education and media advocacy are part of social marketing, contrary to Rothschild's (1999) claim that they are different from social marketing.

The concept of exchange is a highly debated aspect of social marketing. For this research, creating an understanding about the process of exchange is fundamental as most of the concepts in the framework are influenced by it. Moreover, creating a valuable exchange is central for any social marketing campaign.

3.3 The implications of exchange in social marketing

Hastings and Haywood (1991) discuss the validity of social marketing in health services and examine the applicability of several commercial marketing concepts such as consumer orientation, exchange, environments, segmentation, targeting and marketing mix. Their opponents claim that in commercial marketing products or services are exchanged for money, whereas in social marketing the economic trait is missing so the social marketer confuses altruism with exchange (Buchanan *et al.*, 1994). Hastings and Haywood (1994) argue that exchange is confused with pricing and profitability, and the exchange of values is ignored. Peattie and Peattie (2003) claim their work involves exchange as they offer information, tangible products to their consumers to change their behaviour, and when the change in behaviour occurs

an exchange takes place. So exchange does occur in social marketing campaigns, but it is not as tangible, certain, immediate and direct as in commercial marketing (Mah *et al.*, 2006). Peattie and Peattie (2003) argue that there are also instances in commercial marketing when the exchange is not direct; for example, a consumer buys an insurance policy or a vacation, and when the terms have been agreed, the parties enter into a contractual obligation, but the exchange can happen later. They further explain there can of course be a direct exchange in a social marketing campaign, for example when consumers are rewarded for visiting a clinic.

This implies that the concept of exchange can be more complicated in social marketing compared to commercial marketing. Peattie and Peattie (2003) clarify that commercial marketers can evaluate the element of exchange against the level of sales and profits. On the other hand, for a social marketer the evaluation of exchange is complicated, because it is hard to measure the level of change in behaviour, and in many campaigns at times it is even harder to measure the number of consumers. Morris and Clarkson (2009) argue that in commercial marketing, it is easier (compared to social marketing) to calculate the opportunity cost associated with exchange, because of which value creation is more effective. They explain that the opportunity cost in social marketing exchange can involve financial, emotional and social costs, loss of preferred behaviours, and the time cost of learning new practices, which make value creation more challenging.

The concept of exchange in social marketing can also be examined with the help of social exchange theory. Social exchange theory explains that human exchange interactions are based on two fundamental processes: the friendship building process and the power relation process (Jancic & Zabkar, 2002). When both the parties are satisfied by the value after the exchange and are willing to reciprocate, they enter into a friendship building relationship, whereas if one party is dissatisfied and is forced into a further exchange, a negative reciprocity with an asymmetrical power distribution occurs (Blau, 1964). In the case of social marketing, asymmetrical power can occur between the social marketer and financier of a campaign, where the social marketer can force further exchange based on knowledge and expertise, and the financier can force exchange based on resources. In this research, such force exchanges may be witnessed between the IDAs and local partners that can surface in

power relations. The following Figure 3.1 can be used to probe exchange in social marketing.

SYMMETRY OF EXCHANGES Reciprocal	Conventional Marketing Exchange	Marketing Relationships
	Power Relations	Intrusive Selling
Asymmetric/ Unilateral		
NEARNESS OF PARTICIPANTS	Extrinsic (impersonal exchanges)	Intrinsic (personal exchanges)

Figure 3.1 Social Exchange (Jancic & Zabkar, 2002)

The exchange in social marketing traditionally involves three parties, the financier of the campaign, the social marketer and the target audience. The symmetry of exchange between the social marketer and target audience is asymmetric and the nature of exchange is intrinsic, as one side is more interested in making the exchange than the other. As Hastings (2003) suggests, for social marketing to be more effective, the social marketer has to move to the upper-right quadrant and create a relationship based on valuable exchange.

This discussion on exchange indicates that the process of exchange implies a balance of power whereby the individual voluntarily takes a decision, where the consumer is capable of communication and able to reject or accept an offer. If the consumers lack personal and educational skills to respond beneficially, then the situation can turn exploitative. The change in situation creates an imbalance in power resulting in inequality, especially in social exchange. Andreasen's (2002) voluntary behaviour resonates with a balanced exchange whereas Donovan's (2011a) involuntary behaviour in social marketing indicates the imbalance that can occur during an exchange. If the exchange is not perceived as valuable, power relations can surface resulting from an asymmetric exchange that can marginalise value creation.

3.3.1 Value creation in Social Marketing

French, Russell-Bennett and Mulcahy (2017) claim value is an essential concept of marketing and social marketing and is reflected in current definitions of these subjects. They assert that academic interest in value and how it is created has also developed with the growing concept of service-dominant logic (SDL), which suggests that value is not a deliverable outcome but is co-created. McHugh, Domegan and Duane (2018) claim value creation will permit stakeholders the prospect of preparing and implementing change. It helps stakeholders to adapt previously held ideas and assumptions.

French, Russell-Bennett and Mulcahy (2017) highlight that value creation is an important concept for social marketing as it shapes practitioners' and scholars' perspectives on markets and marketing. They think it is particularly vital in social marketing campaigns related to health care and transformative services. In such campaigns the target audience is seen as being a vital source for value creation. Presently, the attention of research in value creation focuses on downstream, where the concentration is on relationships between target audiences and organisations (French, Russell-Bennett, & Mulcahy, 2017). However, discussion on value creation advocates that it can be taken upstream as well. Therefore, French, Russell-Bennett and Mulcahy (2017) argue that there is a current need in the social marketing literature for more theorisation, discussions and understanding of value creation.

Wood (2016) argues that SDL logic claims that the motivation of social marketers should be about supporting and aiding a process of value creation. He asserts the SDL theory supports inclusion of target audience input as a necessary factor that determines the value creation and service outcomes. He believes that a target audience does not constitute inactive receivers of a product or service but they keenly create value jointly with other stakeholders. Lefebvre (2012) further claims that the target audience is a collaborator in implementing new behaviours or ceasing them. He states that they create value, while social marketers can only suggest prospects. 'According to this view, service, skills and knowledge – rather than products – constitute the unit of exchange' (Wood, 2016:283).

For the last ten years, social marketing has moved away from conventional marketing approaches and opted for service-oriented theory (Luca, Hibbert, & McDonald, 2016a). It has tried to incorporate models from other disciplines.

Luca, Hibbert and McDonald (2016) argue that the traditional view of social marketers about value creation was linear and dyadic where the main focus was on an exchange between the target audience and social marketers. They claim that the contemporary researcher has challenged this view after realising that there are many factors that influence the behaviour of target audiences; hence value creation is not a linear process and social context plays a crucial role in value creation.

Luca, Hibbert and McDonald (2016) and Park and Vargo (2012) maintain that SDL views value creation as a systematic process. SDL comprises collaboration of actors and integration of resources at different levels during a campaign and understands that value is created by social contexts. SDL theory claims that value creation is a process in which the target audience has to be active within social contexts to create value through networks of relationships (Luca, Hibbert, & McDonald, 2016; Park & Vargo, 2012). This perspective holds that value is established through interactions within multiple networks of relationships along with dyadic interaction. This implies that besides value propositions, relationships with target audiences are also vital for value creation (Park & Vargo, 2012). Identifying and building relationships are central for the sustainability of any social marketing campaign. Luca, Hibbert and McDonald (2016) assert that apart from this, SDL holds that sharing experience and best practice with a target audience nurture learning and help in formulating strategies to address social issues.

The preceding discussion implies that value creation helps in the resolution of social issues and SDL can be practically implemented to create value (Luca, Hibbert, & McDonald, 2016a). SDL has the potential to identify the range of a target audience in social issues and understand the value from their perspectives.

3.3.2 Value destruction in Social Marketing

Leo and Zainuddin (2017) claim that services are a significant part of social marketing campaigns as they contribute towards the achievement of desired social goals by creating value propositions for a target audience. They explain that when a

service experience leads to a decline rather than augmentation of users' wellbeing then value destruction can occur. Value destruction is described as 'an interactional process between service systems that results in a decline in at least one of the system's wellbeing' (Plé & Cáceres, 2010: 431), meaning that misuse of resources by actors in a dyadic exchange can lead to value destruction (Vafeas, Hughes, & Hitton, 2016).

Apart from work by Echeverri and Skålén (2011), Smith (2013) and Zainuddin, and Dent and Tam (2017), the understanding of value destruction in social marketing is limited. On the other hand, the existing research on value is mostly focused on the creation of positive value while overlooking the destruction of value (Leo & Zainuddin, 2017). Lintula, Tuunanen and Salo (2017) explain that value destruction is a negative outcome and it leads to the cessation of positive behaviours. In this process a target audience's value judgements about a product or service become more negative than positive (Lintula, Tuunanen, & Salo, 2017). This in turn ends in a negative effect on value perceptions. This destruction of value can affect the improved well-being of a target audience negatively as they may decide to stop using a product or service. This implies that value destruction can increase barriers to changes and make it harder to sustain a preferred behaviour (Leo & Zainuddin, 2017).

3.4 Do we need to rethink the idea of social marketing?

With the evolution of social marketing, it is being applied to a range of social issues and to better fit in it needs an improved social marketing mix (Saunders, Barrington, & Sridharan, 2015; Tapp & Spotswood, 2013; Peattie & Peattie, 2009). Social marketers unwilling to expand the boundaries of social marketing need to understand that negative influences that daily affect individual behaviour cannot be tackled with the limited scope of downstream social marketing (French & Gordon, 2015).

When the popular culture is reinforcing an unhealthy behaviour, such as drinking, then developing persuasive messages cannot change that behaviour (Szmigin *et al.*, 2011). Under such circumstances, the social marketers need to remove the negative environmental influences (Szmigin *et al.*, 2011).

Saunders, Barrington and Sridharan (2015) and Gordon (2012) assert that the characteristics of social marketing require a re-think given that the mainstream marketing discipline has reconfigured its features considering the changing environment. They argue that a comprehensive approach that recognises strategies such as upstream social marketing activities and relational thinking will be more suitable.

They also proclaim that social marketing research and practice need to use a more open-minded social marketing mix that has less reliance on the four Ps model of commercial marketing. Initially, social marketers mostly followed the four Ps model while working on a health-related campaign (Tapp & Spotswood, 2013). Andreasen's (2002) six benchmark criteria have been used for years to constitute what a social marketing campaign is. This model clearly states that social marketing should 'use all four Ps of the traditional marketing mix' (Andreasen, 2002:7). However, researching on the effectiveness of social marketing during recent years, it has been noted that many effective campaigns that could be classified as social marketing campaigns have used other strategies such as policy change or training people (Saunders, Barrington, & Sridharan, 2015; Stead *et al.*, 2007).

Wymer (2010) thinks that social marketers that are unenthusiastic about expanding the boundaries of social marketing may view any new strategy as being out of social marketing. He claims the need is to improve public health and solve social problems in a highly competitive environment. Hence, social marketers should expand the domain and allow themselves the creative freedom to develop more effective means to tackle social and health issues.

At this time when traditional social marketing campaigns are compromised by corporate marketing activities that create environments encouraging unhealthy behaviours (Szmigin *et al.*, 2011) social marketers have to choose what their role can be. In today's consumer-oriented market, commercial goals may work well, but social marketing goods and ideas do not fit in the system (Szmigin *et al.*, 2011).

How should social marketers react when the actions of industry harm public health and welfare? Previously, social marketers' focus was at the individual level, but this emphasis may have limited effectiveness in today's dynamic context. Wymer (2010)

maintains that effectiveness can be compromised if we ignore the context that influences individual behaviour. The public health scholars especially argue that we need to focus on the marketing activities that create an unhealthy context more than the individual.

‘If social marketers really want to make substantial improvements in public health and welfare, they need to enlarge the boundaries of social marketing’ (Wymer, 2010:102).

Szmigin *et al.* (2011) indicate that social marketing is facing indirect opposition from commercial marketing as over the years the opportunities for drinking alcohol have increased. They claim Britain’s ‘culture of intoxication’ was created by developing a targeted range of products supported by marketing techniques like point-of-sale promotions, sponsorship of national music events, effective distribution and extensive advertising. Wymer (2010) claims that under such conditions, social marketing campaigns tend to become ineffective. Due to this borrowing, social marketing practitioners are often left uncertain and confused about how to counter the activities of marketing. Szmigin *et al.* (2011) further argue that in current social marketing campaigns, the notion of individual responsibility is used, whereas the perception of a person regarding an issue is created from the society. It is not only the individual who has to be responsible but also the whole community needs to act responsibly. Social marketers need to look beyond this individual-centric approach. At present their campaigns mainly focus on changing individual behaviour (Kotler *et al.*, 2009). Their messages often target internal behavioural influences on the individual (Kotler, 2005). Wymer (2010) asserts that the effectiveness of a campaign can be at risk if social marketers ignore the context within which individual behaviour is influenced. The social marketing campaign designed to address the ‘culture of intoxication’ among the young target audience failed to produce certain results because the social marketers did not consider the context that created this culture (Szmigin *et al.*, 2011). When there are negative inspirations that strengthen an undesirable behaviour, then targeting the individual is unlikely to return significant improvements (Wymer, 2010).

Thus it can be inferred that for any campaign to be effective, the social marketers need to consider the environment (French & Gordon, 2015). We have partial control over our behaviours, and the social environment has a significant impact on it

(Hastings, 2007). French and Gordon (2015) and Stead *et al.* (2007) suggest that there is evidence of social marketing effectiveness when the objective is to effect change at an individual level (downstream), but the effectiveness is limited when it comes to policy or environmental change (upstream). Helmig and Thaler (2010) also argue that the effectiveness of social marketing is influenced by environmental impact. Together with this the argument of Szmigin *et al.* (2011) clearly supports the idea that social marketers have to move upstream for the effectiveness of their campaigns. A further extension to the concept of social marketing is made to accommodate the upstream thinking and the mnemonic of three further Ps: Policy, People, and Partnership, which are added beside the preliminary four Ps (Product, Place, Price and Promotion) (Stead *et al.*, 2007).

This means that social marketers should also consider upstream activities along with downstream activities for the effectiveness of campaigns (French & Gordon, 2015). Yet it does not mean that in social marketing the focus should shift totally towards upstream activities; there should be a blend of both activities that should complement each other.

This thesis argues that social marketing practice and theory are developing towards ambitious and more complex modes of analysis and understanding (Hastings & Saren, 2003). Keeping in view this evolution of social marketing, this research will introduce the concept of the target audience, power relations and planning and decision-making to the theory and practice of social marketing. In order to study these concepts, this thesis will study a partnership that was created between IDAs and the Health Department of Balochistan.

This research makes a case for innovations in the theory and practice of social marketing. Such thinking may be challenging for the current order, as has been the case previously. Broadening the concept of marketing was challenged by Carman (1973) and Luck (1969), declaring it against its interests as it threatens its identity. The test of time proved otherwise when marketers pushed for a broader and macro marketing perspective (Donovan & Henley, 2011).

Given all these changes and developments in the field, it would not be unsurprising if social marketing scholars expanded the idea of social marketing to incorporate further

elements such as planning, policy or beneficiaries, to name a few. Recognising these debates, it seems appropriate to rethink and reassess the idea of social marketing.

The various Ps of the product, price, place, promotion, policy and people undoubtedly have a role to play. Other strategies such as stakeholder and community engagement, rational thinking, co-creation, advocacy, lobbying, public and media relations and engagement in the policy agenda are equally important considering concepts such as upstream social marketing, which uses several of the latter strategies, we can see that expanding the social marketing mix is a necessity (Gordon, 2012:125).

3.5 Conclusion

The social marketing approaches indicate two emerging issues within the field: power and partnership (collaboration). The issue of power surfaces while addressing the social issues using the social marketing framework. The governments and social marketers are using the concept of partnership in a hope to marginalise the issue of power and create effectiveness. The idea of social marketing as a theoretical term is debatable. Academically, social marketing has made significant advances; the 2007 AMA marketing definition has incorporated the scope of social marketing (Dann, 2008), whereas Gregory (2005) and McDermott *et al.* (2005) have been effective in defining limits for the concept. Gregory (2005) has also highlighted the importance of partnership in social marketing, which initiated a new debate within the field of partnership. Social marketing can be considered a framework rather than a theory of behaviour change that borrows concepts mainly from commercial marketing. This research envisions social marketing as about practical considerations rather than theories and hypotheses, asserting that the need and demand change with the contexts and related social issues. It needs to be seen as something more than just the application of commercial marketing technologies (Wymer, 2009).

Hastings (2003) imparts the concept of relationship in social marketing and claims that relational thinking is not a tool but it is a fundamental aspect of social marketing.

Unlike Rothschild (1999), Hastings (2003) identifies all the possible relational aspects of social marketing and develops a multi-relationship model of social marketing, which can be a useful tool to explore relationships. He asserts that social marketers have to prioritise relationships but does not comment on how that can be done. This study will fill this gap by identifying the preconditions that are necessary for the formation of such relationships for successful campaigns.

This does not mean that in social marketing the focus should shift totally towards upstream activities; there should be a blend of both activities that should complement each other. This thesis argues that social marketing practice and theory is developing towards ambitious and more complex modes of analysis and understanding (Hastings & Saren, 2003). This research makes a case for innovations in theory and practice of social marketing.

The characteristics of social marketing require a re-thought given that the mainstream marketing discipline has reconfigured its features with the changing environment (Saunders, Barrington, & Sridharan, 2015; Tapp & Spotswood, 2013; Gordon, 2012). Social marketers have to choose what their role can be. In today's consumer-oriented market, commercial goals may work well, but social marketing goods and ideas do not fit in the system. How should social marketers react when the actions of industry harm public health and welfare? Previously, the social marketer's focus was at the individual level, but this focus may have limited effectiveness in today's dynamic context. Effectiveness can be compromised if we ignore the context that influences individual behaviour (Wymer, 2010). The public health scholars especially argue that we need to focus on the marketing activities that create an unhealthy context more than the individual. Wymer (2010) asserts that if social marketers ignore the context within which individual behaviour is influenced, the effectiveness of a campaign can be at risk.

Chapter 4

PARTNERSHIPS

4.0 Introduction

The importance of a partnership is growing; its impact is substantial at both the local and global levels, and it addresses multifaceted needs (Kolk & Lenfant, 2015). Selsky and Parker (2005) argue on the similar lines that over the years, the significance of partnership is growing, but it is still a poorly comprehended concept. They claim that the primary challenge that a researcher faces is that the concept emerges from various disciplines such as healthcare, education, economics, non-profit management, natural environment, administration, organisation studies and public policy. This creates difficulty for them to reach an established conceptualisation of the process of partnership.

Gregory (2005) is the first to highlight the significance of partnerships in social marketing while addressing the 10th Innovations in Social Marketing Conference. He argues that they are more important to social marketing than to commercial marketing as it lacks the infrastructure and resources that commercial marketing entails. Buyucek *et al.* (2016) further argue that the outcomes of a social marketing campaign can be enhanced with the involvement of partners during planning, implementation, and evaluation stages. Their involvement can help social marketers in designing sustainable campaigns. A limited involvement of partners during planning, implementation and evaluation stages can limit the potential of a campaign (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016). They urge social marketing practitioners to consider the importance of partners in a campaign, as they may function as a barrier to the campaign if they are not involved from the outset of the planning process.

Subsequently, partners often fill the gap in social marketing (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016). Partners provide the infrastructure and capital that social marketers need to get their job done. Arguing on similar lines, Bentz *et al.* (2005) claim that social marketing uses a range of strategies and dominant among them is creating public and private partnerships that can add reach, leverage and weight to a campaign. It encourages policies and structures that make it hard for a consumer to adopt less healthy

behaviours and easier for them to take up healthy habits (Bentz *et al.*, 2005). The aim of any social marketing campaign is not only to educate or communicate through extravagant advertising or interaction campaigns but to change behaviours in such a way that it leads to social change. While focusing on these issues, social marketing can use approaches such as policy change, capacity building, advocacy and community mobilisation (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016; Gregory, 2005). These activities are usually not considered under the umbrella of social marketers; they seek help from other arenas of society and create partnerships. Gregory (2005) explains that social marketers have also realised that changing the environment is not off limits if successful partnerships are created. Buyucek *et al.* (2016) argue that the success of a social marketing campaign depends on the creation of effective partnerships. The following sections examine the notion of partnership.

4.1 What is missing from the conception of a partnership?

A partnership is a dynamic arrangement of entities across different sectors that can attempt to provide the society with a ‘public good’ such as clean water, clean air, healthcare and education. (Seitanidi, 2010:4). Stern and Green (2005:270) refer to it as ‘a programme that has a high level of commitment, mutual trust, equal ownership and the achievement of a common goal’ whereas Lister (1999:228) explains it as a process where ‘mutual trust, support, joint decision-making, reciprocal accountability, financial transparency and long-term commitment occur’.

What each of these approaches to partnership has in common is an unarticulated assumption that each partner enjoys equal rights and responsibility, and they equally help one another to accomplish a collective goal. This coheres with the developed world’s understanding of partnership with the developing world in welfare campaigns.

However, other researchers such as Crawford (2003), writing from the perspective of the developing world, in this case Indonesia, assert that power differentials tend to emerge in the process of partnership (see section 4.4). Currently, the mainstream conceptualisation explains the term partnership while ignoring the aspect of power relations. The description given by other authors (Seitanidi, 2010; Khan & Rahman, 2007; Hodge & Greve, 2007; Bentz *et al.*, 2005; Miraftab, 2004; Asthana *et al.*, 2003)

also resonates with Lister (1999) and Stern and Green (2005), as while describing the term partnership, the aspect of power relations has been ignored. If we look at the types of partnership they also suggest that there is power disparity in the process that is missing from the conception of partnership.

4.1.1 Types of partnerships

Currently, there are three sectors in any society: the public, for-profit, and non-profit. Based on the association of these three sectors, Seitanidi (2010) identifies four possible types of partnerships:

1. Public and Non-profit Partnerships (PNP)
2. Public and Private (profit) Partnerships (PPP)
3. Non-profit and Profit Partnerships (NPP)
4. Tri-Partite Partnerships (TPP)

Dowling *et al.* (2004) categorise partnerships based on the sectors involved as:

1. Public-Private
2. Public-Public
3. Public-Voluntary
4. Public-Community

The common categorisations between Seitanidi (2010) and Dowling *et al.* (2004) are Public-Private (PPP) and Public-Voluntary (PNP) partnerships. Seitanidi (2010) claims that only three sectors can be involved in a partnership, but Dowling *et al.* (2004) counter this by identifying four sectors. Dowling *et al.* (2004) break the non-profit sectors into two parts such as voluntary and community, so it can be said that there are three sectors; however, the third sector has two sub-sectors.

Seitanidi (2010) and Dowling *et al.* (2004) have both identified four types of partnerships, but in Dowling *et al.* (2004) the classification of partnerships among three sectors is missing.

While discussing the partnership between public and community, Dowling *et al.* (2004) identify that in some partnerships communities are involved, but fall short in explaining their role and level of involvement in a partnership. The identification of

community as a partner for the provision of better healthcare is noteworthy, but its role as a partner is not distinct. Newman (2001) claims that community is often left out of the process as being less powerful. We need to find out whether the community is involved in the planning and decision-making stage of partnership or at the execution level. Does the community give any feedback at the end of the partnership and is there any relationship once the partnership ends? Boydell and Rugkåsa (2007) suggest that the representation of a sector is not enough alone for the creation of a partnership. It should be further established who manages or leads the partnership. If such issues are not addressed, it would create ineffectiveness in the process leading to the unsuccessful outcome of the partnership.

Drawing from this discussion the study explains partnerships based on characteristics such as mutuality, responsibility, joint planning and decision-making and trust. This implies that the process of partnership has high levels of interdependency and ignoring this interdependency can cause issues like power relations, mistrust and resistance to surface (Scott, 1999; Van Krieken, 1998). These issues are currently missing from the conceptualisation of partnership. The next section explains the process of partnership in social and healthcare settings and discusses the benefits and challenges associated with them.

4.2 Healthcare and Social Partnerships

This study investigates a healthcare setting regarding a social issue, so it is wise to examine the idea concerning these settings. This section will discuss two kinds of partnerships: healthcare partnerships and social partnerships. These two types of partnerships can be closely related to the kind of partnership that the Health Department of Balochistan is carrying out. The section begins with the discussion of healthcare partnerships followed by social partnerships, further including an explanation of the benefits and challenges of creating a partnership.

4.2.1 Healthcare partnerships

The literature on partnerships in healthcare and nursing care uses the term ‘complex’ to explain the process. Health professionals utilise this term to portray how difficult the process of a partnership is for them. They find it hard to explain the process and confuse it with terms such as collaboration. Brady (2013) explains that such terms as

collaboration and inter-agency working are interchangeably used in the domain of health and social care partnerships, which makes it challenging to explain them accurately.

It is somewhat difficult to describe the notion of a healthcare partnership as many features are involved in it. Dowling *et al.* (2004) think it is also hard to compare it with other working arrangements because of its complex nature. Brady (2013) claims that there is a lack of literature on partnerships in the health domain, so most of the evidence tends to be anecdotal. He further argues that another reason for its complexity is that instead of this being a one-time start-finish process, it is an evolutionary process that can deteriorate or progress with time, but it is considered otherwise.

This indicates that the process requires continuous planning and evaluation rather than planning from the start of partnership and evaluation at the end. In order to meet the multifaceted care and needs of the beneficiary, it is essential that practitioners (EDOHs), managers (NCB) and service users (beneficiary) work together during the planning and execution of a healthcare partnership.

4.2.1.1 How is a partnership different from collaboration in healthcare?

In the literature of healthcare, the terms partnership and collaboration are used interchangeably, whereas there is a difference between these two concepts. In healthcare literature, collaboration is expressed as a complex phenomenon that brings together two or more individuals, often from different disciplines, who work together to achieve shared aims and objectives (Fewster-Thuente & Velsor-Friedrich, 2008:41).

Drawing from Fewster-Thuente and Velsor-Friedrich (2008), the attributes associated with collaboration are: shared power based on knowledge and expertise, shared responsibility, shared planning and decision-making, joint venture, cooperative endeavour, willing participation, team approach, contribution of expertise, and non-hierarchical relationships. When individuals from different disciplines work together, it is called collaboration, whereas partnerships are formed among organisations. The attributes of collaboration reflect that the emphasis is more on expertise and

knowledge than on goal attainment and there is a focus on joint working but without following any hierarchy.

Conversely, the process of partnership is about working jointly and supporting a hierarchy, with power based not only on knowledge or expertise but resources as well. This research thus understands partnership as joint working among organisations based on shared characteristics such as mutuality, responsibility, joint planning and decision-making, and trust.

4.2.2 How are social partnerships created?

Sometimes a health issue becomes so alarming that it is a concern for the whole society. In such situations, the responsibility shifts to the society to create a social partnership. In Balochistan malnutrition is an issue that created a social partnership. Selsky and Parker (2005) claim social partnerships are created based on three ideas: social issue, resource dependence and societal sector. The concept of resource dependence explains the nature of a partnership from the perspective of organisational problem-solving or meeting its needs.

Here, the fundamental argument is that organisations lack critical competencies, so they cannot develop them on their own as their environments are uncertain, hence they develop partnerships. Social partnerships are seen as a way to address organisational needs, with the added benefit of addressing social need. Waddell (2005) claims that in the notion of a social issue, an organisation and interested groups are seen as stakeholders of the issue. The core argument of this perspective is that environmental turbulence generates problems or social issues that cannot be tackled by a single organisation; hence to overcome such issues partnerships are created.

Selsky and Parker (2005) advocate the view that due to environmental turbulences, new partnerships are emerging among government, business and civil society that are blurring the boundaries between sectors. This blurring occurs when the traditional function of one sector is performed by another sector; for example, when government contracts out the social welfare function to a non-profit organisation or a business. This inter-sectoral blurring gave birth to a third notion of social partnership, the societal sector notion. This idea argues that certain challenges cannot be addressed by

traditional sectors and therefore learning must be borrowed from other sectors. ‘Two logics are at work here: A substitution logic is that each sector has its own “natural” roles and functions in society, but one sector can substitute for another if the natural sector fails to provide the expected product. In contrast, a partnership logic is that the sectors are naturally inclined to partner with each to address emergent societal issues’ (Selsky & Parker, 2005:853).

Here it can be concluded that social partnerships are formed under three conditions: first when an organisation lacks resources, second when a social issue or problem cannot be tackled by a single organisation, and finally, when an issue cannot be addressed by a traditional sector. The main difference between these three forms of partnerships is the role played by the partners. In a resource dependence partnership, a partner only provides resources to other partners. In a social issue partnership, the partner is also a stakeholder in the process. In a societal sector partnership, the partner becomes an active partner in the process and performs certain roles and duties that were previously carried out by the traditional sector. The following section discusses the benefits associated with partnership creation.

4.2.3 Benefits of partnerships

Studies indicate that there are benefits attached to partnership creation, and some of those benefits are as follows:

- Creation of a partnership helps in the provision of high quality care (Brady, 2013)
- Due to the availability of an array of skilled workers, managerial responsibilities can be shared across the board (Dowling *et al.*, 2004)
- Sharing managerial responsibilities will lead to less organisational stress (Dowling *et al.*, 2004)
- Sharing resources reduces cost (Charlesworth, 2003)
- When roles in a partnership are well-defined, it reduces duplication of work (Brady, 2013)
- Sharing of managerial responsibilities and resources brings greater responsiveness to people who need care (Brady, 2013)

In theory, a partnership should benefit, but due to mixed skills from different organisations it can lead to vagueness of roles, concern about credibility and limitations (Brady, 2013). Charlesworth (2003) suggests that the economy, effectiveness and efficiency resulting from partnerships can bring the cost down, but the issue remains how efficiency and effectiveness can be achieved when there is ambiguity of roles and lack of credibility. As suggested by Hudson and Hardy (2002), it is hard to prove that partnerships are cost-effective until and unless vigorous cost-effectiveness studies are undertaken. It may be argued that partnerships can create cost reduction and responsiveness to users' needs, but there is little evidence to link outcomes with partnerships (Brady, 2013). Along with these benefits, there are set challenges faced by health and social care partnerships.

4.2.4 Challenges of partnerships

Charlesworth (2003) asserts that partnerships face many challenges such as the power and accountability of each partner and lack of roles, purpose and clarity for responsibility. He maintains that the accountability of partners is one of the challenges faced by a healthcare partnership. Brady (2013) claims some work has been done on this aspect of partnership, but the issue of power is still under-theorised. Dowling *et al.* (2004) argue that besides that, there is a lack of shared identity among partners and a partnership cannot be successful until a shared identity is created through a common goal. However, it is difficult to dissolve the professional identity among partners when they are competing for limited resources and funding (Brady, 2013). A healthcare partnership is formed among different organisations having different cultures and this misunderstanding of culture can create conflict about professional identities (Dowling *et al.*, 2004).

Further conflict and barriers can arise due to different training and philosophical approaches among the professionals involved (Brady, 2013). Addressing issues such as contrasting values and beliefs, attitudes and customs of professionals before entering into a partnership can avoid conceptual challenges (Hall, 2005). Due to lack of time, it is hard to build trust, but managers can work to reduce mistrust by sharing valuable and pertinent information to reduce speculation (Brady, 2013).

The issues of trust, power and role conflicts are some of the challenges. The challenges explored in the literature of partnership are mostly related to issues within

the organisation such as professional conflict or resources. Health scholars have ignored the context in which these partnerships operate and there is no discussion related to issues faced by target audiences. Brady (2013) claims that most of the partnerships in healthcare are between service providers (EDOHs) and beneficiaries, but there is no discussion about them. In order to overcome the challenges faced by health and social care partnerships, it is vital to address these challenges. The question arises that despite all these challenges is: why do partners engage in a partnership?

4.3 Why partners engage in a partnership

Now let us reflect upon current thinking and writing as to why partners engage in a partnership.

Partnerships can enable tailoring development projects to local needs and concerns, thus leveraging the development expertise and resources of outsiders well beyond northern capabilities. Widespread capacity building enhances the ability of Southern partners to deliver and expand their services while reducing cost and increasing legitimacy with local governments and actors. (Lister, 1999:228)

This implies that a partnership can make it possible for a resource-lacking local government to leverage the resources and expertise of outsiders, ultimately resulting in cost reduction. This implication raises three issues: first, before engaging in a partnership, one party has less power in terms of resources or expertise; secondly, why would one party allow the other party to leverage on its resource; and finally, a partnership is not a guarantee for cost reduction unless it turns out successfully. These three implications are what the research wants to encourage reflection upon. Previously, Elliott (1987) argued that claims might be made for transparency or mutuality of a partnership but there is an asymmetry of power that is hard to be removed through discourse, by mere words, which is perhaps what he meant. When there is an asymmetry of power, then the powerful can use the partnership to advance its objectives and can also limit the leverage of resource usage.

Yet again, from a developed world perspective, Stern and Green (2005) assert that each partner has a different incentive to engage in a partnership. A community takes part to become a part of the decision-making process; the public sector is there to act as gatekeeper. In this setting, communities may be taken in as partners, but they are expected to accept the existing rules and structures and they become part of the whole process, yet their impact may be negligible (Lister, 1999). This indicates the presence of power and an implicit acknowledgement of its existence, even when there is no issue of power and it is not addressed. Each partner is understood to enter into a partnership with a different motivation and during the process they mainly focus on accomplishing their objectives. Yet this is the very thing that propagates uneven power relations. Through the use of procedures and language, power holders exercise power and they are unaware of their ways because those are embedded in their organisational culture (Hodge & Greve, 2007).

The issue of why partners engage in partnership and why they are created is addressed in research, but how these partnerships are shaped through power relations is unexplored. As it is seen, the presence of power may be identified, and unequal power relations are often mentioned, but it is not an issue. The question as to how these power relations are developed is missing. Lefebvre (2011) claims that partnerships that exist in developing countries not only involve these two partners, private and public sector, but there is the third partner called the international development agencies (IDAs). Nowhere have there been any reflections upon how the concept of partnership is viewed and practised differently in the developing world. Nor have there been serious concerns raised about the resulting private-public partnerships (PPPs).

4.4 Partnership in the context of the developing countries

PPPs have become more powerful and the developing world has noticed it. Now, in the context of the developing countries' wide socio-economic gaps and decentralising states, where central governments often have neither the will nor the ability to intervene effectively, PPPs are free to operate as the 'Trojan Horses' of development (Miraftab, 2004).

Private sector firms approach local governments and their impoverished communities with the message of power sharing, but once the process is in motion, the interests of the community are often overwhelmed by those of the most powerful members of the partnerships – the private sector firms. (Miraftab, 2004:89)

Partnerships formed are seen as flawed from the beginning as being driven by power relations, not by the process of partnership. The researcher reflects that, in fact, to understand the process of partnership it is necessary to examine the power relations that emerge in partnerships. The focus must be on the process of developing power relations that are thus created.

Crawford (2003), still from the Indonesian perspective, sees this practice of partnership in developing countries as the means through which IDAs intervene in the domestic reform processes to perplex power asymmetry. Partnerships in practice operate to the first world's agenda and are used as an instrument to penetrate more efficiently into a county's development path and choices, and may very effectively sideline opposition. He considers that the role that partnership processes play, therefore, can be seen as a 'mystification of power asymmetry' (Crawford 2003:142). This is why there is a lack of confidence in the process of partnership in the developing world and, instead of viewing it as a useful tool for management, it is perceived as a manipulative instrument for control.

A key reason for this mistrust about the partnership may well be that the local partners are not often given an equal chance in the planning and decision-making process. This, in turn, generates demotivation among the local partners and ends the sense of ownership for them.

Secondly, the concept of partnership may be seen as a foreign idea to the locals. In the worst-case scenario, it can be life-threatening. Indeed, it has been: take the example of the polio campaign in Pakistan. In December 2012 eight health workers of the polio campaign were killed in 48 hours; out of the eight dead, six were females and a radical group took responsibility for the killings (Ahmad, 2012).

The reason they killed those workers was that they were working against their interests. The government, while creating partnership, had not taken into account the power of such groups, and today the campaign faces serious risk in Pakistan due to lack of trust.

4.5 What is the implication of trust in partnerships?

Jones and Barry (2011) argue that, in theory, partnerships should achieve more than partners working individually but, in practice, they have a high rate of failure. This implies that in practice there is a lack of cooperation among partners. They assert that synergy can be achieved in partnership with the help of power, organisational culture, trust and boundary spanning.

This means the aspects of power and trust are vital for the synergy that leads to successful partnerships. Synergy in healthcare and social partnership with relation to power and trust is still under-researched. The concept of trust has two distinct dimensions: trustworthiness, which means support and acceptance, and trusting, which means openness and sharing (Panteli & Tucker, 2009). Trust is placed due to prior investment in reputation or prior evidence of trustworthiness (Perks & Halliday, 2003) and it needs to be actively built during the relationship. Sometimes confidence is seen as an alternative to trust but, by contrast, confidence only requires one party. The preferred concept is that of trust as defined by Hosmer (1995), a moral philosopher:

Trust is the reliance by one person, group or firm upon a voluntarily accepted duty on the part of another person, group or firm to recognise and protect the rights of all others engaged in a joint endeavour or economic exchange. (Hosmer, 1995:392)

For this research, community involvement is fundamental for the development of trust, and it is defined as communities working in equal partnership with professionals to identify and solve their health problems (Lasker & Weiss, 2003). Indicating that they have to be equal partners and there should be symmetry of power, there have

been some studies on community involvement that found a limited evidence of communities' participation in partnerships (Jones & Barry, 2011). This marginalisation from the process of partnership tends to create mistrust in the community, and they do not trust the intentions of those involved.

So far the concept of partnership is envisaged as an ongoing process where the partners should be part of planning and decision-making based on mutual trust and uniform power relations. However, during this discussion on partnership it has surfaced that along with trust there is an issue of power relations in partnerships that require attention.

4.6 Why examine power relations in a partnership?

In recent years there has been a growth in the number, size and scope of partnerships in the private and public sectors. Considerable research has been done on the issue of partnership yet power relations that can be a central issue in partnerships are rarely deliberated upon (Ellersiek & Kenis, 2007). In the literature of partnership, power relations are no issue because partnering is considered as a 'win-win' for all those involved (Ellersiek & Kenis, 2007). Perhaps another explanation for this is that power differentials are seen as insuperable, hence researchers rule out any form of understanding of it in partnerships (Miraftab, 2004). This means the issue of power relations in partnership still needs to be addressed.

Is partnership all about 'win-win'? How can the powerless be empowered within the existing social order without any damaging effect to the powerful (Ellersiek & Kenis, 2007)? The issue of power relations is inherently present in the concept of partnership and managing power relations is a challenge for management, and without addressing the issue, any partnership will remain symbolic rather than real (Jensen & Sandström, 2011; Mutch, 2011; Seitanidi, 2010; Clegg & Haugaard, 2009). More recently, scholars have realised that power is central to any social issue and every social phenomenon can be better understood with the analysis of power (Clegg & Haugaard, 2009; Haugaard, 2009). However, it can be difficult to recognise power as it is evaded by using euphemistic concepts such as governance, empowerment and leadership, but the observers should not ignore the social realities of power relations (Pieterse *et al.*, 2012).

4.7 Conclusion

It can be concluded that over the years, the significance of partnerships has been growing, but still it is a poorly understood concept (Kolk & Lenfant, 2015; Selsky & Parker, 2005). The impact of partnerships is substantial at the global and local levels as they address a variety of needs (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016; Le Ber & Branzei, 2010). However, it can be difficult to reach a consistent conceptualisation of the process of partnership as the concept emerges from various disciplines. Keeping in view this difficulty, this study conceptualises partnerships based on common characteristics such as mutuality, responsibility, joint planning and decision-making and trust. Besides that, for this research partnership indicates work among organisations rather than a group of professionals.

Social partnerships are formed under three conditions: first when an organisation lacks resources, second when a social issue or problem cannot be tackled by a single organisation, and finally, when an issue cannot be addressed by the traditional sector. The main difference between these three forms of partnership is the role played by partners.

In a resource dependence partnership, partners only provide resources to other partners. In a social issue partnership, partners are stakeholders in the process. In a societal sector partnership, the partner becomes an active partner in the process and performs certain roles and duties that were previously carried out by the traditional sector.

The creation of such partnerships can cause serious challenges to surface. In order to overcome such challenges, it is fundamental to address the issue of power relations and trust. Partnerships formed are seen as flawed from the beginning and as being driven by power, not by the process of partnership. In fact, to understand the process of partnership, it is necessary to examine the power relations that emerge in partnership. A key reason for mistrust about the partnership may well be that the local partners are not often given an equal chance in decision-making. This, in turn, generates demotivation in the local partners and ends the sense of ownership. Secondly, the concept of partnership may be seen as a foreign idea to locals. In a worst-case scenario, this can be life-threatening. This research argues therefore that the issue of power is inherently present in the concept of a partnership and managing

the power difference is a challenge for partnership management. Without dealing with the issue of power relations, any partnership will remain symbolic rather than real (Jensen & Sandström, 2011; Mutch, 2011; Seitanidi, 2010; Clegg & Haugaard, 2009). Observers should not ignore the social realities of power relations despite the fact that they can be hard to recognise as they are evaded by using euphemistic concepts such as governance, empowerment, and leadership.

Chapter 5

POWER RELATIONS

5.0 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, there is an issue of power relations in partnerships which requires attention. The need for partnership has been discussed as being derived not from the less influential actors of the society, but rather the dominant groups (Mutch, 2011). This suggests that partnerships can have power relations from their inception and it is essential to address them.

There has been a considerable research on the concept of partnership (Jones & Barry, 2011; Soulsby & Clark, 2011; Seitanidi, 2010; Hodge & Greve, 2007). On the other hand, investigation of power relations, which can be a central issue in partnerships, is limited (Ellersiek & Kenis, 2007). This demands a closer look at the concept of power.

Power is neither defined as the power of one actor over another actor (power as an act of subordination) nor as the power to do certain things (power as a capacity to act). Power is defined as a crisscrossing field of power strategies that forms and regulates the relational identities of social actors, their range of appropriate actions. By virtue of its productive role in shaping meanings and identities, power is intrinsically linked to knowledge and the local forms of power-knowledge are embedded in institutions' technologies. (Clegg & Haugaard, 2009:112)

These preceding lines imply how the concept of power has changed over the years. It is no longer considered just a required act. Power is now reflected as something which is continuously active to regulate and shape actions to the best interests of the social actors. It is no longer exercised only through compulsion but through knowledge, laws, institutions and technologies. This elusive nature of power makes its exploration

challenging. Discussing the discourse of power can be subtle and overlapping. While doing that a writer may transit between discourses involuntarily.

Power is what the philosopher Wittgenstein terms a 'family resemblance' concept. This entails that when we use the concept in different contexts its meaning changes sufficiently so that there is no single definition of power which covers all usage (Haugaard, 2002:1).

In general, power is implied as a structural phenomenon of the social and political system that is dispositional (Clegg & Haugaard, 2009). It can be regarded as the capacity to achieve certain ends in social relations through management (Raven, 2008). Over the years it has evolved, whereas Dahl (1957), Bachrach and Baratz (1962) and Lukes (1974) mainly represent the functionalist view of power.

That view considers it as the capacity to get the work done against the opposition or will of people (Hardy, 1994), or make them do something they would not have done otherwise (Dahl, 1957). Research scholars have questioned this simple definition of power over the years, which resulted in a variety of different conceptualisations (Haugaard, 2002). In each subject area, the concept of power has been viewed differently; mainly the concentration of the debate was from the functionalist perspective (Hardy, 1994).

The functionalist view generally investigates the concept from the realm of politics and considers it a functional thing, whereas, the structural view of power considers it as a product of structure and an agency emerging from social interactions. The emphasis is more on power relations emerging from the structure of the society or an organisation, rather than from its functionality.

5.1 How functionalists view the concept of power

The functionalist view of power mostly deals with the political view of power. It mainly explores the concept from the perspective of politics and reflects it as something functional in its own right. The following section will discuss how this view has been shaped over the years.

The discussion on the functional view can be opened with Dahl (1957), where he introduces the first or single face of power. He tries to equate power statistically and assigns properties to power. The main critique of his work is that with his conceptualisation, power can only be acknowledged in obvious conflicts (Lukes, 2005). Discussing this further, Bachrach and Baratz (1962) argue that he only focuses on the public face of power (the first face of power) and ignores the second face of power, which is the private face. They assert that it is not compulsory that power will surface from obvious conflicts; sometimes it can be exercised covertly to defend the interests of groups or individuals. Bachrach and Baratz (1963) further explain that when the interest of a group is being manipulated, they can privately fight and obstruct other groups, leading to an apparent conflict. For them, the first face of power surfaces when person(s) or group(s) exercise it openly (the public face of power), and the second face emerges when person(s) or group(s) influence covertly (the private face of power). The struggle between these two faces will result in power relations.

Bachrach and Baratz (1962, 1963) start the debate of power in communities with how different factors can influence decisions and power relations. However, they fail to show a comparability of power, nor do they assign any properties to power relations in communities. They analyse the two faces of power as decision- and non-decision-making, which creates a situation of mobilisation of bias and domination.

5.1.1 What is mobilisation of bias and domination?

The situation of ‘non-decision-making’ states that an open conflict is not necessary for the emergence of power, as it can be exercised through the mobilisation of bias (Bachrach & Baratz, 1963). Mobilisation of bias here refers to those situations where a dominant group controls the system in such a manner that the values, beliefs and opinions of less powerful groups can hardly enter the minds of the people (Hindess, 1996).

They limit public concern to issues that are favourable and only those political and social values will be shaped or promoted that harness their interests (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962). This will lead to situations when there is no need to voice a decision about an issue.

Clegg (1989) claims that there is little or no behaviourally admissible evidence of such situations, but ubiquitously it is present. In such circumstances, there is no resistance as the influential group may have created domination. Domination here refers to the conditions under which the subordinated have relatively little room for manoeuvre (Hardy, 1994). In such situations, the energy is focused on reinforcing such norms and values that will obstruct any thoughts against favoured values.

The first debate on political power understands it as a source that enables groups or individuals to make their interests prevail when a conflict arises. They focus on dependency of resources and procedures to harness the power and domination (Hardy, 1994). Yet with the passage of time, the functionalist view took a radical turn.

5.1.2 How has the functionalist view of power changed?

Lukes (1974), while critically examining Dahl (1957) and Bachrach and Baratz (1962), asserts that too much attention is paid to the obvious conflicts, behaviours and actors while ignoring the hidden power apparatus through which issues are kept out of politics. Arts and Tatenhove (2004) suggest that this sort of power operates through agency and structures that favour certain interests over others while the subjects are mostly unaware of it. The focus is on the behaviour of two actors, A and B, when an obvious conflict arises.

Power is also exercised when A devotes his energy to creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of a political process to public consideration of only those issues, which are relatively innocuous to A. (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970:7)

Lukes (2005) claims the weak point about this notion of power is that it fails to identify the means of shaping, determining and influencing the wants of B. He argues that through the manipulation of perception, A can make B believe that B's subjective interests are closer to A's interests than B's objective interests. This might result in no conflict, or there may be only a latent conflict.

Lukes proposed that the radical face of power could be used for overcoming that underlying conflict through action and inaction. The radical view of power indicates

that controlling the thoughts and interests of people can also help in attaining power. Power, in this sense, is manifested in the instruments, techniques and procedures to control the thoughts and interests of the people (Clegg, 1989).

Lukes (2005) claims that this face of power is crafty and tends to influence the desires of people without their being conscious of its consequences. When the ruling class controls the people, they do not do so at their desire, but it is embedded in the structure of the society. However, this fails to explain how agency and structure are created in such situations. Giddens (1984) critiques this radical view of power and claims that people cannot be simply dominated at their expense for a long time. Sooner or later, people will realise it and will react, as they are capable and well-informed and such situations will lead to conflicts that will result in power relations.

5.1.3 How are conflict and power relations related?

Pluralist theorists argue that conflict is a prerequisite for the exercise of power, so they co-relate it with power relations (Hardy, 1994). They suggest that power relations could only be witnessed when there is a clear conflict and to resolve that, a party has to dominate and take charge.

When there is a clear conflict between two parties, each party will try to be dominant to achieve their goals and the powerful between them will achieve their goals (Lukes, 2005). These theorists argue that there is only one condition for the exercise of power and that is conflict. However, the group showing resistance also has power, but its power is weak as compared to the group that achieves its goals. Power is not shared by the selected few, but a few groups have more power as compared to others (Clegg, 1989).

This conceptualisation of power fails to resolve some of the major problems associated with the analysis of power. It does indicate that in a society different groups hold power but fails to mention whether or not they have any presence in the process of decision-making (Clegg, 1989). It realises that all the groups have political resources available to them (Dahl, 1957), whereas it is difficult for a variety of interest groups to get any chance to reach the parliament.

People exercise their power through voting and elected leaders take decisions on their behalf (Dahl, 1957), but there is a good number that does not vote. In the United Kingdom the majority of the people vote in the general elections, i.e. 65 per cent (UK Political, 2012), but in Pakistan a majority of the people do not vote, i.e. 56 per cent (EBSCOhost, 2012). In a system, which may have a pluralist setup a fair proportion of people can still be left unrepresented, and they might show resistance to a decision.

The functionalist view explores the concept of power from the realm of politics. The main critique of this view is that power can only be acknowledged in obvious conflicts while ignoring the hidden power apparatus. Over the years the view took a radical turn and tried to identify means of shaping, determining and influencing the wants of people. This radical view of power does indicate that different groups hold power in society but fails to state whether they have any role in the process of decision-making. These shortcomings lead to another dimension for the analysis of power: the structural view of power.

5.2 What is the structural view of power?

In this paradigm, power is considered as a product of structure and agency within the society. The emphasis is on power relations emerging from the structure of the society or an organisation. Explaining the structuration theory, Giddens (1984) proposes that power is generated through the reproduction of structures. Two kinds of resources, allocative and authoritative, constitute these structures. Analysing this view in terms of structural domination and dependency, he argues ‘there exists a dialectic of control, a continually shifting balance of resources altering the overall distribution of power’ (Giddens, 1982:32). The balance of power depends on the balance of resources; it is the allocation of resources and control over them that can define power relations in a society or organisation.

There is a co-relation between resources and power relations; there is a constant struggle for control and resources, which defines power relations. With the passage of time, the idea and sources of the structural view have transformed; it can be further discussed from a strategic perspective of power.

5.2.1 How is power exercised in organisations?

The strategic perspective on power asserts that to achieve goals, one must influence the environment through distributive and collective means (Kapilashrami, 2010). When power is exercised over individuals, it is distributive and when persons cooperate to enhance their collective power over a third party, it is by collective means (Kapilashrami, 2010).

The main argument here is that any social relation and interaction have both aspects of power. In a bid to achieve a collective goal, the organisation can use distributive power by assigning roles and duties to an individual. These people work together to carry out their functions through assigned tasks. This delegation of power through roles and duties diffuses power throughout the organisation. It is hard to recognise it; hence there may be no significant resistance to it. The diffused power is so much rooted in the organisational culture that it is deemed normal to exercise it and this fundamental feature is called 'normalisation' (Kapilashrami, 2010).

Foucault's (1980) concept of 'disciplinary power' can create a better understanding of the process of normalisation. The classic concept of power holds that it may direct, repress or even coerce those subjected to it, where disciplinary power creates the subjectivity necessary to perform it (Kapilashrami, 2010). The disciplinary model is the modern configuration of power, where technological power and political rationalities are devised in such a fashion that it makes the necessary action desirable (Kapilashrami, 2010). In order to create discipline within an organisation, it is fundamental to create normalisation with the help of defined roles and responsibility. Roles and responsibilities can be defined through effective planning and decision-making. This implies investigation of planning and decision-making in this study.

5.2.2 Rationale behind decision-making

The issue of legitimate and illegitimate power comes into play during the process of decision-making when parties are trying to exercise power to achieve their goals and objectives (Pfeffer, 1981). The party that has the legal sanction to use power has authority, and it is considered normal and inevitable for it to practise it. Authority has been taken as apolitical, for granted, and assumed to be functional (Hardy, 1994). Any action taken under it will always be considered impartial and rational. Authority and

illegitimacy of power will enable a group to take most of the decisions in a community and that elite will rule the community through legal power (Clegg, 1989). This elitist model suggests that some rules and procedures have to be followed before any decision is taken (Hindess, 1996).

There is a hierarchy in the exercise of power and the authority holders will consistently make the best decisions in the interests of people (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970). This interpretation on the part of rulers does not represent the ground realities of society, rather it represents the interest of the state (Scott, 1999). The ruling elite model suggests that there is an oligarchy of selected figures that take the decisions for communities and society (Hindess, 1996). Scholars challenge the model as it ignores the aspects of resistance during a decision-making process.

5.2.3 The relation between resistance and power

Resistance is often considered as the opposite of power, as a reaction when power is exercised (Erkama, 2010). However, from a critical perspective, it is not something opposite or outside power (Mumby, 2005). Resistance is embedded in the exercise of power and can be considered a part of power (Courpasson & Golsorkhi 2011; Erkama, 2010). Scott (1990) identifies that the process of domination and resistance takes place within the discourse of power. The discourse of resistance and domination is referred to as the hidden transcript as 'it hardly exhausts what we wish to know about power' (Scott 1990:14). This transcript is particular to a given social context for an exact set of people, which makes it hard for an outsider to infer from it (Scott, 1990). Resistance often emerges due to unequal power relations (Pieterse *et al.*, 2012; Scott, 1990). Therefore, it can be said that while examining power, we are also exploring resistance. A challenge to this study can be that the nature of an action can change in the context; in one context a discourse can be power relations whereas in a different context it can be considered as resistance (Fleming & Spicer, 2008). Modes and sites of resistance and power relations are not easy to identify. At one instant, acceptance can contain an aspect of resistance, whereas in another instant it can be an aspect of power (Fleming & Sewell, 2002). Opposition to management is not the only form of resistance; it can be in the shape of resignation, tolerance, gossip, formal complaints and legal action (Thomas & Davies, 2005). The dominant discourse in the change campaign approach is voiced by Mdletye *et al.* (2014), who conclude that in

fact resistance is a barrier to be overcome or even successfully avoided by skilful management of power. Once it is managed, humans will participate and cooperate in both economic and non-economic activities.

5.2.4 How do people engage in social activities?

The social exchange theory explains how humans participate and cooperate in both economic and non-economic activities. It holds that all social activities involve the exchange of both material and non-material items. The parties concerned will perform a cost/benefit analysis before deciding whether to withdraw or engage in the transaction (Mutch, 2011). An exchange can be of money, status or sense of belonging (Mutch, 2011). There can be certain rules to govern the process; they are determined by particular characteristics of individual decision-makers and may include concerns such as equity, competition, altruism, reciprocity and status consistency (Mutch, 2011).

There can be two different kinds of exchanges: one is reciprocal and the other is negotiated exchange. Negotiated exchanges are reached when both parties bargain and agree to the terms of exchange (Mutch, 2011). Reciprocal exchanges are achieved without any specific knowledge of how they might reciprocate; they are based on trust, and their nature is social (Mutch, 2011). The social exchange may involve an exercise of power because actors affect one another when interacting (Mutch, 2011). This generality tends to make the concept of power elusive and redundant, for it begins to have no meaning apart from the ideas of social interaction (Mutch, 2011). This theory does not explain the role of societal beliefs during a social exchange.

5.2.5 How does hegemonic power create conditions for a social exchange?

Hegemonic power creates the conditions through which exchange occurs. It is the way to shape societal beliefs and give them meaning. The concept of hegemonic power suggests that domination can happen through consent without using violence and coercion (Mutch, 2011). It suggests that during any social interaction the social conditions should be shaped in such a way that the decision can be in the interest of the influential party without using any violence or coercion (Mutch, 2011).

The main aim of hegemony is to create a 'collective will' by articulating a variety of demands, beliefs and interests that would offer ways to resolve the socio-political

problem by common norms and values (Haugaard, 2009). Articulation here means mutual modification of different elements to create such a relationship that gives them a unified identity. The parameters of hegemonic articulation cannot be limited to a common theme, object, vocabulary or style as it is a discursive system of modifications (Haugaard, 2002). Construction of a social antagonism is required to define the limits of hegemonic articulation (Torfing, 2009). This raises the question: can government exercise its power through hegemony?

5.2.5.1 How can government exercise its power?

This research is about a nutrition campaign by a government. Understanding how a government can use its power over the people is important. The structural view of power argues that it is created through agency and structure. Agency or structure is constructed during power strategies that are operational at the level of discourse (Foucault, 2002).

Here, discourse does not mean a set of written or spoken statements; it is a quasi-transcendental notion that focuses on the 'rules of formation' that create expressions within a particular setting (Torfing, 2009). The rules do not exist independently but rather they are embedded in the sediment forms of discourses, which they are regulating (Torfing, 2009).

In theory, when a political decision is to be taken in an irresolute terrain, it is seldom that the decision is a result of the structure and accepted as such. There is an endless debate about the likely and actual options, and the decision is reached by creating a consensus through persuasion (Torfing, 2009). Persuasion in this context means to make someone give up one set of beliefs in favour of another because the other set of beliefs is more appropriate (Torfing, 2009). Persuasion can never be the ultimate ground for a decision as it will necessarily involve force and repression (Torfing, 2009). This implies that in a politically uncertain terrain, a decision requires both consensus and force.

Hegemony is used as armour of coercion that protects consensus (Haugaard, 2002). This arrangement of politics is the creation of the modern mass society where broad consensus is created with the help of organic intellectuals, while successfully marginalising oppositional forces (Haugaard, 2009). Through the exclusion of

discursive elements, social antagonism is constructed. Articulation of excluded elements in a chain of equivalence makes them lose their differential character. So positing an external enemy through a chain of equivalence sets the limits and unity of the discourse.

The chain of equivalence refers to the neutralisation of various excluded elements as equal for any problem that is faced by the society. In order to establish the chain of equivalence, the government has to define a common adversary and create a frontier to fight (Torfing, 2009). Limits to the chain of equivalence cannot be established without the partisan character of politics; otherwise, an adversary cannot be defined (Torfing, 2009). Hegemony can be based on either a metaphor or metonymy. There has to be certain proximity among the discursive moments created with the help of the displacement of meaning that facilitated the expansion of a hegemonic project (Haugaard, 2009).

It is the hallmark of the hegemonic force to link different political issues and it must demonstrate that its efforts to resolve one social issue have relevance to deal with other issues (Torfing, 2009). It has to create an umbrella of political norms, values and aspirations unified by an overriding metaphor such as ‘the welfare state’, ‘modernisation’ or ‘national unification’ (Torfing, 2009).

In all discussions of power, a common limitation emerges in exploring the concept as it takes on a life of its own. It assumes objectivity – this limitation has to do with the reification of power as a thing that exists in society. It is an example of the beguiling tendencies of our disciplinary discourses to ‘form the objects of which they speak’ (Foucault 1980:49).

5.3 What is the relationship between the beneficiary and power?

Elias worked to transcend reification in sociological theory by identifying the relational and processual character of social life (Van Krieken, 2001). He asserts that we need to think about relationships and functions rather than about single, isolated substances (Van Krieken, 1998). The primary object of sociological study is the relation between people, the very substance of historical change. It is the relationships

between people that change the circumstances; no external force can bring about that change (Van Krieken, 2001).

5.3.1 The interpersonal nature of power

As discussed earlier, the people of Pakistan are highly differentiated, still struggling to create a unified identity. In such societies, the role of a beneficiary becomes more vital as 'more and more people are more dependent on more other, more time'. (Mowles, 2015:251). This interdependency of people was one of the central themes of Elias' work. Like other sociologists, Elias also had a concern about the order of social life, but he did not see the social order as a challenge, but rather 'the apparent independence of the social order from intentional human action' (Van Krieken, 2001:354).

He was concerned about the apparent lack of relationship between human intentions and the social order (Van Krieken, 2001). The society is envisaged as a web of structured relations created by the association of human agents to pursue their interests and goals that would result in social institutions or concepts (Van Krieken, 2001). In Elias' opinion, an individual in the society is associated with other individuals by political, economic and social relations, irrespective of the position they hold in the society (Van Krieken, 1998). The emphasis here is on people and relationships, not the position of power held. He implies that a society transforms by the structure of social relationships or changes in its conditions.

However, these changes are not related to the actions and decisions of certain supposedly powerful groups or individuals (Elias, 1978a:226). Elias saw social life as both 'firm' and 'elastic': crossroads appear at which people must choose, and on their choices, depending on their social position, may depend either their immediate personal fate or that of the whole family or, in certain circumstances, of entire nations or groups within them (Van Krieken, 2001:354).

Elias suggests that the agency of the individual towards society depends on the position he or she holds in it, and the decision taken will not only affect him or her but others related to him or her (Ritzer & Smart, 2001). The action of an individual also has consequences on others; hence there is an interdependency surfacing through his or her action. Once a decision is taken, the action 'becomes interwoven with those of

others: it unleashes a further chain of actions', and the effects depend on the structure of tensions within this whole mobile human network and the distribution of power (Van Krieken, 2001:354-55).

Elias challenges the idea of people being independent and operating under a social system or structure. The intention, action and interaction of humans are interdependent on a web of intention, action and interaction with other people (Mowles, 2015). The outcome of their actions cannot be predicted without knowing about their *figuration* and *habitus*. He claims them as being interdependent and comprising what he called *figuration* and characterised by historical and social forms of personality or *habitus* (Van Krieken, 2001). The concept of *figuration* was introduced by Elias to put the issue of human interdependencies in the centre of sociological theory in the hope of eliminating the use of words 'individual' and 'society' while discussing issues related to social structure and social transformation (Van Krieken, 2001). He favoured the idea that people should be treated as plural, as part of groups and networks, and that their unique identity and individuality only existed through and within those networks or *figurations*. Individuality can only be experienced through interaction within a web of social relationship. Elias critiques the 'closed personality' image of humans and argues that this concept of *homo clauses* should be reviewed vis-à-vis freedom, autonomy, and independent agency (Van Krieken, 2001).

The image of a man is as an *open personality* who possesses a greater or lesser degree of relative (but never absolute and total) autonomy vis-à-vis other people and who is, in fact, fundamentally oriented towards and dependent on other people throughout his life. The network of interdependencies among human beings is what binds them together. Such interdependencies are the nexus of what is here called the *figuration*, a structure of mutually oriented and dependent people (Elias, 1978a:213-14).

In his view, societies are formed through the interaction of the structures and processes with 'the *figuration* formed by the actions of interdependent people' (Elias, 1978b:103). The usage of concepts such as 'society' or 'social system' makes it easier to deny the human agency and individuality, but the usage of *figuration* can help understand the ideas better (Van Krieken, 1998). The development of personality

make-up or shared social *habitus* that establishes the standard basis of individual behaviour is determined by the dynamics of *figurations* (Van Krieken, 2001).

The interdependency of individuals is not created by the positions they hold in the network but results from the relationship they have within the network of people. There is a constant fluctuation in these relationships, which Elias attributes as:

Paradoxically, we are both formed by and from interdependencies with others, he argues, because we are social through and through. Our need for love, respect, recognition, care, money, a career means that we are dependent on others, as, paradoxically they are dependent on us. Together we are bound by relations of power: As long as I need something from someone else, more than they need it from me, or they are in a position to direct me, power is temporarily tilted in their favour. (Mowles, 2015:250)

Elias asserts that the focus of sociological analysis should be on the relationship between goal-directed, intentional human activities and the unconscious and unplanned process of interweaving activities and their consequences (Elias & Scotson, 1994). The expression ‘interweaving activities’ suggests that the actions are interdependent and continual in nature; hence, considering any action independently in a cross-section may not be practical.

In the view of Elias, the fundamental aspect of these relations is ‘the relational character of power’ (Elias, 1978b:75).

The whole sociological and political discussion on power, he wrote, is marred by the fact that dialogue is not consistently focused on power balances and power ratios, that is, on the aspects of relationships, but rather on power as if it were a thing. If we see it as more of a relation, it also becomes possible to recognise that the questions of power are quite distinct from the questions of ‘freedom’ and ‘domination’ and that all human relationships are the relations of power. (Van Krieken, 2001:356)

Elias here indicates the reification of power and asserts that power is different from domination and freedom, and this difference must be recognised. He argues that it is fundamental that we look at the relationship created by power, and think beyond the continuum of 'freedom' and 'determinism' and focus our thinking towards power relations. There is a ratio of power, and it has a mutual uniqueness; in the network of power relations the less powerful groups also exercise a 'boomerang effect' back on those with greater power-chances (Van Krieken, 2001). That reciprocal effect is shadowed when we use concepts such as 'rule' or 'authority' as we only make visible the pressure exerted from above (Van Krieken, 2001). This means that the rule or authority exists in relation to a person or a group and the power of that person or group must be considered in social analysis.

In a bid to take away reification of social life, the second step that Elias took was to identify its *processual* character (Van Krieken, 2001). To understand the figurations of interdependent groups and individuals, we need to take them as a continuous process existing over time with a vigorous fluctuation and lesser or greater transformation (Van Krieken, 1998). The analysis should not be cross-sectional but a longitudinal one, as a consequence of yesterday can be a condition of today's life (Van Krieken, 2001). Taking the transformation at a cross-section means reducing the process, and Elias termed it as 'process reduction'. He was against it, asserting that by doing so we take away the historical analysis from the process (Van Krieken, 2001:357).

Elias highlights two crucial issues, the importance of history in social analysis (we may say planning). Secondly, that change in social life is normal and should be treated as such. Instead of looking at changes in a limited manner, transformation should be treated as something that takes place over a period in a procedural way. If we need to understand the *sociogenesis* of any sociological problem in Pakistan, then it should be considered as the outcome of a long process of fluctuation in relations. 'The increasing competition between both individuals and groups in highly differentiated societies causes constant fluctuations in relations, including changing power chances, which are reflected in the production of knowledge' (Mowles, 2015:258).

We should try to identify the ‘processual’ character of terms such as rationality or bureaucracy and should think about rationalisation and bureaucratisation (Van Krieken, 2001). There is a plurality of processes; individuals and groups interlock with one another without a causal pre-eminence assigned to any one of them. Social change is tangled with other processes such as political, psychological, economic, geographical, and so on (Van Krieken, 2001). Further insight into the idea of a process can be gained through the work of Bourdieu.

5.3.2 The idea of social process

While examining the reproduction of structured inequalities, Bourdieu disposes of the idea of static structure and proposes ongoing processes (structuring) through which social relationships are formed and transformed (Beilharz, 1992). His idea of processes resonates with Elias’ when he discusses social relations. He identifies the relationship between the individual and society but refrains from using the individual as a unit of analysis (Best, 2002).

Bourdieu considers the individual as the indication to empirical study and studies their behaviour as agents of social process (Beilharz, 1992). He claims that our responses are structured by the socio-cultural environment, what he has called their *habitus*, so individuals act or react according to their *habitus* (Beilharz, 1992). The structures are explored by individual consciousness with an understanding that the person (agent) is a ‘producer and reproducer of objective meaning’, and their actions and works are the product of a *modus operandi* beyond their creation (Beilharz, 1992:40).

What Elias termed as relations are called structures by Bourdieu, because their creation is beyond the control of an individual and depends on the agency of an individual. The individual in Elias’ case is dependent on relations, whereas for Bourdieu the individual is dependent on *modus operandi* (a cultural aspect of social structure). In both cases, the individual is not considered independent and is influenced by the context. Bourdieu identifies a relation between social structure, culture and action while analysing power. For Bourdieu, the heart of all social life is power; hence he never treated it as a separate domain of study (Swartz, 2012).

Both individual behaviour and action take place in structured arenas of conflict termed as *fields* by Bourdieu, linking the action of *habitus* to the stratifying structure of power in modern society (Swartz, 2012). His vision of modern life is an arrangement of various material and cultural resources dispensed through moderately independent but structurally homologous *fields* of circulation, consumption, and production (Swartz, 2012). The association between a cultural practice and social structure is facilitated through *fields*. The focus of his work therefore is how relatively autonomous *fields* of conflict interlock individuals and groups in the struggle over valued resources, thus unwittingly reproducing the social stratification order (Swartz, 2012).

Elias rejects the idea of people's unintentional actions and claims they are not independent, whereas Bourdieu also does not support the idea of independent human beings but he supports the idea of unintentional actions. He claims the context (*fields*) in which individuals are somehow independent and they control their actions; hence the result of these actions is unintentional (Swartz, 2012).

Elias suggests that we need to transcend reification of power. He argues that to do so, we need to think in terms of relations rather than isolation. The role of people is fundamental to social change, and we need to understand it. Without people, it is hard to bring about or analyse a change. The changes that may occur within a society are a result of relationships among people. A decision taken or action planned is a consequence of relationships among people. He puts people at the centre of any social change. Hence, change cannot be forced from an external source; it has to come from within the people.

In order to drive any change in a better way, we should look into its processual character rather than discrete events. 'To privilege a process is to notice and describe relationships and functions as they evolve over time' (Mowles, 2015:251). Planning or implementation of a partnership at a cross-section can improve the process. This means a partnership should be taken as a whole process, where one event may lead to the next event through relationships between the events and people in time and space. As indicated by Bourdieu, these processes are shaped by individual behaviours. *Fields* that link the actions of *habitus* to the society shape these behaviours.

5.4 Conclusion

The people of Pakistan are highly differentiated and still struggling to create a unified identity. In such societies, the role of people becomes vital. This dependence of people was one of the central themes of Elias' work. He emphasised the role of the people and relationships, not the position of power they hold. He implied that a society transforms by the structure of social relationships or changes in its conditions. He believed that people should be treated as plural, as part of groups or networks, with their unique identity and individuality only existing through and within those networks or *figurations*. So the interdependency of individuals is not created because of the position they hold in the network, but it results from the relationship they hold in the network of people. Elias asserts that the focus of sociological analysis should be on the relationship between human activities and their consequences.

Elias suggests that we need to transcend reification of power. He indicates that to do so, we need to think in terms of relations rather than isolation. The role of people is fundamental to social change, and we need to understand it. Without them, it is hard to bring about or analyse a change. The changes that may occur within a society are a result of relationships among people. A decision taken or action planned is a consequence of relationships among people. Change cannot be forced from an external source; it has to come from the people. This suggests that in order to investigate a social marketing campaign, we also need to look for the role of people (called beneficiary for this research; see section 1.3.9).

Chapter 6

METHODOLOGY

6.0. Introduction

For marketing scholars, it is a dilemma to search for a philosophical foundation to ground their research (Hunt and Hansen, 2009). Researchers of other disciplines also face the same dilemma, but the focus here is on marketing as the study is related to it. Considering relativism as a foundation for research can lead them to nihilism, making the knowledge claim equally ethical and unethical, equally good and bad, equally right and wrong (Hunt and Hansen, 2009). On the other hand, considering logical positivism or logical empiricism has been evaluated to provide unsatisfactory guidelines for conducting research in the social sciences, (Hunt and Hansen, 2009). However, there is a need for marketing researchers to state their ontological commitments, or at least be aware of their existence in their choice of research design, (Halliday, 1999).

Traditionally, social and behavioural sciences used to follow positivism as an approach for inquiry (Burrell and Morgan, 1979). The emphasis was on presenting an objective picture of the world based on a natural science approach by testing hypotheses and theories (Lapan *et al.*, 2011). In recent times more scholars believe social science cannot be entirely objective as the background and values of research can affect the process (Lapan *et al.*, 2011). Drawing from the thinking of recent scholars, the concepts of this research have distinctive meaning to individuals in Balochistan. They may conceptualise those meaning based on their practices and interactions. As, compared to the West, democracy and corruption have different meaning for the people of Pakistan (read section 2.1.3). The knowledge related to partnership, and planning and decision making could be grounded in the context of Balochistan. These meanings are co-constructed between the researcher and the participants of the research by developing a rapport.

The discussion in this chapter starts with the philosophical assumptions of ontology and epistemology. The ideas of truth and relativism are discussed in ontological

assumptions. The epistemological assumption highlights that a phenomenon is conceptualised in relation to its context. Validity and reliability are discussed to ensure rigour for case study. Then, issues related to the methods are discussed with a focus on case study approach. The next section explains the process of the interview as a method for data collection. Followed by the merits of participant observation for this research. The fifth section describes the method of data analysis with a focus on discourse analysis.

6.1. Philosophical assumptions

Ontological assumptions deal with the very essence of the phenomena under study. It studies the reality; does the individual create reality through consciousness or individual consciousness has no control over it (Burrell and Morgan, 1979)? Is it objective in nature or created by the cognition of the individual; is it the product of 'one's mind' or it is 'out there' in the world, (Burrell and Morgan, 1979:1). Can our understanding of reality discover truth? Or do we need to follow determinacy, rationality and prediction to learn the truth?

6.1.1. Ontological assumptions

The debate about the reality construction has been labelled by two options, such as positivist/interpretivist, qualitative/quantitative, positivistic/humanistic, and positivist/phenomenological (Halliday, 1999). Focusing the debate over the merits and demerits of two options may not reveal the idea of reality concerning this research. In this section, the discussion is related to the reality of a lived experience, and it focuses on the truth that is based on internal perceptions, not on external realities. The discussion excludes the truth that relies on external realities that cannot be determined by a perception, such as the weight of a stone or the atomic number of any element.

6.1.1.1. The idea of truth

The concept of truth may have many possible meanings. Here it is limited to beliefs or statements about the world. The idea or nature of truth is the fundamental concern of reality (Halliday, 1999). A researcher assumes that there is a certain truth that can be known. In order to find that truth, the researcher has to be more objective, making

knowledge claims in the form of generalisations. However, the problem with such scientific methods is that it fails to adequately make sense of lived experience (Garrick, 1999). In a bid to create a better understanding of a lived experience researchers can use qualitative methodologies (Garrick, 1999). In qualitative methods, the idea of truth being, objective, external and "out there" at a distance is a well-known concern (Halliday, 1999). Hammersley (2013) argues that reality can be assumed to be independent of the claims that researchers make about it.

It can be tough to reach complete objectivity about a lived experience as human beings make sense of events and objects based on their experiences (Garrick, 1999). So to understand an experience from an individual's viewpoint, it should be examined in his/her context (Garrick, 1999). This raises the question "should knowledge then be judged as more or less useful rather than as true or false?" (Halliday, 1999:171). Realists are inquisitive about both the aspects of knowledge with the aim of sound theory if it does not concern distinctive entities (Sayer, 1992). A close similarity or connection can be created with reality but not the whole truth. There can be plenty of such examples; the truth may not be limited to something entirely intelligible to the human brain, for example, the perception of corruption in the West is different than that of in Pakistan; this may create difficulty for a researcher from the West to comprehend that reality. It raises the question how reality should be interpreted for a lived experience.

6.1.1.2. The idea of relativism

The interpretation of data depends mainly upon the interpretive framework of the researcher (Halliday, 1999). Kuhn (2012) argues that instead of a perpetual development in scientific thinking, there have been discontinuities resulting from a radical and sudden paradigm shift. There have been no dialogues between paradigms, as holders of competitive positions subscribe to different rubrics and benchmarks, and the subsequent relativism is appealing (Halliday, 1999). The idea of immoral or incorrect exists about a culture or society. In order to understand the meaning of knowledge and truth, it must be judged in a context (Garrick, 1999). The relativist view of Kuhn's thinking presents knowledge as divided into monolithic, discreet and mutually incomprehensible or contradictory systems of thoughts (Sayer, 1992). However, for the systems to contradict they must have a connection that is

understandable (Halliday, 1999), for example, no matter how much our perception may have to change from seeing a rabbit to seeing a duck in a drawing, both the rabbit and the duck must be known and understood to permit the shift. So this means that truth is not a foreign concept that relativism is not the only approach left (Halliday, 1999:172).

To know the truth, we may use objectivism or relativism. This leads the discussion to the fundamental question what qualifies as valid knowledge?

6.1.2. Epistemological assumptions

The ontological assumptions lead to epistemology that deals with the fundamental question of what qualifies as valid knowledge (Creswell, 2013, Lapan *et al.*, 2011). "The underlying problem of epistemology is to explain what it is that justifies us in making the kinds of knowledge claims that we customarily make" (Pollock, 1974:7). A social phenomenon cannot be free from space and time or the mind of the human, so fundamentally it is context bound (Holloway and Wheeler, 2013). It is pertinent to mention here that there is an objective truth such as "people need air and water to live" or "water boils once it is heated to an absolute temperature", but a social phenomenon cannot be objective. Lapan *et al.* (2011) claim it is hard to achieve complete neutrality and objectivity; the subjectivities of participants become part of a lived experience. They suggest that in order to address these issues, the researcher has to take a position in the situation and setting. The postmodern and social constructivist thinkers argue that reality is a product of a social process, which is affected by the context, culture and time (Lapan *et al.*, 2011). There is no unitary reality as each is unique and creates a unique perception about a social phenomenon (Lapan *et al.*, 2011).

The behaviour of people working in the context is a result of structural or systemic inequalities that exclude people from policies, power and resources (Holloway and Wheeler, 2013). However, the researchers do not reproduce reality; their accounts represent it (Halliday, 1999). This means that reality about a social phenomenon is formed and influenced by the experiences and social conditions of individuals. When

we try to reproduce that reality, we only present what we experience, not how it exists out there.

This research explores the concept of partnership and planning and decision-making in a social marketing campaign. These ideas can be shaped through the experiences and social conditions of participants involved in the campaign. Their meaning can be represented by the researcher through developing a rapport with the members of the campaign. This thinking leads to the question that what is the role of theory in this investigation?

6.1.2.1. The role of theory

Theory in social science is defined as an ordering framework that allows data to be used for explaining and predicting observed events (Sayer, 1992, Burrell and Morgan, 1979). Conventionally, marketers also share the same view about theory (Halliday, 1999). The issue with this definition is that it has often failed to generate theory in qualitative marketing research (Halliday, 1999). Sayer (1992:50) presents another definition of theory as "conceptualisation in which to theorise means to prescribe a particular way of conceptualising something." This study uses the definition of theory, as it provides a better fit with the subtle notions of partnership and planning and uncertainties in the context than the ordering framework could do. The study moves away from theory as an ordering framework: "Because the qualitative nature of social phenomena varies according to the context, they cannot be treated as parametric and as possible objects of instrumentalist laws" (Sayer, 1992:127). Both quantitative and qualitative methodologies are imperative. However, based on the skills of the researcher and the aims and objectives of the research, qualitative methodology is more fitting for this study. Selecting qualitative methods do increase concern about the validity and reliability of the study.

6.1.2.2. Validity and Reliability

Case studies are perceived to be more subjective compared to other qualitative research methodologies (Riege, 2003). Usually, researchers can have direct and close contact with the people and organisation under investigation (Riege, 2003). For this reason, the case study method has been criticised for validity and reliability concerns (Ruigrok *et al.*, 2008). Rigour in case studies can be fundamental for two reasons:

First, they are considered most relevant tools during the critical and the early stages of a theory (Ruigrok *et al.*, 2008), mainly when key variables and their relationships are being examined. In the initial stages of theory building, a rigour could have a ripple effect throughout later stages (Ruigrok *et al.*, 2008). Secondly, it is a methodology right for testing or creating managerial relevant knowledge, claiming relevance in management research without rigour is unreasonable (Ruigrok *et al.*, 2008)

The reliability and validity of case study research are also a fundamental issue for marketing research (Riege, 2003). The tests of construct validity; internal validity, external validity and reliability can be used for case study research. Apart from these four “traditional” design tests, four “corresponding” tests of credibility, trustworthiness, conformability and dependability can also be used (Riege, 2003). In this section, the traditional design tests are discussed.

6.1.2.2.a. Validity

The parameters considered for creating validity are; reality cannot reproduce the accounts but represent a depiction of it (Hammersley, 2013); the claims by the researcher about reality are anticipated to be independent of it (Hammersley, 2013); confidence in knowledge leads to validity, not certainty (Halliday, 1999).

- **Construct validity**

To develop construct validity, the researcher needs to refrain from subjective judgement during the phase of research design and data collection (Riege, 2003). The study will use multiple sources of evidence during data collection. The researcher will try to establish a clear chain of evidence (Ruigrok *et al.*, 2008). Triangulation is often suggested to enhance validity, and this research will use multiple sources of data collection such as interviewing and participant observation (Woodside, 2010). Data triangulation of this study will include person triangulation, as the respondents will be asked separately about their perspectives on issues, and time triangulation, as questions will be repeated over time and practice will be observed over time (Halliday, 1999). This practice should increase the validity of the data set, if treated with care, and will increase the understanding and the richness of the phenomenon (Silverman, 2013).

- Internal validity

In order to generate internal validity, the researcher needs to establish the facts in a credible way (Riege, 2003). Apart from highlighting the major patterns of difference and similarities between respondents' beliefs and experiences, the researcher should also try to highlight what components are significant for these patterns (Riege, 2003). Using cross case or within the case, the analysis may as well increase internal validity. The researcher can assist explanation building with the help of exhibits and illustrations during data analysis. The researcher should formulate a clear research framework (Ruigrok *et al.*, 2008). A researcher can verify findings with theory triangulation by discussing multiple perspectives (Ruigrok *et al.*, 2008).

- External validity

External validity of case studies depends on the analytical generalisation (Riege, 2003). "Analytical generalisation is a process separate from statistical generalisation in that it refers to the generalisation from empirical observation to theory rather than a population" (Ruigrok *et al.*, 2008:1468). Linking the findings with the broader theory of social marketing, partnership and power can establish that. The results of this study are not directly generalizable as they are grounded in the context (Halliday, 1999). The researcher has provided a specific context of the case study and a rationale for its selection in chapter two to establish further external validity (Ruigrok *et al.*, 2008). Determining validity is not enough to produce rigour in case study research, reliability also needs to be confirmed.

6.1.2.2.b. Reliability

Reliability for this case study can be a bit challenging because people are not static (Riege, 2003). Even if the researchers precisely follow each step the results can be different (Riege, 2003). As discussed in epistemological assumption reality can be

affected by time and space. Secondly, reality is a representation of investigators' experiences and preferences. However, the researcher can still ensure reliability.

This investigator aims for two kinds of reliability as acknowledged by Miller and Kirk (1986), firstly, the consistency of observation through time will be applied to this study while dealing with participants. Secondly, triangulation of observation with interviews which " forces the ethnographer to imagine how multiple but somehow different, the qualitative measure might simultaneously be true (Miller and Kirk, 1986:42)." The researcher will record observations and actions as concrete as possible to ensure constancy of observation (Riege, 2003). Recording data routinely with the help of voice or video recording will generate further reliability. Documenting and organising the mass data collected and use of semi-structured case study protocol will also be helpful in ensuring reliability (Ruigrok *et al.*, 2008; Riege, 2003). The following Table 6.1 summarises the underlying philosophical assumptions for this research design.

<i>Table 6.1 Summary of philosophical assumptions</i>		
Interpretive Framework	Ontological Beliefs	Epistemological Beliefs
Social Constructivism	Social Realities are formed through our lived experiences and interactions with others.	Social Reality is co-constructed between the researcher and the participants and shaped by experiences.

Adapted from Creswell (2013)

This research will use a social constructivist framework to interpret the lived experiences of the participants. The knowledge about such experiences exists with the culture and context of the research participants that needs to be co-constructed. As mentioned in the section of validity and reliability, the design of this investigation will be case study research. The following section will discuss relevant issues.

6.2. Case study research

Creswell (2013) asserts that the case study approach can be an appropriate approach for a research that involves the study of a real life phenomenon. It can be a qualitative approach that explores a real-life case over time with the help of in-depth data

collection involving a variety of information sources. Baxter and Jack (2008) claim that a case study is a valuable method to evaluate health campaigns. Flyvbjerg (2006) indicates that it is very useful to explore a complex issue such as power relations or partnerships. This method allows the researcher to study the relationships between partners and people to deconstruct the power relations in the process. As highlighted by Baxter and Jack (2008:545) this research “recognises the importance of the subjective human creation of the meaning, but doesn’t reject outright some notion of objectivity”. The case cannot be considered without the context, as it is these settings that influence the campaign. Drawing from considerations of (Baxter and Jack, 2008) the focus of study is to answer "how" and "what" in the campaign. The purpose of this case study research will understand the prediction, description, or a combination of these (Woodside and Wilson, 2003).

However, the principal objective will be an in-depth understanding of the interaction, actors, sentiments, and behaviours occurring for the partnership through time (Woodside and Wilson, 2003). A deep understanding is the knowledge of the "sense-making" process created by individuals (Woodside and Wilson, 2003:497). Sense making can be explained as for how the person can make sense of stimuli. The foci include: Focusing on what individuals perceive, framing what they perceive. Interpreting their actions from the results of their enactments. Table 6.2 gives an overview how the approach would be used.

<i>Table 6.2. Case study research</i>	
Characteristics	Qualitative approach (case study)
Focus	Developing an in-depth description and analysis of partnership and planning and decision making in the nutrition campaign for Balochistan
Discipline Background	Drawing knowledge from social marketing, partnership and power
Unit of Analysis	Nutrition Cell Balochistan
Data Collection Considerations	Sampling, gaining access and using multiple sources such as interviews, observations, and documents.
Data Analysis Strategies	Analysing data through discourse analysis and critical discourse analysis.

Adapted from Creswell (2013)

This case will create an in-depth description of the nutrition campaign by sharing lived experiences of participants. The concepts of partnership and planning and decision making will be analysed with the help of those experiences. The knowledge related to the discipline background has already been discussed in chapters related to social marketing, partnerships and power relations. A conceptual framework, research aims and objectives and research questions based on drawings of these chapters are presented in chapter one. Nutrition Cell Balochistan is discussed in section 2.4 while explaining the research context. Data collection considerations and data analysis strategies are examined in the following sections.

6.2.1 Sampling

Sampling for this research is considered at two levels. First, selecting the case study from the various campaigns being run in Balochistan. Second, selecting the participants for the selected case study. The justification for choosing a nutrition campaign has been discussed while explaining the context of research. This section will focus on the sampling of participants for the case study. There will be three considerations for sampling: Whom to select for study: the particular type of sampling strategy and the size of the sample (Creswell, 2012).

- *Who to choose for study:* The big net approach, suggests that initially, the researcher should mingle with everyone and then select numbers based on their judgement (Fetterman, 2010). Miles and Huberman (1994) call this opportunistic sampling that establishes a criteria for selecting an individual after interaction on the site. The selection criteria for this research will be a person working or has worked in the nutrition campaign or is involved in the process of planning, decision-making and implementation that may provide rich data. Rich data can be experiences about the campaign and documents related to it.
- *Sampling strategy:* This strategy can change during the research, but the researcher has to plan it well and be flexible about it (Creswell, 2012). Marshall and Rossman (2010) provide four aspects of sampling: events, setting, actors, and artefacts. Actors can be the people who are a part of planning, decision-making and implementation in the campaign. The setting can be the premises of DG Health Office. Events can be meetings, training

and field trips. With the present knowledge about the nutrition campaign, the use of artefacts is not possible, but it can change as suggested by Creswell (2012). The researcher can rely on non-probability sampling strategies such as purposeful, snowball and self-selection sampling (Creswell, 2012). Snowball sampling will be used to select individuals who are information rich; employees of NCB can identify experts related to the research. Expert means a person who is working or has worked in the nutrition campaign or is involved in the process of planning and decision-making and implementation.

- *Sample size*: A general guideline in qualitative research is to select a few individuals or sites but collect extensive detail (Creswell, 2012). Following the suggestion of Wolcott (1999) that over one case may dilute the level of detail, the researcher has selected one case only. Within the case study, the number of participants will be determined during the data collection phase. The size will mainly depend on the accessibility to participants other than the employees of the Nutrition Cell Balochistan. At this point, all the eight members of the cell are the sample size.

After the sampling decision, the next concern of a researcher is about gaining access to the research site and then to the participants of the study (Creswell, 2013).

6.2.2. Gaining access

The challenge of gaining access can be an impolite surprise to a researcher eager to get down to actual research (Feldman *et al.*, 2004). It can be a process of relationship building. It requires the researcher to nurture the relationships once they are built and to deal with rejection and the end of relationships (Feldman *et al.*, 2004). Access gaining is a process that must be developed and maintained over a period of time (Feldman *et al.*, 2004). Figure 6.1 gives a graphic representation of the process.



Figure 6.1. The process of gaining access Adapted from Feldman *et al.* (2004)

The research involved the study of the Nutrition Cell Balochistan and required appropriate permission. This would enable the researcher to collect data in a secure and organised manner (Creswell, 2012). The type of qualitative approach defines the approach towards permission and building rapport (Creswell, 2012). This case study required access and rapport building at two levels, first, rapport building with the head of the Health Department for permission and access to the site.

At the second level, the researcher required obtaining information from individuals that needed their permission and rapport building at an individual level. The gatekeeper in this study was the head of the Health Department, and the researcher had to get his permission (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). For this purpose, an application was written to the head of the Health Department (see the copy of application & permission in appendix B). The application covered the following questions as indicated by Bogdan and Biklen (1998):

- Why was the site chosen for study?
- What would be done at the site during the research study?
- How much time would the researcher spend on the premises?
- What would the gatekeeper, the participants, and the site gain from the research?

For permission from individuals, a consent form was developed (see appendix B). The issue of initial contact with the informants and building rapport are further discussed in the section of interview and participant observation.

6.2.3 Data sources

In order to improve the credibility of the data in qualitative research, a range of data sources is used (Woodside, 2010). The idea is to converge the data from multiple sources in the analysis process, with each piece contributing to the understanding of the whole phenomenon (Baxter and Jack, 2008). This enquiry was focused on the concepts of partnership, planning and decision-making.

Exploring them required a variety of methodological tools. The study employed a mix of methods to obtain data but the focus was on how factors could influence people differently while living in the same context. The aim was to use in-depth interviews and observations to analyse the process of partnership in the campaign and explore

the access of beneficiary to the planning and decision-making while highlighting how power relations could affect the partnership.

6.2.3.1. Data collection activities

In order to develop a rapport, it is vital to share information with the participants and answer their concerns in the best possible way (Creswell, 2013). Some considerations require attention; they can help the investigator to conduct the activities in a better way (Creswell, 2013). The research took place on the premises of the Directorate of Health Balochistan at NCB for six months. On arrival at the Health Department of Balochistan, the researcher would give a briefing to the Chief Planning Officer about the research. In order to conduct the activities in a better way the below considerations are being highlighted.

6.2.3.2. Considerations before data collection

Table 6.3a and 6.3b highlights the considerations for data collection.

<i>Table 6.3a. Considerations for Observation</i>
<p>Observation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gather field notes by observation as a researcher • Gather field notes by observation as a participant • Gather field notes first as an outsider and then by moving into the setting and observing as an insider

Adapted from Creswell (2013)

<i>Table 6.3b. Considerations for interviews</i>
<p>Interview</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct unstructured, open-ended interview, take notes, audiotape the interview and transcribe the interview • Conduct semi-structured, open-ended interview, take notes, audiotape the interview and transcribe the interview • Conduct a focus group, open-ended interview, take notes, audiotape the interview and transcribe the interview

Adapted from Creswell (2013)

The methods of interview and observations will be discussed in detail in the following sections. Another major issue before the data collection process was the ethical approval of this research by the ethical committee.

Research ethics

For the purpose of ethical approval, an application was submitted to the committee. This research was administered by the ethics protocol of UH (see appendix B). The informed consent of participants was taken before the interviews (see appendix B). The participants were given a briefing about the research and their participation was voluntary. The anonymity and confidentiality of data was maintained wherever required. Table 6.4 summarises the possible data collection activities that were employed for this research.

<i>Table 6.4. Data collection activities</i>	
Data Collection Activity	Case Study
Unit of analysis	Nutrition Cell Balochistan
Access and rapport	Access was granted by the secretary and rapport with the participants was developed through information sharing
How will the participants be selected?	Participants were selected based on the information shared by the employees of the Nutrition Cell Balochistan
Type of information	Rich data was collected through, interviews and observation
How was information recorded?	Field notes and audio notes
Common data collection issues	See Table 6.3a & 6.3b
How was information stored?	Field notes, transcriptions and computer files

Adapted from Creswell (2013)

The data sources of interviews and participants' observations were discussed in detail to demonstrate relevant issues.

6.3. Interviews

The scope of an interview can change according to the disciplinary perspective and the research questions (Gray, 2009). For this research, the researcher needed to

encourage the interviewee to share a rich description of the campaign (Woodside, 2010, DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006). The purpose of the interview is to gain knowledge about the concepts of the research based on experiences of the participants during the campaign. The researcher used both unstructured and semi-structured interviews.

6.3.1. The interview process

The interviews of employees working in NCB were mostly unstructured. They were interviewed on an on-going basis during the data collection phase. The iterative process of observation and questioning continued until the end of data collection. The researcher aimed to gain information about the meaning of observed behaviours, rituals and interaction over the time as new things might be acquired about the context (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006). Semi-structured interviews were conducted with the respondents whom the researcher met outside NCB. Those interviews were scheduled in advance at a fixed time and location. A questionnaire was developed for the interviews and was used in semi-structured interviews (see appendix B). Unstructured interviews were organised around a set of predetermined open-ended questions from the questionnaire, followed by questions that would emerge during the interview (Yin, 2011). The researcher also planned to conduct two group interviews; one group was of Executive District Officers Health (EDOHS) and the second group was of field workers.

During the interview, the primary focus was to follow the interviewee's interest and knowledge about the nutrition campaign (Holloway and Wheeler, 2013). One of the challenges in a semi-structured interview was to develop a rapport quickly as the time was limited (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006). For this purpose, the researcher planned first to introduce him and then explained the purpose of the research. Trust and confidence were gained by ensuring the participants that all the information shared would be kept confidential and anonymous. After that, the interviewee was asked general questions about his/her job and previous work experience. Finally, the respondents were requested to sign the consent form before starting the formal interview (see appendix B). During an interview, the researcher needs to be alert not to ignore the social role and power differentials between the interviewee and

interviewer (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006). This led to the concerns of power relations during interviews.

6.3.2. Power relations in interviews

The interview process should have a clear power asymmetry, and it is the duty of the interviewer to maintain that (Vähäsantanen and Saarinen, 2012). The interviewer holds power in his hands to guide and set the interview according to the research questions (Vähäsantanen and Saarinen, 2012). The researcher had to free his mind from the power granted to him. The researcher was aware of the fact that in unstructured interviews, the interviewees had more control over the course of an interview (Yin, 2008). During the interviews, the respondents can present themselves dominantly by positioning themselves as more knowledgeable (Vähäsantanen and Saarinen, 2012). They can do this by using technical terms or by interviewing the interviewer instead. In such situations, the researcher can use the strategy of self-disclosure and can share his knowledge and experiences (Vähäsantanen and Saarinen, 2012). Apart from this the researcher can also assume the role of a student and develop power relations with the respondent (Vähäsantanen and Saarinen, 2012). The process of interview will not end with the interview, in the end; the researcher transcribes the interviews for analysis.

6.3.3. Transcribing the interviews

The participants of this research mostly spoke Urdu (national language of Pakistan) or Balochi (the regional language of Balochistan). The participants had a choice to speak in any language that they could express their views better. The audio files were translated/transcribed into English. Due to translation, the transcripts might not be the verbatim representation of the speech. The researcher tried to ensure these transcripts being closest to the description of the expressions. It is pertinent to mention here that transcribing data depends on the personal experience of the researcher (Skukauskaite, 2012). The aim was to “shift the focus from form to the interpretive process of transcribing” (Skukauskaite, 2012:5).

Keeping in view the critical nature of transcription the researcher did this task himself, as the researcher did not want to miss out important details that might be overlooked if someone else performed the task (Skukauskaite, 2012). In a bid to

minimise his subjectivity, the researcher would cross check the transcript with his father. The researcher selected his father, as he trusted him the most with this task. Besides that, he has written books in English, Urdu and Balochi. There can be expressions that may require explanation, as only translation may not give the connotation attached to them (Fairclough, 2013). Those expressions were transcribed in Urdu and English, and then explanation was given when they were used in an analysis. The researcher had to undertake a theoretically informed way of transcribing with a reflexive stance that it is an interpretative and analytic process (Skukauskaite, 2012). The researcher also understood that there is no single best way of transcribing. The decisions taken for transcribing was guided by the theory and experience about the languages.

6.4. Participant observation

Along with the interviews, the researcher also used participant observation as a source of data collection. The investigator selected observation for the following reasons. Triangulation of interview and observation can confirm and deepen the data collected (Woodside and Wilson, 2003). Observation was chosen as a method so that the researcher could obtain a greater depth of knowledge and more information (Woodside and Wilson, 2003). Doing that would not be possible from looking at things from outside just by conducting interviews (Vinten, 1994). The following table 6.5 illustrates arguments for observation as a method for this case study.

<i>Table 6.5. Arguments for observation</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This research was a form of human interaction that needed acknowledgement beyond the narrations of participants • The discussion of this investigation required a substantial knowledge about the social interaction (nutrition campaign) under study • The research required a systematic technique that was well-founded theoretically and explicitly related to the settings of research

Adapted from Ashworth (1995)

The role of the researcher was of an observer or a participant rather than a participant or an observer (Woodside, 2010). This role fitted with the context of the research because the beneficiary were suspicious of anyone connected to a foreign element. His participation in their activities could further raise their suspicion. The researcher mostly observed but could also give his input and suggestions when asked. The role of the researcher was discussed with the head of NCB and remained overt in all the events that he attended (Yin, 2011). His overt role could let him enjoy the serendipity that might be sacrificed in a covert role (Vinten, 1994). This openness in the process could let the research to unpredictable leads.

6.4.1. Considerations for observation

Acknowledging the fact that his presence might affect the action of the participant (Yin, 2011), the researcher would not start his observation immediately. He would give himself time until the participant probably forgot about his role (Vinten, 1994). When the participants started sharing their work-related issues with the researcher that was an indication for his inclusion in the group (Ashworth, 1995). The researcher was also careful not to rely only on a few participants for support and information (Silverman, 2013). During the process of observation, the researcher could understand the actions related to the common culture as he shared the same culture. However, the actions related to the sub-culture of the Health Department were to be noted, and the participants could be asked to share their experiences with him (Vinten, 1994). The researcher had to maintain such a distance from the group that new interpretation could be registered and reported with ease (Ashworth, 1995). Apart from these considerations, a few general considerations were kept in mind during the process of observation. Table 6.6 highlights the general considerations for observation:

<i>Table 6.6 Considerations about observations</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A body of expectations and assumptions which are not accessible to reflection or possible expression • The actions of individuals in the group were both moral and relevant and mutually accepted • The participants of the research were accorded confidential and anonymous identity

Adapted from Ashworth (1995)

Interview and participant observation were selected to complement each other. An interview can be made further revealing with the help of observations and during observation; supplement questioning can deepen the understating. Now the discussion will focus on the final activity of analysis for this case study research.

6.5. Data analysis

The decision of analysis was based on the type of data collected, research aims and objectives, research questions and the conceptual framework. The data of interviews were categorised under concepts, and themes (Lapan *et al.*, 2011). To be more focused, the emergent themes from data coding and the concepts of the framework were used to categorise the data (Appendix C illustrates a synopsis of the whole process). The data of observation was classified based on activities (Lapan *et al.*, 2011) (see table 7.3).

6.5.1. Coding of data

The process of data coding for inductive research is crucial as the data is questioned for its rigour. The coding process is abstract and conceptual, and categories are refined and created as the researcher builds smaller units of data (Gioia *et al.*, 2013). The primary challenge for this research was to generate a credible interpretation of the data with the help of systematic conceptual and analytical discipline (Gioia *et al.*, 2013). For this purpose, a conceptual framework (see figure 1.1) was developed after the initial literature review and revised several times during the research process (see appendix A). As with other similar studies, a myriad of categories, codes and informant terms emerge at the early stage of data interpretation (Silverman, 2013).

The first-order coding was made with a little effort to filter categories and to follow closely to the informant terms (Gioia *et al.*, 2013). In the second order of coding the research was in the theoretical realm, the researcher focused on emerging themes that might help to explain and describe the phenomena under study (Gioia *et al.*, 2013). The informants' terms and codes were further classified under phrasal descriptors. The particular focus was on nascent concepts that had inadequate theoretical referents in the literature (Gioia *et al.*, 2013).

The process of transcription and data analysis was conducted simultaneously; a thematic analysis approach was used, and different trends and terms that surfaced

during the process were noted. By the end of the first round of analysis, there were more than 150 informants' terms and phrases that had emerged from the responses. Then these informants' terms and phrases were classified under 40 themes. However, during the second round of analysis there were responses that were not fitting under the initial 40 themes, so 15 more themes were developed. In the third round, 55 themes were assigned to 10 concepts of research (see appendix C).

6.5.2. Discourse analysis

Since social life is narrative (MacIntyre, 1981) these partnerships in social marketing are part of the narrative of our social lives. After careful consideration of socio-political settings, the nutrition campaign was selected. The Secretary of Health Balochistan granted access permission to the researcher and the Health Department further facilitated our access to international agency workers. The researcher spent five months with NCB and conducted a series of interviews (see table 7.2 for a list of respondents). The study used discourse analysis for analysis of data.

There are many different approaches to discourse, none of them, including this one, uniquely "right." Different approaches often fit different issues and questions better or worse than others. And, too, different approaches sometimes reach similar conclusions through using somewhat different tools and terminologies connected to different "micro-communities" of researchers (Gee, 1999:5)

As argued by Gee (1999) different approaches can fit different issues. In a turbulent environment discourse analysis is very suitable (Dunford *et al.*, 2013, Pieterse *et al.*, 2012). This research focused on the discourse among the local partners, the IDAs and target audience. Discourse analysis is suitable to capture power relations, as the context is never empty of internal tension nor entirely organised (Erkama, 2010). The researcher focused on the descriptive and constitutive implication of language and helped in discovering the ways in which target audience conceived a situation and appropriated meaning to actions (Dunford *et al.*, 2013). It was observed that dominant discourses reinscribed, subverted and adapted in an attempt to shift meanings and change the understanding of reality (Erkama, 2010).

The researcher understands narrative as a discursive 'form of meaning making' (Polkinghorne, 1988:36). The study focused less on an objective outcome constructed

in the partnership (the ability to conduct meetings, the off-site visits of fieldworkers) and more on the variations and consistencies in language use to discern what collective, an interpersonal meaning is being constructed in these activities (Halliday and Catulli, 2013). In other words, he looked at what target audience said and considered how this then created the on-going partnership activities and processes. The understanding in presenting this case study is that 'individuals' narratives are situated in particular interactions, and also in social, cultural and institutional discourses, which must be borne in mind during interpretation. (Riessman 1993:61). The approach assumed that language does not merely hold ideas: It has a function in itself and is both constructive and constructed. So, he provided examples of narratives, each engaging with issues related to the partnership.

It was helpful to think about issues related to a political and social world as humans are not just talking and interacting (Weiss and Wodak, 2007). There was a discourse that each person enacted and that existed long before they entered the scene (Gee, 1999). These discourses carried on conversations with each other through words and actions (Fairclough, 2013). There were meanings attached to conversations that were based on the understanding of the context and past experiences (Blommaert and Bulcaen, 2000). The texts were taken from semiotic elements of social events that help the social agents to create power relations (Weiss and Wodak, 2007).

'Interdiscursive' analysis of text focused on how discourses, genres, and style were articulated together (Fairclough, 2013). Apart from this, the text was analysed on a semiotic and linguistic level; examples will be shared while explaining some of the expressions of Urdu language (Fairclough, 2013). The analysis further highlighted the power relations between the partners and other social agents such as target audience (Fairclough, 2013). It looked for a change in the order of discourses due to a change in organisation or context. The focus was to search for relationships between what had happened in the past and what might happen in the future (Fairclough, 2013). The researcher looked how the local partners talked about their international partners and the perception of beneficiary about the nutrition campaign.

6.6 Conclusion

A qualitative case study approach is appropriate on the ground of scarcity of knowledge, given that there has been no research related to the social marketing campaign in Balochistan, particularly, to the concept of partnership and planning and decision-making. Qualitative methods are most suitable keeping in view the ontological and epistemological assumptions related to reality and theory. Reality can be assumed to be independent of the claims that researchers make about it. The postmodern and social constructivist thinkers argue that social reality is a product of a social process influenced by context, culture and time. There is no unitary reality for a social phenomenon as each creates his or her unique perception of it. It can be said that the researchers do not reproduce reality; their accounts represent it (Halliday, 1999). The truth may not be limited to something entirely intelligible to the human brain.

In order to enhance data integrity, a number of data sources were considered such as interviews and observation. The method of the interview would oscillate between unstructured and semi-structured interviews. The iterative process of observing and questioning would continue until the end of the data collection process. The researcher also used participant observation as a source of data collection. Observation was selected as a method so that the researcher could obtain a greater depth of knowledge and more information (Woodside and Wilson, 2003). As, doing that will not be possible from looking at things from outside (Vinten, 1994).

The decision of analysis was based on the type of data collected, research questions and the conceptual framework. The text data was categorised under ideas, themes and topics (Lapan *et al.*, 2011). It focused less on an objective outcome constructed in the partnership and more on the variations and consistencies in language use to discern what collective, the interpersonal meaning is being constructed in these activities (Halliday and Catulli, 2013). The research observed for a variation in the order of discourses due to a difference in organisation or context. It observed how the local partners talked about their international partners and their perception of beneficiary about the nutrition campaign.

Chapter 7

DATA FINDINGS

7.0 Introduction

The main body of this chapter covers the detailed results of data collection assigned to the eight objectives. The eight objectives have been used to enable the data to be described, analysed and interpreted. The data in each objective is presented in three different manners: Responses of the participant, story boxes and observation exhibits. Stories within the boxes highlight their importance to the research and will make it easy to refer to them during the discussion. It doesn't mean that other responses are less important rather these responses are more interesting. Observation exhibits are presented in the text to support a finding or present an alternative interpretation. Apart from this, the regular text within these objectives, presents the explanation and understandings of the researcher.

The connections with the four research questions will provide the numerical order for the eight research objectives that unavoidably contain some overlying themes. The data is organised and discussed discretely under these eight objectives. Table 7.1 links the research questions with key themes and research objectives.

These objectives are the instrument used to guide the findings of this study. Each objective is a filter to collect the most appropriate response from the huge chunk of data so that it leads to insightful results. The responses presented under each objective are selected due to their richness and relevance. Besides the richness, these responses are preferred keeping in view the concepts and emerging themes from the data. Appendix D has the list of 55 themes of analyses; Table 7.1 shows only the themes that had a significant role in the explanation of the findings chapter. These findings are based on interviews and observations from the collected data. Table 7.2 shows the list of respondents for the interviews. The responses from the interviewees were cross-checked with observations for further probing; Table 7.3 illustrates the

observation activities. As discussed in the previous chapter, observations were linked with responses to produce rigour.

Table 7.1 Relationship of research questions, themes and objectives

Research Questions	Themes	Objectives
1) How is partnership conceptualised differently in a social marketing campaign in Balochistan?	Differing objectives, Perception about partnership	RO1) To identify the need for pre-condition of partnership in a social marketing campaign in Balochistan
	Mutual support, Social power relations, Political power relations	RO2) To explain the concept of partnership in Balochistan
2) How the process of planning and decision-making is practised in Balochistan?	Planning and decision making	RO3) To explore the nature of planning and decision-making in Balochistan
	Community involvement	RO4) To assess the access of beneficiary while planning a campaign in Balochistan
3) What is the nature of trust and resistance during a social marketing campaign in Balochistan?	Information sharing	RO5) To identify the consequences of planning and decision making towards trust
	Lack of responsibility	RO6) To understand the nature of resistance during a social marketing campaign in Balochistan
4) What are the consequences of power relations to partnership in Balochistan?	Accountability, Monitoring	RO7) To identify the consequences of power relations to partnership in Balochistan
	Not matching ground reality	RO8) To know if power relations can create conflict in perceptions

Table 7.2 List of respondents

Respondents Code	Organisation	Position
W1	World Food Programme	Provincial Head WFP
W2	World Food Programme	Co-ordinator WFP
U1	United Nations International Children Emergency Fund	Coordinator Nutrition UNICEF
N1	Nutrition Cell Balochistan	Head of NCB
N2	Nutrition Cell Balochistan	Senior Manager NCB
N3	Nutrition Cell Balochistan	Co-ordinator NCB
N4	Nutrition Cell Balochistan	Information Officer
N5	Nutrition Cell Balochistan	Data Analyst
N6	Nutrition Cell Balochistan	Social Mobiliser
N7	Nutrition Cell Balochistan	Senior Field Worker
H1	Health Department Balochistan	Head of Health Department Balochistan
H2	Health Department Balochistan	Executive District Officer Health
H3	Health Department Balochistan	Trainer/Resource Person
H4	Health Department Balochistan	Field Worker
H5	Health Department Balochistan	Planning Officer
P1	Department of Planning and Development Balochistan,	Section Officer Health, Department of Planning and Development Balochistan,
C1	Beneficiary	Cleric

Table 7.3. List of observation activities

Activity	Place
Field trip	District Pishin
Training of EDOH	Boys Scout Hall Quetta
Review Meeting	DG Health Office
WHO Planning Meeting	Serena Hotel Quetta
WFP Annual Review Meeting	Boys Scout Hall Quetta
Interactions with staff of NCB	Nutrition Cell Balochistan
Interactions with employees of Planning Cell Health Department	Planning Cell Health Department
Interviews	District Pishin, UNICEF Balochistan Office, WFP Balochistan Office, Planning Cell Health Department, Department of Planning and Development Balochistan
Group Interview EDOH	Usmania Restaurant Quetta

7.2. Research question 1: How is partnership conceptualised differently in a social marketing campaign in Balochistan?

The first two objectives were designed to provide findings of the concept of partnership in a social marketing campaign in Balochistan. RO1 aimed to highlight the need for the creation of the partnership under investigation. RO2 highlighted the characteristics of this partnership. The issues emerging in this section were further investigated in relation to power relations.

7.2.1 RO1: To identify the need for pre-condition of partnership in Balochistan

Perception about partnership

The initial concern of this research was to know the need for the pre-condition of the partnership between NCB and IDAs. NCB is carrying out campaign such as

Community-Based Management of Acute Malnutrition (CMAM) with the partnership of WFP and UNICEF. The provincial head of the World Food Programme is an Australian lady, and she was working at this position, 9 months before the interviews were conducted. It took the researcher almost three months to arrange an interview with her (read observation exhibit six for the arrangement of the interview):

W1: This [partnership] had happened before I joined the office so I can't speak about this particular relationship, however, as a UN organisation we are here at the invitation of the government, we work very closely with the government, in order to facilitate any change in the health project and the most sustainable way is to do it with the government.

During her interview, she was very cautious while responding to the questions. Her emphasis was mostly on the fact that WFP was here to help the government at their request. She had to emphasise that they were working closely with the government of Balochistan. However, she didn't give any example of their close working relationship. In order to avoid any discussion about the creation of this partnership, she repeatedly stated the fact that she was newly appointed at this position. During her interview, she didn't answer many questions because it happened before she joined. However, she enforced the fact that WFP was here on the invitation of the government. The head of NCB supported her claim:

N1: I went to them [IDAs] and asked for their help. I visited their offices and requested them that they should provide funding through NCB. I told them that we don't have any money, so it is not possible for us to run the nutrition campaign.

He indicated that his cell was unable to tackle the issue of malnutrition due to financial constraints. The cell is in operation since 1994, but the government had never allocated any budget for it. After the floods of 2010 in Pakistan, IDAs decided to work with the cell to provide relief to the affected areas. From 2010, the cell started operating in partnership with UNICEF. The role of UNICEF was to build the capacity and skills of the employees of the Health Department through training enabling them to address the challenges of malnutrition. The main reason for the creation of this partnership was lack of money. However, UNICEF, the lead agency in the partnership

thinks the shortage of money was not the only factor for the creation of this partnership.

U1: When the government tries to address health and social issues, they are challenged with the problem of limited resources, when I say resources; it does not mean only money. It means time, capacity, and technical skills [...] we have some understanding, targets, and mandates and countries have signed a global agreement, and that is the inception of this partnership.

This response resonates with the theory of partnership creation. When partners have limited resources, they create a partnership to overcome their shortcomings, in a manner that would benefit all the parties (Kolk and Lenfant, 2015; Selsky and Parker, 2005). He was insightful to mention that a resource does not only mean money. From the responses of WFP and UNICEF, it can be inferred that UNICEF was more confident to share knowledge of the partnership. There can be two reasons: first, being the lead agency, he was surer and reflected his power. Secondly, may be the head of WFP was not open to the researcher as they don't share the same ethnicity and culture. However, their responses indicate that the Government of Balochistan lacked critical competencies to run this social marketing campaign hence; a partnership was created for its success. These responses suggest that the partnership was created on the demand of the Government of Balochistan. This partnership might be formed at the will of the Government of Balochistan, but they are not the main driver.

P1: The federal government with the collaboration of donors run such (nutrition campaign) campaigns, the donors and the federal government have signed an MOU, and these campaigns have been created after that. However, after the 18th amendment to the constitution in 2009, health is no longer a subject of the federal government, so technically all the campaigns are defunct.

The officer at the Planning and Development Department Balochistan responsible for the monitoring of the Health Department partnerships claims the donors, and federal government drive these partnerships. He was the only person to mention the fact that these partnerships are void after the constitutional amendment in 2009. Since the creation of Pakistan, the provinces are demanding more autonomy from the federal government. In 2009, the federal government through a constitutional amendment

gave the provinces more power, but until now, the federal government is running these partnerships. He was confident to share information with the researcher, as he is his relative, and they share the same *biradari* (kinship group). In Pakistani culture, it is the duty of relatives to support and help one another. There is an unwritten agreement that relatives will not break the trust.

With their responses, employees of IDAs wanted to create an impression that they are here to help NCB. However, the employees of NCB think otherwise.

N3: I think that the UN agencies cannot work in isolation; they are stranded, so they have to work with the government. Due to security reasons, their mobility is restricted. The overall law and order situation is not good in Balochistan, so it's better for them to work through us. Recently I visited district Awaraan without seeking any security and I could move around freely. The places that we visit, people know us and can relate to us. They are ready to listen to us and share their experiences openly. We are aware of their language and culture and because of this, they feel connected to us. These agencies cannot work without us; they need us to get their jobs done.

For the coordinator of NCB, the government is helping the IDAs. It is more convenient for IDAs to get their work done through local partners. There is interdependency among the partners, but they fail to realise it. The employees of IDAs think they are helping NCB and NCB claims they are helping the agencies. However, they don't understand the fact that they are helping each other. They refer to this partnership as their work, not our work. When the coordinator of NCB used the word 'We' it meant the employees of NCB, not the partners of this campaign. The partners in this campaign are divided at different levels. There is a division between the IDAs and the local partner, the employees of the health department and NCB, employees of the DG office and staff of the Secretary Office. This partnership is influenced by departmental and regional loyalties. The partners find it difficult to develop a collective identity. Due to this segregation, the partners question the actions of each other.

Differing objectives

Employees of the Health Department questions, if the IDAs are here to help then they should at least be aware of their plans for this partnership:

H2: I don't know the aims or objectives of this partnership, and I am not sure if they can be achieved. They (partners) only send us food items that we should distribute and a certain percentage figure of patients we should treat by the end of the year.

Employees of Health Department are the main implementers of the nutrition campaign, and they lack the basic knowledge. None of the employees mentioned adopting the healthy nutrition practices as the main aim of this partnership. The only information they could share was related to the targets they had to achieve before the annual review meeting of WFP. The targets are measured on the number of food commodities distributed, and the mothers and children treated. They blamed the partners for their lack of knowledge of the partnership. However, in observation exhibit one the researcher observed during the training, that they were also not keen on learning:

<p><i>Observation Exhibit one</i></p> <p>Employees of the Health Department were not willing to do a group interview with the researcher until he agreed to invite them to a dinner at a posh restaurant (the dinner cost him ten thousand rupees) of their liking. They ensured that no member of NCB should be present there. When they turned up for the interview, three of them also brought their children to the dinner. They were very critical of the role of their partners during the group interview. They claimed that they were not given any information or knowledge about the campaign. However, as observed during the three-day training (that happened before the interview) that they were least interested in gaining information or knowledge about the campaign. The training was about nutrition in an emergency. How to attend a child or a mother in an emergency, such as flood or earthquake?</p> <p>During the training, they were busy attending phone calls on their cell phones and leaving the training hall occasionally. There were only three trainees out of fifteen that were active during the training. Every day almost half of them would leave after the lunch without attending the final sections.</p>
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There is a high demand to conduct training for the capacity building of the local partners. However, the participants tend not to participate and learn from such trainings as reflected in the observation exhibit one. The researcher attended three

meetings and during all the meetings, the local partners demanded more training from the IDAs for their staff. Such trainings are a chance for the participants to visit the city of Quetta, enjoy free food and get cash allowance. The issue of training and performance is further discussed in the following objective.

The findings indicate that the partnership was created to provide NCB resources that they lacked. However, the aims and objectives of this partnership are not clear to all the partners. The main drivers of this partnership are the IDAs. Their targets are related to the distribution of goods and number of treatments. They are failing to impart the healthy nutrition practices, which is the main aim of this campaign. WFP targets for distribution of goods and NCB aim for healthy nutrition practices. This gap in targets surfaces issues for the campaign that create inefficiency in the process of partnership that could lead to unsuccessful outcomes.

7.2.2 RO2: To explain the concept of partnership in Balochistan

Social power relations and political power relations

RO2 explores how a partnership is conceptualised in Balochistan. The Planning and Development Department of Balochistan is responsible for the monitoring of the governmental partnerships in Balochistan. The officer responsible for supervising the partnerships of the health department describes them as:

P1: I think they [partnerships] are ineffective because of; incapable management, manipulative political environment, nepotism, and the inefficiency of the people working on the projects [...] The coordinators are not aware of the campaigns, they are appointed on a political basis [...] There is no accountability, and departments don't review their partnerships nor monitor them.

He claimed that these partnerships were ineffective, as the employees working in these partnerships are not appointed on merit. When a campaign starts in a particular area, politicians put pressure on the manager to hire their people, or they would create problems for them. So, the managers of such partnerships have to hire additional staff and arrange training for them; political power relations are affecting this campaign.

The staff do not perform even after trainings, but the partners can't hold them accountable. Performance means to execute the duties and roles taught during the training. When the provincial head of WFP was asked that after training when the staffs of the Health Department does not perform why she does not hold them accountable:

W1: I can ask them, I can discuss it with the nutrition cell, but I can't do a personal evaluation of the government staff. So holding somebody accountable, as a managerial tool has to come from his or her organisation.

Due to power relations, she cannot hold them accountable and if the DG Health doesn't do it, she can't push him. There had been incidents when complaints were launched, but DG Health took no action (read observation exhibit five). WFP is fully aware of the fact that their implementing partners are not performing well, but they have no other option to distribute the food items due to social power relations:

W2: If I go to a community and start distribution [of food items], beneficiary will confront me that how dare I come in front of their ladies and children, so we have to ask the government to engage LHWs for this distribution. Do you know about LHWs, I mean, Lady Health Workers? They go from house to house to give polio drops and to carry out other health-related activities. They are residing in a community, and they have their health houses there [...] they are not doing a good job, but as I mentioned, we have our limitations.

The coordinator of WFP is not happy with the performance of Lady Health Workers but has no other option to deliver the commodities to the lactating mothers. The LHWs are mostly absent from their job, so, the distribution of goods is affected. They have to distribute the items on a monthly basis; however, the mothers don't get their supplies regularly. NCB have their employees in each district, but they can't deliver the items directly to mothers. In Balochistan's (Pakistan's) culture it is not acceptable for a male to interact with an unknown female. Due to such social power relations between men and women, WFP and NCB have to work through Lady Health Workers. This partnership is being affected due to social and political power relations.

Mutual support

The fundamental aim of a partnership is to work for the mutual benefit of all the partners (Buyucek *et al*, 2016; Seitanidi, 2010). The goal is to create mutuality and responsibility in the operations (Kolk and Lenfant, 2015; Stern and Green, 2005, Lister, 1999). Story Box 1 tells a compelling account about the status of mutuality in this partnership.

Story Box 1. The rat race

W2: [These] three [UN] agencies will not even look at one another's faces (*shakal bhi nahe daikay ge*), they are competing for resources, and working for their benefits. For example, a nutrition policy is in the making [...] WHO and UNICEF are working on it, and a rat race is on between them. The policy was initiated by WHO, but UNICEF is the lead agency in this partnership, so, they whipped it from them (*woh beech me ghus aae*). UNICEF made a policy from their end and sent it to the government. Eventually, the government has to run the policy, and they have no idea about it (*unko khak be nahe pata*) like what is in, how it was made, and who made it. It's a farcical deception (*ya ek topi drama hai*).

There is an intense rivalry between the UN agencies in this partnership. The expression “*shakal bhi nahe daikay ge*” is used to express the highest level of hatred or cut-throat competition. The expression “*woh beech me ghus aae*” is used to indicate when someone interferes in a work without the consent of other party or steals something. “*Unko khak be nahe pata,*” is used for a person who has no knowledge or interest about a task, which in this case is the Government of Balochistan. Based on these assumptions, the policymaking is termed (*ye ek topi drama hai*), as a deceptive show where what you see is not the reality. A nutrition policy for Balochistan was in the making, and the government was not involvement or interest in it. The agencies are competing to take the credit for this policymaking. The partners are not optimistic about the outcome of this policy. This indicates there is lack of mutuality in this partnership. The government should drive policy matters, but in this case, their role is missing. Partnerships are also created to empower the partners and share responsibility with them (Buyucek *et al*, 2016; Lister, 1999). Story

Box 2 reports the narratives of the nutrition coordinator at UNICEF and the senior manager of NCB.

<p><i>Story Box 2. We are helpless!</i></p>
<p>U1: In their capacity these helpless people (<i>baicharay</i>) do their best [...] we have discussions, and the government shows a high level of commitment, these helpless people (<i>baicharay</i>) have to operate in a system full of challenges. We try our best to help them, but we also have to meet our targets.</p>
<p>N2: We are bound to an agency; we own nothing in this [partnership]; we are helpless! We can't take any decision on our own; we are instructed to do things, at the district level we are operating this [partnership] if there is a delay or any constraint we face the music, not UNICEF or WFP. But whatever work has been done in the past 13 years, is all because of these agencies, so we can't protest against them.</p>

The coordinator of nutrition at UNICEF used the word “*baicharay*” for the government. This term is used for a person who is ready to do anything to gain your support and to show pity about a person. With this single word, UNICEF signifies the degree of power they think they hold. He was trying to create an impression that only they can help NCB, so they had to listen to them. The senior manager of NCB’s response resonates with the thinking of UNICEF, as he expresses how weak and helpless they feel in this partnership. He admits to the fact that only UN agencies are helping them, so they have to do whatever is demanded without questioning. A partnership is created to strengthen a partner and share responsibility, but here a partner feels fragile and the other partner is reckoning that.

These findings indicate that partnership is conceptualised differently in Balochistan. This partnership can be theorised as the one without accountability and monitoring. Influenced by political and social power relations, the partners are competing without a shared responsibility or mutuality.

7.3. Research question 2: How the process of planning and decision-making is practised in Balochistan?

The following two objectives (RO3 & RO4) deal with the pre-condition of planning and decision making during this partnership. This section explores two parts of the process. RO3 will highlight the findings related to the partners of this campaign. How IDAs practice planning and decision-making with local partners: NCB and employees of the health department. RO4 will highlight the access to beneficiary during the planning process.

7.3.1 RO3: To explore the nature of planning and decision-making in Balochistan

Planning

A partnership can be more productive if the process of planning and decision-making is successful. In theory, throughout the process, all the stakeholders should be part of it (Buyucek *et al*, 2016; Brady, 2013). This would help the partners to better define roles and duties. They can develop a consensus for the common goals of the partnership. Partners will take ownership for a decision if they are involved in the process of planning (read story box 4).

The Health Department of Balochistan has a delegated cell for planning. All the projects of the health department should be planned with that cell. The planning office at the cell shared his experience about planning with international organisations:

H5: International organisations don't involve us in their planning process; they only send us a report. Then we make a plan based on it and send it to the Secretary for approval. When they visit the planning cell for meetings, they mostly come for their report submission, or they would discuss issues related to their partnerships. The whole planning is dependent on the report they submit to us.

Before going to NCB, the researcher spent one week in the Planning Cell. At the Planning Cell, it was learnt that the international agencies do the entire planning and

make a report. Then they meet the Chief Planning Officer (CPO) over a cup of tea and get the document signed. It is a ritual at offices in Pakistan to offer tea to the visitors but not to all of them. Offering tea to a visitor signifies the importance and respect the host holds for them. Black tea is available to acquaintances; milk tea is offered to friends, and milk tea with snacks is provided to important people. The employees of IDAs were served milk tea with snacks. During the meeting, they mostly would complain about the problems related to the campaign. Complaining about the performance of the Health Department employees can be a trick to divert the attention from the issues related to the plan. They would hardly discuss the plan; they would just give an oral summary. After drinking tea, they would present the report to the CPO for approval. Based on that report, the Planning Cell would make a planning document and send it to the Secretary for his approval.

The main emphasis during the process of planning is on producing a document, which is then used for the operation of the campaign. The researcher attended a planning meeting as an observer. The agenda of the meeting was to develop a five-year plan for an immunisation campaign. The meeting was headed by the country head of WHO and attended by UNICEF, WFP, NCB and members of different NGOs as primary stakeholders.

Observation Exhibit two

During the planning meeting, stakeholders were requested to stay in the meeting for three days and give their input. They were ensured that their ideas would be incorporated in the five-year plan with the consensus of all stakeholders. Participants were requested to provide their input, but it was mostly the people from Islamabad who were taking the lead. The delegates from Balochistan showed lack of interest and confidence during the meeting. Comprehensive Multi-Year Plan (CMYP) development was taking place for the first time at the provincial level; this could be one of the reasons that provincial level members were unable to give much input. A draft was produced during the three-day meeting with a few components still unaddressed. The participants were informed that the plan would be finalised in Islamabad. Then the final draft of the plan will be presented at a meeting in the following month. During the meeting, group activities and discussion were used to generate ideas for the CMYP. However, during group presentations, the chair of the meeting with the support of other members from Islamabad changed their ideas.

The planning meeting can be termed as rhetoric; the final document was not produced, and inputs from the local partners were not incorporated in the plan. The main issue was that important stakeholders were not present in the meeting. Secretary of the Health Department pointed out the problem during the opening session of the meeting. The comments of the head of the Health Department reinforce the fact that the meeting was rhetoric.

Observation Exhibit three

“Field workers, monitors or field supervisors like the EDOHs and Lady Health Supervisors, they are core workers who are facing challenges in the implementation of our plan. So, if you arrange such exercises and aim for success, then, they should be invited to such forums to give their input, if you are not doing that then I think this meeting [of planning] cannot be fruitful”.

Before leaving he interrupted the discussion between the members of WHO from Islamabad: "Let me add to your discussion, the prime concern of the government is to get a plan, that is implementable, you may go through this exercise, workshop, seminar, any gathering, or what so ever you may call it. You will come up with a plan that you think is implementable, workable and acceptable to the government, but then we are unable to implement the plan. We need a plan, a strategy that is workable for us; that is the prime concern of the government, and this should be kept in mind while finalising your plan."

He was sceptical about the meeting because relevant stakeholders were not present in it. He showed his disappointment by leaving the meeting early and not attending the closing session on the final day. He offered his thoughts in a very professional and composed manner and before leaving the meeting; he shook hand with the country head of WHO with a smiling face. Despite his indication, stakeholders such as EDOHs or fieldworkers were not called for the meeting to share their inputs. This indicates IDAs don't take their local partners input seriously during planning.

Comments from the Secretary specified that his department was unsatisfied with the planning process. May be the agencies develop the plan keeping in mind their aims and objectives. Then the department finds it hard to implement such plans. This indicates the planning is disjointed and unshared.

When the researcher shared his experience with the senior manager of NCB:

N2: You are trying to say that the government has no role in planning [...] they give us guidelines then we give them suggestions [...] they tell us this is the plan, we have money for it and you can do it in five districts and then we make the proposal and send it to them.

He clarified that they are not isolated from the process, but certain limits are set for them. As mentioned previously, their whole planning is dependent on the document provided by the IDAs. This signifies that the dominant partner can limit the discourse of planning. In this discourse, the dominant partner is one with the money. The findings indicate that planning is not mutual. Employees of Health Department are major stakeholder, but they are not part of the process.

Decision-making

During the data collection, an earthquake occurred in Balochistan. Nutrition emergency was declared in the affected district of Awaraan. The researcher was told that according to the agreement of partnership, it was NCB's responsibility to provide nutrition in the area. However, the task was assigned to an NGO without the consent of NCB. It took more than 90 days to start emergency nutrition. The head of WFP claimed that this decision was mutual. Though, from her response it can be inferred that she already made a decision when she reached out to NCB:

W1: We came up with a proposal ourselves, and we met NCB to get their agreement [...] I don't have a complete coverage with LHWs, so, we agreed to go ahead with the partner [NGO] for the initial three months. It was my decision, and NCB agreed to it!

The head of NCB proclaimed that the decision was mutual, but it was not about giving the task to an NGO:

N1: They [WFP] changed the decision after I went on leave if I was here *in ka baap bhi NGO ko nahe daita* (even their father could not have given it to an NGO). It is in their power they can give it to anyone, as long as I am not around.

The head of NCB stressed that the decision was changed after he went on leave. However, he never mentioned what the original decision was? He affirmed that if he were here, he would never have allowed an NGO to take this task. “*Inka baap bhi*” is an expression that is used in Pakistan when a person wants to show total control. He admits that they have the power to take the decision but when he is not around. He is the person that started the nutrition cell 19 years ago, and most of the people working in IDAs were his subordinate at some point in their career. Nutrition coordinator of WFP and UNICEF both were former employees of NCB and worked as his subordinates.

Observation Exhibit four

He is a middle-aged man in early 50s, with a grey beard and no moustache. He wears a white cap (customarily worn by religious people in Pakistan) and talks in a very loud tone. During his interviews, he was mostly praising himself or Allah for the success of this campaign. He was very respectful and helpful to the researcher but never missed a chance to remind him that he holds real power in this cell. For example, after completion of any event, he would proclaim that the event was a success because of his efforts. Through his gestures and get-up, he would portray himself as a humble man. However, his loud tone and egoistic demeanour never reflected that.

The decisions within the cell were taken after discussion and consultation. Before an event was planned the head of NCB would plan it in consultation with the representatives of WFP or UNICEF. If UNICEF were funding the training, then he would plan and run the training with the agreement of the Information Officer of UNICEF at NCB. When the head of NCB was on leave for two months, the senior manager was the acting head. He was recently transferred to the cell, and the employees of the cell would give him more suggestions rather than listening to him. When the head of the cell returned from leave, he called for a meeting. During that meeting and in a few meetings that followed, the workers would only give suggestions when asked.

The head of NCB is an influential person and would take charge of most decision-making. His absence may have caused a change in the original decision. However, the original decision was not disclosed to the researcher. He was told (on the condition of

complete confidentiality) that the main factor for not giving the task to NCB was the performance of LHWs; WFP was not happy with their performance.

Most of LHWs were appointed on the recommendations of local politicians. They were either their political workers or relatives. If they don't perform their duties, the politicians protect them. In some extreme cases, they only exist on paper, and their salaries go in the pockets of an influential person in the area.

The coordinator of NCB monitors the implementation of the campaign at the district level. He claimed decisions at the district level are taken by the EDOHs; When an EDOH was asked to share his experience:

H2: My experience is that they [NCB] don't ask us; they just bring a piece of paper to sign. Signing the piece of paper is the only feedback, what more feedback we can give.

He showed his anger and helplessness. He responded in a way if he was being accused of something that he had never done. Through his expression, he wanted to convey that he is forced to sign the piece of paper, and he is not happy about it. The Information Officer of NCB captures the decision-making process as:

N4: When it comes to big decisions, they [IDAs] don't involve the [health] department; they take the decisions and inform us. They are providing us money, so we have to be submissive and congenial.

Before this partnership with UNICEF and WFP, a single person (the present head of NCB) operated NCB from a small room. After 2010, when the cell started getting funds from IDAs, they hired more employees. They are the employees of NCB, but the IDAs are paying them. Due to these power relations, all the employees of NCB have to agree to any decision taken by the IDAs. For this campaign, the power relations are determined by the factor that who holds the money.

Drawing from the data it can be inferred that the process of decision-making is not mutual. The process of planning and decision-making is disjointed and unshared. The

international partners don't consider the input of their local partners. For example, despite the appeal of the Secretary Health, employees of his department were not invited to the planning meeting. He is the head of the department and ignoring his request may indicate the power of IDAs.

7.3.2 RO4: To assess the access of beneficiary while planning a campaign in Balochistan

Community involvement

For this research, community involvement is fundamental for two reasons. Firstly, their participation is essential for the development of trust (Kolk and Lenfant, 2015). Secondly, in Pakistan, there exists a central political fact that in its diverse forms, the society is stronger than the state (Lodhi, 2011); Non-involvement of the society may not reflect ground realities. A senior doctor who was part of the team that initially planned the nutrition campaign thinks:

H3: The real issue is that the individuals who plan have never been in the field, and those who experience the reality on the ground are not involved in planning [...] you know they are sitting on the top [Islamabad], and they will not let others infiltrate their circle of power.

As per a doctor who worked on different nutrition campaigns across Pakistan during the past 18 years and who was present during the planning of this campaign, if beneficiary were given access to the process of planning, they would have owned the campaign. However, he thinks that the planners ignored them and planned on their behalf. A senior fieldwork shared his thoughts:

N7: The main reason for the ineffectiveness of such campaigns is that the individuals in Islamabad have never visited Awaraan or Noshki, but they will plan a campaign for these areas. The ground reality is 100% opposite from their perception. They are not aware of our culture; we live in a tribal-cum-religious society [...] they are neither accustomed with our tribal norms nor with our religious norms [...] they don't understand that Quetta [capital of Balochistan] is different from Lahore [capital of Punjab].

Islamabad is the federal capital of Pakistan. The name of the city is religious, but people living there are not religious to the standards of individuals residing in Balochistan. During the group interview of the EDOHs, almost all of them mentioned the fact that people living in Islamabad don't understand their religious and cultural values. Secondly, people living there are not tribal like the people of Balochistan (Lieven, 2011). They can be stratified on an ethnic basis but compared to tribalism it's a weaker bond (Lieven, 2011). They plan for the people who are religious cum tribal; so, it can be hard for the planners to perceive the ground realities adequately. This indicates that beneficiary involvement is fundamental for capturing the ground realities. Involvement of beneficiary may provide a better understanding of the ground reality.

Story Box 3 illustrates the thinking of UNICEF, the lead agency in this partnership about beneficiary involvement.

<p><i>Story Box 3. Community involvement - I don't know how...</i></p>
<p>U1: Nobody involves them [beneficiary] in planning; give me one example from Pakistan where community was involved in planning [...] How can we involve them in planning? Community (long pause) involvement I don't know how to...I think it won't make any difference. The place from where you came (UK) it might matter but not here. People in Pakistan are fragmented; the Baloch think differently from a Pathan, and a Punjabi thinks differently from a Sindhi. How is it possible to make them a part of the planning? They will never agree with one another. In England, they may involve the beneficiary in the planning process because they are not fragmented. In Pakistan we can't do that we can't make them think alike, their involvement means putting an end to the planning. They will never agree, and there will only be fighting not planning.</p>

In social marketing campaigns, community is a partner; the aim is to provide services that can support a change for them. UNICEF acknowledges the fact that the people of Pakistan are different, and they think differently. Still, a single plan is created for these fragmented people in anticipation that it would be implementable. Diversity among people could be a motivation for their inclusion in the process rather than an

excuse for exclusion. They think that in Pakistan, nobody engages the community, and they don't want to change that. WFP's thinking resonates with UNICEF, and they are also reluctant to un-follow the popular discourse of the country. They want to bring a change and to bring that change they may have to do things differently. However, the partners appear cynical about community involvement.

The access of beneficiary is missing during the process of planning. From RO3 and RO4, it can be inferred that the process of planning and decision-making in this partnership is disjointed and access to beneficiary is missing.

7.4. Research Question 3: What is the nature of trust and resistance during a social marketing campaign in Balochistan?

There can be interdependency between planning and decision-making, trust and resistance. This section will explore the implication of trust and resistance during the process of planning and decision-making. RO5 will identify the consequences of planning and decision-making towards trust. Then RO6 will highlight the nature of resistance in this partnership. RO6 will deliberate whether practice of resistance during this partnership is a barrier to change or not.

7.4.1. RO5. To identify the consequences of planning and decision-making towards trust

Information sharing

Partnerships are created on mutual trust and that trust is fundamental to the process of planning and decision-making (Buyucek *et al*, 2016; Kolk and Lenfant, 2015). It is important to understand how the issue of trust can influence the process of planning and decision-making. Apart from the experience of the Planning Cell and the planning meeting, the researcher also asked a group of EDOHs about the process. An EDOH shares his experience:

H2: They don't take the EDOHs on board, the planning is done at the top level and then they pass on instructions to us about what we should do. We have no collaboration with them; all the decisions are taken in Islamabad [...] ground realities

are not taken into account. When we go to the beneficiary, they ask us questions that we cannot answer, if we can't address their concerns how can they trust us. Secondly, how can we trust this campaign when we are unaware of plans?

The EDOHs protested that they are not part of the process. So, they were not sure if this campaign could achieve its targets. Employees of the Health Department lack trust in the campaign, as they are kept isolated from the process. The EDOHs believe that they are aware of ground realities, as they interact with the beneficiary; but since malnutrition is a medical condition, they think that on their expertise they should be part of the planning and decision-making.

The coordinator of NCB gave the following reasons for their isolation from the process:

N3: Everyone from the top to bottom in the district is involved in the misappropriation of commodities. Unfortunately work according to the rules is not a priority for them. You will hardly find a trustworthy EDOH who will work by the book.

EDOHS are not a part of the process because managers at NCB don't trust them. By the book, he meant the guidelines that they provide to them for the implementation of campaign. Maybe the EDOHS don't follow the instructions because they think they know the issue of malnutrition better and can select the right beneficiary for treatment. They trust their knowledge more than the information provided in the book. He was very quick to pass judgment about the doctors being corrupt, but when asked to give any examples, he responded everyone knows about them. The coordinator is a manager, not a doctor, and that can be one reason for his mistrust towards the doctors (EDOHS). There is a conflict between the doctors and managers resulting in trust issues. The researcher was unable to interview the DG of Health Service, but during the annual review meeting of WFP, he recorded his speech that hints to that conflict: Observation Exhibit five illustrates a part of his speech.

Observation Exhibit five

"Everyone gets appreciation for their good work, but not us. We are mostly doctors here, and we know that they [managers] always criticise us. We do all the work, but the credit goes to them. Most of you are not present at the meetings where they degrade us, and then I fight for us. I am sharing this with you as recently we had a briefing with the Chief Minister, they criticised us a lot and to be honest I didn't say anything there. I thought it would be inappropriate to get in a conflict with the higher authority.

My submission to you is that whatever task is given to you at the district level you need to think that how it can be done in a better way so that we prove to them that we are not unqualified. A lot of people want to be doctors, and when they fail, then they become civil servants (managers). They have a mindset of a manager, not a doctor, and eventually, they become secretaries of our department. Their mentality will never match ours, so we need to be strong-minded when we deal with such people. I have fought for you many times. I knew you were wrong, but I still fought for you. We need to make a point that doctors are not unqualified people. I am telling you this because I feel very sorry when they call us unskilled. We have to fight our way through. We need to bring an improvement in ourselves to prove them wrong."

The Director General of Health Services heads all partnerships of the Health Department. He is responsible for the monitoring, evaluation, postings and transfers of all employees. He is answerable for the performance and accountability of doctors. The DG of Health Services is a position to be held by a doctor of the Health Department. This means before becoming the DG he/she has to serve as EDOHs at some point in his or her career. This speech indicates the tension that exists between doctors and managers in the Health Department. The DG Health acknowledges that EDOHs are not performing, but he supports them because he is a doctor himself. Among the managers of the Health Department, there is a perception that doctors think they are more intelligent than other people, and everybody should listen to them. Due to this professional jealousy, managers and doctors are sceptical of each other and trust is very low. It can be inferred that lack of trust affects the discourse of planning and decision-making. Trust can contribute to an efficient process.

During the process of data collection, there was an earthquake in Balochistan. WFP had to do emergency relief work, but it took a long time to start it. The senior manager of NCB was asked about the delay and here is how he responded:

N2: It is not final yet! It is under consultation. In other districts, we are providing nutrition, but in this district, they think that due to earthquake, it will not be possible for the Health Department to do relief work effectively. They [WFP] have their limitations; we [NCB] are not creating any obstacles for them.

In emergencies, the decisions need to be taken quickly, but due to lack of trust among the partners, it took more time to reach a decision. When it was implied to the senior manager of NCB that there is a delay, he got defensive and said that they were not creating any problems for WFP to start the relief work. There was no mention of obstacles by the researcher but the manager had to mention it, which may indicate that something was happening behind the scenes. NCB doesn't trust the EDOHs with their work, and the WFP doesn't trust NCB and EDOHs. After the earthquake, WFP planned and decided about the nutrition for the affected area without consulting NCB. When the same issue was discussed with the coordinator of WFP, he said:

W2: The reason is that when you go to a new district, the government doesn't have the capacity to handle it. When our [WFP] supply reaches, there will be 20 or more trucks, and you tell me, can we trust the employees of the Health Department to handle 20 trucks?

Before the creation of this partnership, these agencies knew how weak and inefficient the Health Department is. Instead of empowering them, they make them feel more vulnerable by giving the task to an NGO. They don't trust the employees of the Health Department with their work.

N3: WFP decided with the consent of NCB that an NGO will carry out the project in the district. We took this decision on the assumption that all the LHWs in the area would be displaced due to the earthquake, but when I visited the place, the EDOH was very annoyed with this decision. He was not happy with the decision that we have given the task to an NGO; he said to me, "trust me! We could have done it. Why have you given it to them? [...]" He was not happy with the decision.

From this whole narrative, it can be said that all the parties involved in the process have no or limited trust in each other. So, they couldn't respond in a timely fashion to an emergency. The decision was taken on assumptions while ignoring the ground realities. If the EDOH was included in the process of planning and decision-making, he could have presented a better picture of the ground reality. Maybe then the decision could have been quicker and more effective. However, there is a lack of trust, so EDOH was not consulted about the facts on ground, and it took them 90days to respond to an emergency. From the data, it can be inferred that trust is critical for effective planning and decision-making.

7.4.2. RO6: To understand the nature of resistance during a social marketing campaign in Balochistan

Lack of responsibility

The employees of the Health Department are the main implementers of this campaign, but they don't own it. Their irresponsible behaviour creates serious challenges for the partnership. Story Box 4 narrates an attempt by the employees of the Health Department to fail an event:

Story Box 4. They want to fail us

N3: We remind them [employees of the Health Department] every time but they forget that this campaign is also theirs'. At times, they caution us that they will stop the campaign if their personal interests are not addressed. They create constraints for us, last month I arranged a seminar in one of the districts: I informed the EDOH about it. (He clears his throat). When I reached there, everything was in order, but when the coordinator of the National Health Workers realised that he is not getting any benefit from the seminar, he asked his employees not to participate in it. He also asked the President of the Paramedic Staff not to participate. Then I had to call an emergency meeting with the EDOH, President of Paramedic Staff and the coordinator of the National Health Worker. We had a good discussion and re-planned the whole event. That seminar would have been a failure without my personal efforts and links. They never realise that the information provided through such a workshop will benefit their people.

The easiest way to resist, in this partnership is not to take responsibility for work. The employees of the Health Department realise that WFP or NCB cannot hold them accountable for their performance. It is easy for them not to perform their activities. While narrating this story, he cleared his throat, which indicates either he was nervous or wanted to gain some time to think. He also changed his position and fixed his waistcoat before he continued. Generally, attendees of such seminar get cash allowance. Probably, when the workers realised that they have to attend without any payment, they tried to fail the event. He didn't tell why they were not getting the allowance for the seminar. His nervousness indicated that either he was hiding the facts or twisting them. However, he was clever to regain their trust through discussion and contingency planning. He didn't inform the researcher what was discussed during the meeting, but it can be inferred that once the employees were part of the planning and decision-making, they stop resisting. Resistance can be a motivation to be part of the planning and decision making not a barrier to change. This is an empirical example that shared planning, and decision-making can bring effectiveness to the partnership.

This campaign is running in the rural areas of Balochistan. In rural areas, Mullah (priest) has a remarkable influence on the beneficiary. Beneficiary in such areas consider them their true representative. They have greater interaction with their priests than the politicians, so they feel more connected to them. During the field trip, it was disclosed to the researcher that a large number of beneficiary supported the nutrition campaign after an endorsement by a Mullah. However, a majority of Mullahs still don't support any campaign run by the IDAs.

When a Mullah (priest) was asked why they create problems for campaign s he replied:

C1: I have been telling the implementers that if you want to run things smoothly, then you have to approach the Mullahs. At this point, we don't see any benefits in these health campaign s, but once we see our benefit, we will support them. When we are not aware of our benefits, then voices will echo in our minds, this is American money, the money of faithless people, and they are investing it to harm us. Then we have to defend ourselves from such campaigns.

For the Mullahs, during the Russian war in Afghanistan, Russia was the enemy of the Muslims. After American attack on Afghanistan, Americans became the faithless people and new enemy. Balochistan shares its border with Afghanistan, and people have relatives living on both sides, and they help each other in hard times. Most of the Mullahs residing in Balochistan fought against Americans and considered them their biggest enemy. For them, any aid is American money. It is pertinent to mention here that most of the donations to the Balochistan government are coming from Australia and United Kingdom donors. In the past years, there were many killings during the operation of health campaigns; Many Mullahs (priests) were associated with such killings. However, this Mullah helps the government in running their campaigns. His fellow Mullahs mocks him by the name of "Mullah NGO". He indicated that they mainly create resistance against the government because they are not part of the partnership. If Mullahs are part of the process, they will realise the benefits, and they would support the campaign rather than resist it. This means resistance is created to be part of the partnership.

The findings indicate that resistance in this partnership is not practised to stop change. The employees of the Health Department and beneficiary want to be part of the planning and decision-making. It is a motivation to be part of the process rather than a barrier. RO5 and RO6 indicate that the concepts of trust and resistance are critical for pre-conditions of planning and decision-making and partnership.

7.5. Research Question 4: What are the consequences of power relations to a partnership in Balochistan?

This section will pick up from the issues that have emerged from the objectives in the previous three sections. The focus will be on implications of power relations to the issues that have arisen from the pre-conditions of planning and decision-making and partnership. RO7 highlights the consequences of power relations during the partnership. RO8 deals with the idea that how power relations can affect the perception of partners about the same issue.

7.5.1. RO7: To identify the consequences of power relations to a partnership in Balochistan

Accountability and monitoring

In this partnership, there is an unclear chain of command, and this creates stress for the employees while performing their duties. The officers at the top may be performing their duties without realising the impact it has on their subordinates. In a partnership, the roles and duties of employees need to be defined clearly (Brady, 2013). Definition of roles and duties can help reduce duplication work that occurs due to an unclear chain of command (Brady, 2013).

N4: I have a boss here (NCB), and I have to work with him but there is a dotted line which links me to UNICEF, and I also have to work with them. This creates divergence in my work at times. I get instructions from three places, NCB, UNICEF Balochistan and UNICEF Pakistan and this creates a lot of stress for me.

At times, partners have three different sets of instructions for an employee, and the employee is not sure which one to follow. As illustrated in Story Box 1, the bosses at these organisations prefer not to talk with one another. They transfer the pressure to junior employees without proper consultation among themselves, for example, when UNICEF arranged the training on nutrition in emergencies, NCB was supposed to plan the whole event. The Information Officer of NCB received e-mail from UNICEF Islamabad office and another e-mail from UNICEF Balochistan while both emails had different sets of instruction for the training. Then the senior manager of NCB (as the head of NCB was on leave) had his instruction; the Information Officer was not sure whom to follow. He had to make a list of the modules of the training, and three bosses wished a different list of modules. Finally, he made a list matching their wishes, but during the training, a few of those modules were skipped. The researcher was eager to learn from the module of community mobilisation during emergencies. However, the module was skipped due to lack of time. These power relations are one of the reasons that the employee performance is affected.

Transparency in this partnership is linked to the distribution of food commodities:

N5: Initially, employees of the Health Department at the district level were distributing food commodities directly. However, WFP felt that there was no transparency in the process, so they hired us. Now we have made the process very transparent.

Whereas, employees of the Health Department claimed the whole process is flawed:

H2: The distribution of food commodities is incorrect [...] because they don't involve us in the distribution process. We are not sure if deserving beneficiary are getting them. They just bring a piece of paper showing the figures of distribution and ask us to sign it. This is wrong.

Previously, NCB would send food commodities to EDOHs, and they would distribute it to BHUs. Later NCB hired their employees in each district to distribute commodities. Due to this change, the partners question the transparency in this partnership. When transparency is associated with control, then it can generate mistrust and conflict between partners. In this case, employees of NCB claim that after they took control, transparency was achieved. For employees of the Health Department, it all got mistaken after their exclusion. Transparency in this partnership is associated with the factor of control.

This struggle over control has also surfaced irresponsibility:

N3: EDOHs... this is where the problem lies. We at the provincial level when we do something we consider it as our work, but when we go to a district, they will not consider it as their work. They consider it the work of the agencies [...] We ask them to do the 70 per cent work and we will help them with the remaining 30 per cent, but they tell us, your staff should do 100 per cent work. This is a huge problem that they don't own the campaign. EDOHs are the main implementing partner for the nutrition campaign and they want to be an active partner. When they are not given control, and decisions are imposed on them, irresponsibility surfaces. NCB and WFP both understand that this irresponsible behaviour is a huge problem for them. However, they are not ready to delegate power to the EDOHs. The EDOHs want involvement in the process of planning and decision-making. They are denied participation on claims

such as corruption and irresponsibility. These issues can be addressed through accountability that is also missing in this partnership:

N3: We can hold our staff accountable if they don't do their work, but we can't hold an EDOH accountable if he/she refuses to do our work. Complaints were received that LHWs are selling our commodities. We approached the DG Health; he wrote a letter to EDOHs that misappropriation of commodities is taking place under their nose (*nak key neechay*) and he demanded a report within five days. We are still waiting for a response from the DG Health.

While addressing the issue of accountability the coordinator of NCB used the expression "*nak key neechay*". This expression is used to indicate that there is lack of interest on an issue. Drawing from the speech of DG Health mentioned earlier, he was defending his doctors in this partnership. People in Pakistan have to help and protect their kinship group; it's part of the culture. This cultural aspect is having a negative impact on this partnership. The following observation Exhibit six illustrates how the Minister of Health supported the researcher during his data collection process.

Observation Exhibit six

The Health Minister belongs to the village of the investigator, and he holds a lot of respect for the researcher's father and family. When he asked him for an interview, he invited him to his home for lunch. More than 60 people were having lunch in the lawn of his house. The researcher was invited inside his home to have lunch with the minister. After the interview, the minister ensured him about his support and asked if he needed any help. The researcher wanted to attend the planning meeting of WHO scheduled for the following day. The minister called the head of WHO Balochistan, and next day the researcher was attending the meeting as an observer.

Then he met the minister two months later during the annual review meeting of WFP; in his speech, the Minister particularly welcomed his attendance at the meeting. During the tea break, he asked him if he required any help. The researcher told him that for the past three months, he was trying to interview the head of WFP, but she is busy. The head was standing in front of them, and the minister said to her, "madam, do you know he is my younger brother and doing a Ph.D. from England, he wants to interview you." The researcher was invited to interview her the next day.

The interesting fact is that the researcher's family always voted against the party of minister, but still he was obligated to help him. Every person living in Pakistan knows that their social life is more important than their political or professional life. They will make compromises in their professions to protect their standing in their kinship group. If the DG Health did not support his fellow doctors, he would lose support in his kinship group of doctors. The people of Pakistan can live with hunger or extremism but not without the backing of their family and kin.

A paramount figure in rural society is a *Mullah*, and the beneficiary always looks up to them for support and guidance. The most serious threat during the implementation process of this partnership is associated with *Mullahs*. A Mullah explains why they create hurdles and why now he is helping the government:

C1: The female workers can't work without the permission of a Mullah. They (females) ask me for help because I can provide them safety. I have my personal *Talib*, (fighter) and my own Madrasa. They were here yesterday seeking for my support. We [Mullahs] have no knowledge of this campaign and the government never tells us what is going on, so we create our perception and conclude that something is happening against us [...] This man changed me, he came to me, we had a few rounds of conversations, and he made me realise why this is our work, not theirs, so, now I am helping the government. Now I understand the benefits these campaigns can bring to my people.

The *Mullahs* are not ready to allow females to work without their permission. When the Health Department hires them without their approval. They feel confronted and create hurdles for them. When the *Mullahs* claim that they create problems based on their perception, as they have no knowledge about the campaign. This means they want to be part of the process. This Mullah did change his behaviour once his importance was recognised, and he was included in the discourse of implementation. However, their access is missing from the discourse of planning.

The Mullah is an empirical example that recognising the power of stakeholders can win support for a campaign. When they are not sure about the plans of a campaign,

they feel suspicious about it. They feel challenged about such campaigns as it may be working against their interest. This can turn them against the campaign but making them a part of it can win support. The findings indicate that power relations do affect this partnership.

7.5.2. RO8: To know if power relations can create conflict in perceptions

Not matching ground reality

The Minister of Health narrates how the federal government is stopping donors from coming to Balochistan because of security concerns:

H1: I have protested to the federal government that people sitting in Islamabad have created a false image of Balochistan. Especially to the international donors, they mainly tell the donors that there is terrorism in Balochistan; compared to KPK [province of Pakistan] we have less terrorism. Yesterday, I was meeting a delegation in my office, and they mentioned the issues of bad law and order situation many times during their conversation. I clarified to them that it's not like this; they are only making the donors scared so that they can divert their funding to the Punjab or KPK. He indicated how the federal government is trying to exclude Balochistan from the main discourse through narration of stories about extremism. He does admit that the province faces the issue of law and order, but it is not worse than other provinces. However, those provinces are getting more funds from the donors. After a gap of 15 years, a minister could meet the donors directly. This indicates that the government of Balochistan is trying to be included in the main discourse from which they were excluded for the past 15 years. The issue of law and order may not be a problem for people like the minister or the secretary of Health. They always travel with security, but a field worker who goes to the field without security has concerns about it.

H4: They think it's our assumptions, in reality, things are not that bad, recently the Secretaries of Health and Education came here for a meeting, and when we told them that radicals had beaten one of our workers, they said it's just a story, in reality, things are not like this. They come here with full security, have a fleet of jeeps full of police officers, but when we raise our security concerns, they reject it.

The implementers feel constrained due to security concerns but the planners don't. Next exhibit illustrates the observations regarding security.

Observation Exhibit seven

Balochistan is the only province in Pakistan that faces two kinds of security risks: the radical Taliban and the nationalist Baloch separatists. The factor of Baloch separatist compounds the risk in Balochistan compared to other provinces. The father of the researcher is a very prominent Baloch intellectual and is highly respected in Balochistan. Under the prevalent conditions being his son made his position a bit more vulnerable than the other fellow travelling with him. Keeping in mind his vulnerability he decided not to mention about his father during the field trip. He visited the city of Pishin 80 kilometres from Quetta: It is called a city, but it is a village with clay houses and narrow streets. The streets are narrow for cars, so the car was parked in the market, and they walked to the house of a Mullah. The fieldworker hosting him is married to the niece of a prominent politician of the area, so he had a good rapport in the town. The Mullah was helping the government in their health campaign. The Mullah fought the Russians and the Americans in Afghanistan and is a legend in the area. After meeting him for 20 minutes, they travelled to a school by car. The school was a two-room building with broken windows and doors. There were only two chairs, one in each room for the teacher and the student would sit on the floor. That day the school was closed because of Polio campaign. More than 20 policemen were guarding that school. As he started interviewing a field worker, a senior police officer approached him. He asked him to introduce himself. The researcher told him that he was a researcher from the UK interviewing the field workers with the permission of the Health Department. The police officer having no expression on his face in a very serious tone said to him, "Sir, please sit in the car, and we will escort you out of this place as it is not safe for you to be here." The moment the researcher sat in the car his host asked him, "why you didn't mention about your father he would have never asked you to leave." In his perception, mentioning the researcher's father name was a good idea. The researcher thought that when the police would hear about his research, he would be happy to help him. He is one of their own, but when they heard the name of UK, they perceived him as an outsider and thought he would be at risk here. He took the fieldworker with him in the car and interviewed him while the police escorted them out of the city. After this experience, the researcher had to drop the idea of field trips due to security concerns.

This exhibit illustrates the varying perceptions about the same situation. The researcher was concerned about his research, and he responded to the policeman accordingly. However, the police were concerned about his duty, so he acted consequently. The host of the researcher knew who he was and his response was based on that. So, perception of an issue can change due to the power relations, and a harmonised perception may be achieved through thought sharing. The planners of the campaign get the notion that security is not an issue. They plan the campaign accordingly. The implementers know that they cannot perform under security risks. As they are excluded from the process of planning so they cannot get their concern addressed. This isolation among the partners creates conflict.

This isolation of beneficiary not only affects the implementation of the campaign, but it also surfaces serious conflict that brings value destruction to the campaign. Story Box 5 reports a short yet a powerful story about a grave conflict.

Story Box 5. UN = Uhood (Jews) + Nisara (Christian)

N7: I was working on a UN campaign in Pishin when my jeep reached there it had the logo of UN printed on both doors. A guy asked the other guy in *Pushtoo* (a regional language) what UN stands for he replied to him *Uhood* (Jews) and *Nisara* (Christian). I mean they are unbelievable (he laughs loudly) how they [*Mullahs*] create misconceptions among beneficiary. Beneficiary is not sure why we are here; they ask the *Mullahs* about the presences of UN agencies. They only hear one side of the story, because we never share our story with them. Based on their [*Mullah*] story they create a perception. To cut the long conversation short our way of working is not good we have to engage the beneficiary more.

When the planner of a campaign does not ensure the participation of all stakeholders, it can lead to a conflict, which will undermine the value of the campaign. Because of isolation, beneficiary is associating UN with Jews and Christians. When the employees of these agencies don't interact with them, they create a perception that they don't like them. This perception is further radicalised when they go to mosques for prayers. Muslims are supposed to pray five times a day, and beneficiary living in rural areas prefer to do it at mosques led by a priest (*Mullah*). In mosques before or

after prayer, the *Mullah* will give a sermon to the beneficiary. In such sermons, they try to create a perception among the beneficiary that can help their cause as indicated in the story box. Until and unless the beneficiary does not hear from IDAs they will follow the perception of a *Mullah*. Connecting to the beneficiary is vital for this campaign. However, WFP thinks there is no need to involve the beneficiary:

W2: Why should we involve the beneficiary? They are getting the food items what else do they want. We involve them through our banners. We have our contact numbers there they can call us and give feedback related to our products, if they are not getting commodities, they can tell us.

An employee of NCB explains what happens when beneficiary get food items:

N6: There is this misconception that this campaign aims to make us infertile and eradicate Muslims [...] I have seen it with my own eyes in Zhob and Musakhel our commodities were given to cows.

Cases of giving the food commodities to livestock had been reported in many communities, even the Minister of Health mentioned it in his speech at the annual review meeting of WFP. When the minister mentioned about the incident, the head of NCB interrupted him and said that there was no authenticity in such stories. Interrupting a minister in the middle of his speech is a risky action, but the head of NCB couldn't stop himself. The minister replied, "you are the guru in this campaign, and we have to agree with you, but I am a representative of people and get my facts from them, so kindly probe into these stories." It is interesting that beneficiary give these commodities to their goats or cows, so they produce more milk but not to a lactating mother.

WFP has a toll free number for the public to reach them. However, they may have overlooked the fact that if the beneficiary cannot afford to buy milk for their children, how they can afford a phone. The areas where these incidents were reported, they were remote areas with no electricity and infrastructure. Secondly, the issue is not only about involving the beneficiary during the implementation phase. The concern is also about their access during the planning phase.

RO8 indicates that the reality changes with the level of power a partner holds. Perception of people can be affected due to power relations. This conflict in perception is surfacing demerit to the campaign. The partners need to look for ways to address these issue.

Table 7.4 presents a summary of key issues and emerging questions that need discussion and evaluation:

Table 7.4 Summary of key issues and emerging questions

Research Questions	Key issues that emerged from data	Emerging questions that need discussion and evaluation
1) How is partnership conceptualised differently in a social marketing campaign in Balochistan?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IDAs and NCB agree that this partnership is created to help NCB to overcome its shortcomings • This partnership is influenced by political and social powers • This partnership lacks accountability and monitoring • Partners are competing • Aims and objectives of this partnership are not clear to the partners 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Why was this partnership created? • How is this partnership conceptualised?
2) How the process of planning and decision-making is practised in Balochistan?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The process of planning and decision-making is unshared and disjointed • Employees of the Health Department are not a part of the process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How is planning practised in Balochistan? • How are decisions made in this partnership?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IDAs don't consider the inputs of their local partners during the process of planning • The access of beneficiary is missing from the process • Ground realities are not reflected in the final plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the consequences of disjointed planning and decision-making? • Why the role of beneficiary is fundamental for this partnership? • How can value be created through upstream social marketing for this partnership? • What is the significance of planning and decision making for success of the partnership?
<p>3) What is the nature of trust and resistance during the process of planning and decision-making?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ineffective planning and decision-making are surfacing mistrust and resistance between the partners • Mistrust is causing delays in implementations of decision • The level of trust is low among the managers of partnership and doctors of health department due to professional jealousy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the significance of trust for process of planning and decision-making? • What is the significance of resistance for process of planning and decision-making?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Irresponsibility has been observed as one of the most common ways to show resistance • Employees of the Health Department and Mullah both practised resistance to be a part of the planning and decision-making • Resistance is not a barrier to change 	
<p>4) What are the implications of power relations during a partnership Balochistan?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is an unclear chain of command that is affecting the performance • EDOHs and employees of NCB associate transparency during this partnership with the factor of control • Accountability and monitoring of health department employees are impossible because DG health is protecting the interests of his fellow doctors • Lack of accountability encourages the employees of the Health Department to show irresponsibility • Recognising the power of a Mullah won support for the campaign • The level of power held in 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the consequences of power relations for this partnership?

	<p>the partnership is affecting the perception</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The isolation between the beneficiary and IDAs surfaced serious conflict, due to which IDAs are considered schemer rather than helper • Due to such conflicts lack of value is surfacing and the beneficiary gives their food supplies to cows and goats instead of children or mothers 	
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All the issues that have emerged in the findings chapter can be associated with the process of planning and decision-making. Results indicate that all the issues and problems converge to the process of planning and decision-making. This implies that effective practice of planning and decision-making can create effective pre-conditions for the success of a social marketing campaign. In the next chapter of discussion, this study will build an argument based on these findings.

Chapter 8

DISCUSSION

8.0 Introduction

The findings show that all the problems associated with the preconditions of a partnership converge in the process of planning and decision-making. Planning helps partners to define roles and duties more clearly. It develops a consensus for the common goals of the partnership. Partners will take ownership for a decision if they are involved in the process (see story box 4). Partnerships are not free of shortcomings and impediments and realising them is vital for success. Buyucek *et al.* (2016) and Brady (2013) argue that rather than planning at the start and evaluation at the end, partnerships require ongoing planning and evaluation. The findings indicate that value destruction (Leo & Zainuddin, 2017) and conflict can surface in the process of planning and decision-making (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016) if it is not done regularly (see Figure 1.1).

This research gathers from the discussion of Kolk and Lenfant (2015) and Gregory (2005) about the significance of partnership and relationship in social marketing, reflecting upon Hastings (2003). Discussing that relationship building is not a tool but a fundamental feature of any social marketing campaign. They suggest social marketers have to prioritise building partnerships because they are more important to social marketing than to commercial marketing, since it lacks the infrastructure and resources that commercial marketing entails. For partnerships to be more efficient, social marketers should develop relationships with all the stakeholders based on valuable exchange (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016).

For this discussion, 'efficient' means that the campaign becomes more operative as compared to the pre-partnership stage. A valuable exchange refers to a process that increases the trust of involved parties. This research takes this thinking one step forward by identifying how such relationships can be developed. Clearly, the evidence suggests that planning and decision-making can be used as a platform to create better relationships with partners and the beneficiary in a partnership. The process of planning and decision-making can build such relationships. If the process

is not considered valuable, it can result in value destruction that can create barriers and inefficiencies (Leo & Zainuddin, 2017) (see sections 3.3.1 & 3.3.2). Planning and decision-making can be the operation through which partners create value for the partnership (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016; Koschmann, Kuhn, & Pfarrer, 2012).

Value, for this research, means a measure that the beneficiary may attribute to judge the benefit provided by a service or a good (McHugh, Domegan, & Duane, 2018). It should not be confused with the principles and standards of behaviours. Value can be created with the help of the learning gained from the process of planning and decision-making (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016) and it is not a deliverable outcome, but is co-created (French, Russell-Bennett, & Mulcahy, 2017). Presently, such learning is missing from the process of planning and decision-making of partnership under study.

For it to be valuable, insights about the beneficiary and relationship building are fundamental. The access of these culturally placed individuals who make up the partnership has been overlooked when planning initiatives in Balochistan. This study reflects that the asymmetry of power relations due to ineffective planning and disjointed decision-making causes ineffectiveness in the partnership. That results in value destruction, mistrust, dishonesty, and irresponsibility.

This study theorises that recognising the interdependency between IDAs, local partners and the beneficiary during planning and decision-making can create practical preconditions for the success of a social marketing campaign in Pakistan.

The following sections will discuss eleven questions that comprise key issues presented in Table 7.4. Based on these answers, the four research questions will be answered in the next chapter. These questions unavoidably include some ideas that will be repeated in the discussion. This repetition is necessary to create sense in the debate.

Firstly, the analysis examines why this partnership was formed and how it was conceptualised in Balochistan. Later it will explore the process of planning and decision-making and the role of the beneficiary in the success of a social marketing campaign. It will discuss the consequences of planning and decision-making and why the role of the beneficiary is fundamental, as are the questions of how value can be created for this partnership and what the significance of planning and decision-

making is for the success of this partnership. It will further evaluate the consequences of planning and decision-making towards trust and the nature of resistance in this partnership. Following this, an argument is constructed that will examine the implications of power relations in this partnership. How can they create an unclear chain of command, affect accountability and transparency and create differing perspectives? The final section will give a summary of the discussion to lay the foundation for the concluding chapter.

8.1 Why was this partnership created?

This partnership was formed to help NCB overcome its limitations. The primary reason for the creation of the partnership was the lack of financial and technical resources.

The government could not provide funds to the nutrition cell, nor could it train its employees in relevant skills. As argued by Buyucek *et al.* (2016) and Selsky and Parker (2005), when an organisation has limited resources it creates a partnership to overcome its shortcomings, in a manner that could benefit all stakeholders. Nutrition Cell Balochistan (NCB) lacked critical competencies and it could not develop them. Hence the international development agencies (IDAs) were approached for help.

Buyucek *et al.* (2016) and Selsky and Parker (2005) argue that such a partnership is a way to address organisational needs while dealing with the issue of malnutrition in Balochistan. As indicated by Kolk and Lenfant, (2015) and Gregory (2005), it enabled a resource-deficient NCB to leverage the resources and expertise of the IDAs. The planned outcome of the partnership is to promote healthy nutrition practices among the beneficiary. However, findings indicate that this aim is unclear to all the partners contrary to conception of partnership by Seitanidi (2010) and Dowling *et al.* (2004). The IDAs are more interested in the distribution of their goods than engaging the beneficiary in healthy nutrition practices.

As observed during the interviews, the head of WFP and UNICEF's Nutrition Coordinator emphasised helping NCB. However, findings from the study ROs one, two, three and four do not support their claims. Story box 1 further weakens their

claims and indicates that the IDAs are interested more in achieving their organisational targets than in achieving the common goals of the partnership. It shows that the IDAs are fighting among themselves to promote their organisations. The IDAs' claim for support is further weakened after the analysis of story box 2. The story indicates that despite their support NCB feels helpless in this partnership. Originally the partnership was formed to help NCB promote healthy nutrition practices among the beneficiary. However, the IDAs became more concerned about the distribution of food than engaging the beneficiary. It is evident from the fact that the employees of the Health Department are the primary implementers of the nutrition campaign but they lack the basic knowledge about the main aim of this partnership. None of the employees mentioned healthy nutrition practices during the interview. The only information they could share was about the targets they had to achieve before the annual review meeting of WFP. This resonates with MirafTAB's (2004) perspective on developing countries that the partners act differently from their claims. The partnership was created to help NCB but now the IDAs are promoting their goals because of which inefficiencies are emerging in the partnership. This is pertinent to explain how this partnership is conceptualised after its creation.

8.2 How is this partnership conceptualised?

Contrary to the conception of partnership by Seitanidi (2010), Stern and Green (2005), Dowling *et al.* (2004) and Lister (1999), political and social power relations influence the partnership. The managers of such partnerships are pressurised by the politicians to hire their kin or family members as employees for the campaign. When a campaign starts in a particular area, the politicians put pressure on the manager to hire their people, or they will create hurdles for them; thus the managers have to hire additional staff.

As discussed in Chapter 2, defending the interests of the *biradari* usually compensates for loyalty in Pakistan. It can be loyalty to the state, to a party or any code of ethics or all three (see section 2.1.2).

Secondly, due to social power relations between males and females, WFP had to engage lady health workers (LHWs) despite their poor performance. The LHWs are mostly absent from their jobs and because of this, distribution of commodities is disturbed. They are supposed to distribute the items on a monthly basis; however, the mothers do not receive their supplies regularly. NCB has its (male) employees in each district, but due to social power relations, they cannot deliver the items to the mothers. In the culture of Balochistan (Pakistan) it is not acceptable for a male to interact with an unknown female. The coordinator of WFP was not happy with the performance of LHWs but had no other option to deliver the commodities to the lactating mothers and their children. Due to such power relations between men and women, WFP and NCB have to work through LHWs despite their poor performance.

The findings of RO1, RO2, RO7 and RO8 further indicate that this partnership lacks mutuality, accountability, transparency and monitoring. These results undermine the idea of mutuality asserted by Stern and Green (2005) and Lister (1999). This indicates that the partners are competing within the partnership (see story box 1) and there is a lack of support as the partners do not enjoy equal ownership (see story box 2). Yet Stern and Green's (2005) explanation of partnership asserts the need for a high level of trust and equal ownership for the achievement of a common goal. Lister (1999) conceptualises it as trust, mutual support, joint decision-making and long-term commitment.

As discussed theoretically by Lister (1999) and Elliot (1987), in the process of partnership each partner should enjoy mutuality, equal rights and responsibility and they should help one another to accomplish a collective goal. However, in this case, these characteristics of a partnership are lacking. Lister (1999) claims that, under such conditions, the actions of partners would make it hard to reach the common objectives of the partnership.

There is a lack of shared identity among partners. They consider themselves employees of NCB or WFP or the Health Department, rather than partners in the nutrition campaign. Drawing from Crawford (2003), power differentials tend to emerge during the process of healthcare partnership. That gives way to challenges such as shifting power relations, lack of accountability, mutuality and purpose, and ambiguity about responsibility. Mutuality is an overarching concept for partnerships

as indicated by Stern and Green (2005) and Lister (1999). However, this idea of mutuality is limited in this partnership. It has to do with defending the interests of the kinship group in Pakistan as mentioned by Lieven (2011).

This conceptualisation of partnership in Balochistan matches the thinking of Buyucek *et al.* (2016), Seitanidi (2010), Stern and Green (2005), Selsky and Parker (2005) Dowling *et al.* (2004) and Lister (1999) at the formation stage. Yet after the creation of the partnership it is influenced by political and social power relations. The aims and objectives of this partnership are not clear to the partners. The primary drivers of this partnership are the IDAs, and they are failing to impart the healthy nutrition practices. The partnership formed is seen as flawed from the beginning as being driven by power relations (Crawford, 2003). Miraftab (2004) argues that there is lack of confidence when it comes to partnerships in the developing world and instead of viewing it as an effective mean for management, it is perceived as a manipulative implement. A key reason for this mistrust about the partnership is that the local partners and beneficiary are often not given an equal chance in the process of planning and decision-making. This ends the sense of ownership for them and leads to the ineffectiveness of the campaign.

Secondly, the concept of partnership is seen a foreign idea by locals. In the worst-case scenario, this can be life-threatening; indeed, it has been, to take the example of the polio campaign in Pakistan.

In December 2012, eight health workers of the polio campaign were killed within 48 hours. Out of the eight dead, six were females, and a radical group took responsibility for the killings (Ahmad, 2012). Such killings have a direct impact on the implementation of this partnership. The partners while planning had not taken into account the power relations of such groups, and today such campaigns face grave danger in Pakistan. This raises the question of how planning is practised in this partnership.

8.3 How is planning practised in Balochistan?

Boydell and Rugkåsa (2007) and Newman (2001) suggest that the mere representation of a partner is not enough for a partnership. As discussed by Charlesworth (2003) and Hudson and Hardy (2002), to achieve effectiveness in a partnership joint planning is vital. In Balochistan, planning primarily aims to produce a document to be used for implementation. Incidentally, the researcher attended a three-day planning meeting as an observer. The agenda of the meeting was to develop a five-year plan for an immunisation campaign. During the meeting, group activities and discussions were used to trigger ideas for the plan. However, during the presentations of the groups, the chair of the meeting with the support of other members from Islamabad changed their considerations. During the meeting, the Secretary of Health appealed that his department was not satisfied with the planning process as agencies develop plans keeping in mind their aims and objectives (see observation exhibit three) but the department finds it difficult to implement such plans.

Meanwhile, an incomplete draft of the plan was produced during the three-day meeting. The participants were informed that the plan would be completed in Islamabad. This indicates the planning is fragmented and unshared. The IDAs did not consider the appeals of their partners seriously during the planning.

Discussing from Elias' perspective, Mowles (2015) suggests that interdependency is fundamental for a highly differentiated society like Pakistan. However, the IDAs are overlooking that interdependency and trying to plan in isolation. RO3 and RO4 hardly present any evidence of all the stakeholders working together. A planning document created before the start of the nutrition campaign is mostly used for planning or decision-making in the future. There is only one annual review meeting that assesses the partnership.

Contrary to Buyucek *et al.* (2016), Brady (2013), Boydell and Rugkåsa (2007) and Newman (2001), this partnership is not thoughtful about the process of planning. They argue that in principle, during the process, all stakeholders should be part of it (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016; Brady, 2013). This can help the partners to define roles and duties clearly and achieve cost-effectiveness (Charlesworth, 2003; Hudson & Hardy, 2002). The partners can develop a consensus on common goals of the partnership. Furthermore, partners will take ownership for a decision if they are involved in the

process, as indicated in story box 4. As suggested by Bentz *et al.* (2005), partnerships are not free of hazard and hurdles and accepting them can be vital to its effectiveness. Planning and decision-making can be a platform to identify such risks and barriers (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016). Preferably, partnerships require ongoing planning and evaluation rather than planning at the start and assessment at the end (Brady, 2013). Inefficiencies can surface if the processes of planning and decision-making are not handled properly (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016). This turns the focus to the question of how decisions are made in this partnership.

8.4 How are decisions made in this partnership?

In this partnership, the decision-making partners are those who own resources and they can set limits to the process. For example, NCB possesses food commodities in their warehouse and so they decide how to distribute them. UNICEF and WFP retain funds for seminars and training, so they decide about them.

In this case, all parties have access to some resources, but the vital resource is money; this makes the IDAs the major decision-maker. This resonates with the elitist's model that suggests there are rules and procedures set by a selected few that have to be followed before any decision is taken (Hindess, 1996).

Access to financial resources enables the IDAs to make most of the decisions in this partnership. In this partnership, authority (money) has been taken for granted, as apolitical, and assumed to be functional (Hardy, 1994). Any action taken under this authority is considered impartial and rational. The IDAs assume that it is their money that is at stake so they must make decisions according to their rules. As argued by Hindess (1996), they think that their decision is in the best interest of all the partners because they have authority. The authority holders claim that they would consistently take the best decisions for the benefit of all parties.

However, the findings indicate that the interpretation of decision-makers fails to represent ground realities; rather it signifies the interest of organisational partners first and then the people (Scott, 1999). This disjointed planning and decision-making have consequences for the partnership.

8.5 What are the consequences of disjointed planning and decision-making?

One of the primary reasons for this failure was associated with the fact of unmatched ground realities. The implementers such as the EDOHs and the fieldworkers claim that such partnerships are planned without considering the ground reality. As argued by Buyucek *et al.* (2016), when the planners do not ensure the participation of all stakeholders, then inefficiencies will emerge. Due to isolation, the beneficiary associated the UN with Jews and Christians (see story box 5). However, WFP thought there was no need to involve them. Incidents of giving food commodities to livestock had been reported in many communities; even the Minister of Health mentioned it in his speech at the annual review meeting of WFP. It is interesting that the beneficiary gave these commodities to their goats or cows so that they might produce more milk but not to a lactating mother.

Mowles (2015), discussing from Elias' perspective, suggests that interdependency is fundamental for a highly differentiated society like Pakistan (see section 5.4.1). However, the IDAs are ignoring the interdependency and hence creating value destruction (Leo & Zainuddin, 2017). They are overlooking the interpersonal nature of power relations asserted by Elias. He implies that a society transforms by the structure of its social relationship or changes in its conditions. However, these changes are not related to the actions and decisions of particular powerful groups or individuals. The action of an individual also has consequences for others; there is an interdependency surfacing through his/her actions. The organisational partners need to recognise that interdependency, as it can be fundamental for change. Overlooking this interdependency reveals collapses in this partnership. The implementers think that the community should be involved actively in the process of planning and decision-making, whereas the planners and decision-makers believe that it will not change anything.

As indicated by Buyucek *et al.* (2016), when the planners do not ensure the participation of all stakeholders, then conflict will emerge (see story box 5). Contrary to Panteli and Tucker (2009) and Perks and Halliday (2003), when the employees of

these agencies do not interact with the beneficiary, they create a perception that they do not trust them, as they are not amongst them. This perception is further radicalised when they go to mosques for prayers.

Muslims are supposed to pray five times a day, and the beneficiary living in rural areas prefer to do it at mosques led by a priest (*mullah*). This partnership is running in the rural areas of Balochistan. In the countryside, the mullahs (priests) have a great influence on the beneficiary. The beneficiary considers them their true representatives. They have more interaction with them than with the politicians, so they feel more connected to them. In mosques before or after prayer, the mullah will give a sermon to them. In such sermons they try to create a perception among the beneficiary that can help their cause, as indicated in the story box 5. Until and unless the beneficiary hears from the IDAs they will follow the perception of a mullah. Jones and Barry (2011) argue that trust can be achieved by connecting to the beneficiary.

During a field trip, it was disclosed to the researcher that a large number of the beneficiary supported the nutrition campaign after a mullah endorsed it. Such conflicts can be addressed to create value if mullahs are involved in the process of planning.

8.6 Why is the role of the beneficiary fundamental for this partnership?

Boydell and Rugkåsa (2007) and Newman (2001) suggest that community involvement is vital for any partnership. For this research, the access of the beneficiary is fundamental for two reasons. Firstly, their involvement is essential for the development of trust and value creation. Secondly, in Pakistan, there is a common political fact that the society is significantly stronger than the state (Lodhi, 2011). The fundamental reason for the weakness of the state is the *biradari* system that can also bring steadiness in the society (Lieven, 2011). This loyalty is probably robust enough to prevent any attempt to change the society even if it is a positive development or reform (Chaudhary, 1999). This implies that without the support of the beneficiary it

can be difficult to bring about a sustainable change in Pakistan (Koschmann, Kuhn, & Pfarrer, 2012; Le Ber & Branzei, 2010).

Islamabad, Pakistan's federal capital, plans for the people of Balochistan; the name of the city is religious, but people living there are not religious in the perception of the people living in Balochistan. During the group interview of the EDOHs, almost all of them mentioned the fact that people living in Islamabad do not understand their religious values. Furthermore, the people living there are not tribal like the people of Balochistan (Lieven, 2011). They can be stratified on an ethnic basis but compared to tribalism it is a weaker bond (Lieven, 2011). Managers in the federal government plan for people who are religious-cum-tribal, so it can be hard for the planners to perceive the ground reality without interacting with the beneficiary. There is no contribution by the beneficiary during the process. Involvement of the beneficiary can provide a better understanding of the ground reality and co-create value for the partnership (McHugh, Domegan, & Duane, 2018; French, Russell-Bennett, & Mulcahy, 2017).

UNICEF acknowledges the fact that the people of Pakistan are different, and they think differently. However, they make a single plan for these fragmented people and believe that it will be implementable. Mowles (2015) suggests that in highly differentiated societies, fluctuation in relations leads to the production of knowledge. Diversity among the people should be a motivation for their inclusion in the process to generate knowledge, not an excuse for their exclusion. Story box 3 indicates that the partners are unconvinced about community involvement. They want to bring about a change and to do that they have to do things differently. However, they think that in Pakistan, nobody intends to involve the community and that they do not want to change that.

As argued by McHugh, Domegan and Duane (2018) and French, Russell-Bennett and Mulcahy (2017), value can be created with the help of learning gained through interaction with the beneficiary. The knowledge acquired during the process can be implied to bring more value to the partnership. However, that learning from the beneficiary is missing during the planning and decision-making stages of this partnership. This isolation of the beneficiary has resulted in a partnership that led to a decline rather than augmentation of a user's wellbeing, so value destruction has occurred (Leo & Zainuddin, 2017).

As a consequence of this perception, the food items distributed are either thrown away or fed to livestock. For the partnership to be more effective, the partners have to create a relationship based on valuable exchange. The value can be co-created among the partners (Wood, 2016); the exclusion of even a single partner can result in value destruction (Leo & Zainuddin, 2017). The segregation between the beneficiary and the other partners can create challenges compromising the value of the partnership.

8.7 How can value be created for this partnership through upstream social marketing?

The findings indicate that when the culture is reinforcing an unhealthy behaviour, then developing persuasive messages cannot change that behaviour (Szmigin *et al.*, 2011). Under such circumstances, the partners need to remove the negative environmental influences for value creation (Szmigin *et al.*, 2011). In order to create value, it is fundamental to create an environment that will make it easy for the beneficiary to adopt healthy nutrition practices.

Szmigin *et al.* (2011) further argue that in current social marketing campaigns the notion of individual responsibility is used, whereas the perception of a person regarding an issue is created from the society. It is not only the individual who has to be responsible but the whole community also needs to act responsibly. Social marketers need to look beyond this individual-centric approach. At present their campaigns mainly focus on changing individual behaviour (Kotler *et al.*, 2009). Their messages often target internal behavioural influences on the individual (Kotler, 2005). Wymer (2010) asserts that the effectiveness of a campaign can be at risk if social marketers ignore the context within which individual behaviour is influenced.

The nutrition campaign failed to provide certain results because the partners did not consider the context. When there are negative inspirations that strengthen an undesirable behaviour, then targeting the individual is unlikely to return significant improvements (Wymer, 2010).

Thus it can be argued that for value creation in the campaign, the social marketers also need to consider the environment (French & Gordon, 2015). We have partial

control over our behaviours, and the social environment has a significant impact on it (Hastings, 2007). French and Gordon (2015) and Stead *et al.* (2007) suggest that there is evidence of social marketing effectiveness when the objective is to effect change at an individual level (downstream), but the effectiveness is limited when it comes to policy or environmental change (upstream). Helmig and Thaler (2010) also argue that the effectiveness of social marketing is influenced by environmental impact. Together with this the argument by Szmigin *et al.* (2011) clearly supports the idea that social marketers have to move upstream for the effectiveness of their campaigns. A further extension to the concept of social marketing is made to accommodate the upstream thinking and the mnemonic of three additional Ps: Policy, People, and Partnership are added beside the preliminary four Ps (Product, Place, Price and Promotion) (Stead *et al.*, 2007).

It should be desirable for the partners also to consider upstream activities along with downstream activities for the effectiveness of the nutrition campaign (French & Gordon, 2015). This does not mean that the focus should shift totally towards upstream activities; there should be a blend of both activities that should complement each other. Value can be created for this partnership if the partners consider upstream activities such as stakeholder and community engagement, rational thinking, co-creation, advocacy, lobbying, public and media relations and engagement in the policy agenda (Gordon, 2012).

8.8 What is the significance of planning and decision-making for the success of the partnership?

This research conceptualises planning and decision-making as a platform to build relationships with the partners and beneficiary. Hastings (2003) thinks that relationship building is not a tool, but a fundamental feature of social marketing. He suggests that social marketers have to prioritise relationship building. Drawing from Hasting (2003), for this partnership to be more effective the social marketers have to develop relationships with all the partners and the beneficiary based on valuable exchange. Here 'effective' means that the campaign becomes more operative compared to the pre-partnership stage. A valuable exchange refers to a process that

can increase the trust of the parties involved. If the process is not perceived as valuable, it can signify power relations resulting from the impersonal exchange that can imply mistrust. The process of planning and decision-making could be an operation through which partners can create value for this campaign (Koschmann, Kuhn, & Pfarrer, 2012). This shifts the focus to value creation, which would permit stakeholders the prospect of preparing and implementing change (McHugh, Domegan, & Duane, 2018).

However, the IDAs are ignoring the interpersonal nature of power asserted by Elias (see section 5.4.1). He implies that a society transforms with the structuring of social relationships or changes in its conditions. Once a decision is taken then the actions ‘become interwoven with those of the others: It unleashes a chain of actions’, and the effects depend on the structure of tensions within this whole mobile human network and the distribution of power (Van Krieken, 2001:354-55). The intention, action and interaction of these humans are interdependent on a web of intention, action and interaction of other people (Mowles, 2015). The organisational partners need to recognise interdependency in the process of planning and decision-making (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016) for value creation and trust generation (French, Russell-Bennett, & Mulcahy, 2017).

8.9 What is the significance of trust in the process of planning and decision-making?

Drawing from Buyucek *et al.* (2016), Jones and Barry (2011), Panteli and Tucker, (2009) and Perks and Halliday (2003), this study theorises that recognising the interdependency of the beneficiary and local partners in the process of planning and decision-making can lead towards trust. Trust can lead to value creation and effectiveness for the partnership (Kolk & Lenfant, 2015). EDOHs are not a part of the planning and decision-making process because managers at NCB do not trust them. EDOHs are criticised for not following the guidelines of WFP as they think they know the issue of malnutrition better and can select the right beneficiary for care. They trust their knowledge more than the information provided in the guidelines. There is a conflict between the doctors and managers resulting in trust issues or due to

mistrust (see observation exhibit five). The DG Health acknowledges that EDOHs are not performing, but he supports them because he is a doctor himself. Among the managers of the Health Department, there is an opinion that doctors think they are more intelligent than other people, and everybody should listen to them. Due to this professional envy, managers and doctors are sceptical of one another and trust is trivial.

The findings of the study RO5 demonstrate how this mistrust among the partners made the implementing partner vulnerable and delayed humanitarian work after an earthquake. Due to lack of trust and no attempt to build it, decisions were made in isolation and interdependency among the partners was ignored. The concept of trust has two distinct dimensions: trustworthiness, which means support and acceptance, and believing, which means openness and sharing (Panteli & Tucker, 2009). In this situation instead of helping the employees of the Health Department, WFP selected a different partner to distribute their commodities. The decision of a new partner was not shared with them. Findings demonstrate how ineffective planning and decision-making caused mistrust that affected the partnership.

The decision was taken on assumptions while ignoring the situation on the ground. If the EDOH had been included in the process of planning and decision-making, he could have given a better picture of the ground reality. The decision could have been quicker and more effective. However, due to lack of trust, EDOH was not consulted about the facts on the ground. Trust is placed due to prior investment in reputation or prior evidence of trustworthiness (Perks & Halliday, 2003); it needs to be actively built during the relationship. Now the discussion presents empirical evidence of how trust was gained through sharing and learning.

The narrative of the NCB Coordinator in story box 4 is about an attempt to fail an event. That shows how trust issues could affect the partnership. The NCB Coordinator acted wisely by taking such a resistance as motivation and involved the stakeholder in executing a contingency plan. When the parties were involved in contingency planning it led to success. It can be inferred that involving the stakeholders in planning and decision-making creates trust. Once knowledge was shared among the employees of the Health Department, their trust was restored.

8.10 What is the significance of resistance in planning and decision-making?

Partnership is based on mutual trust and transparency but without involvement of stakeholders in planning and decision-making trust is lost, which can lead to resistance. Resistance is often considered the opposite of power, as a reaction when power is exercised (Erkama, 2010). However, from a critical perspective, it is not something opposite or outside power (Mumby, 2005). Resistance is embedded in the exercise of power and can be considered a part of power (Courpasson & Golsorkhi 2011; Erkama, 2010). Scott (1990) identifies that the process of domination and resistance takes place within the discourse of power. The research demonstrated empirical analysis that permits us to consider remedies; in this way, this study contributes towards the development of a more sophisticated understanding of resistance and how the partners can act during the process of planning and decision-making.

The easiest way to resist, in this partnership, is not to take responsibility for work. The employees of the Health Department understand that WFP or NCB cannot hold them accountable for their performance. It is easy for them not to perform their activities. Apart from this, findings indicate that EDOHs working in a district expressed their resistance through dishonesty and irresponsibility. The evidence of cheating was anecdotal and respondents were not able to provide any specific leads. Nevertheless, there is an issue of corruption in Pakistan. It is important to recognise that corruption or dishonesty in Pakistan is not due to the lack of values (Lieven, 2011). It is the old value of the loyalty to family and clan. Defending benefits and reputation of the kinship usually equates to loyalty. It may be loyalty to the state, to a party or any code of ethics, or all of them.

The issue of irresponsibility was observed many times during the data collection process. The employees of the Health Department, during their interviews, mentioned the campaign as a work of the IDAs. They were not prepared to take responsibility for the campaign. Their attitude during the training was another example of irresponsibility (read observation exhibit one). Story box 4 further illustrates an

attempt where employees were not ready to attend an event organised by NCB. Thanks to the trust between the employees of the Health Department, the power relations shifted in their favour and created a situation of domination. Due to a high level of interdependency in the context, resistance needed to be understood. When there is an apparent conflict (resistance) between two parties, each party will try to dominate to meet their goals and the powerful among them will reach their goals (Lukes, 2005). It is interesting that in this case, both the parties seemed to achieve their goals as the event was conducted, and the employees were made part of the planning and decision-making process.

As Thomas and Davies (2005) assert, opposition to management is not the only form of resistance; it can be in the shape of resignation, tolerance, gossip, formal complaints and legal action. Mdletye *et al.* (2014) further conclude that in fact resistance is a barrier to be overcome or even successfully avoided by skilful management of power. Once it is managed, humans will participate and cooperate in both economic and non-economic activities. Drawing from this discussion this research sees resistance as a means for the suppressed group to indicate their desire, enthusiasm or need to get involved in the process of planning and decision-making. It has identified the less obvious forms of resistance such as irresponsibility and dishonesty; such forms of resistance are common to the discourse. They contribute to the ineffectiveness of this partnership. This study does not consider such forms of resistance as objects to be overcome but interprets them as an expression or desire for inclusion to contribute to the effectiveness of the partnership. Partners can resist by being dishonest and irresponsible yet this research does not consider such forms of resistance as an object of opposition, but rather it is their means of expression. Resistance is a means of expressing their desire to be included in the process of planning and joint decision-making.

This study reflects that disjointed planning and decision-making and asymmetry of power relations can surface mistrust and resistance that may lead to the issues of dishonesty, irresponsibility, lack of transparency and accountability. There is interdependency between power relations, planning and decision-making and trust and resistance that needs attention.

8.11 What are the consequences of power relations for this partnership?

8.11.1 Power relations and unclear chain of command

As illustrated in story box 1, the bosses at these organisations prefer not to talk with one another. They put pressure on the lower staff of the partnership without consultation. Such power relations are one of the reasons that the employees take longer than expected for a task.

There is an unclear chain of command and that affects employee performance. At times, partners have three different sets of instructions for an employee, and the employee is not sure which one to follow. For example, when UNICEF arranged the training for nutrition in emergencies, NCB was supposed to plan the whole event. The Information Officer of NCB received an e-mail from the UNICEF Islamabad office and an e-mail from the UNICEF Balochistan office with different sets of instructions for the training. Then the senior manager of NCB (as the head of NCB was on leave) had his instructions, and the Information Officer was not sure whom to follow. He was told to make a list of the modules of the training, and three bosses wished to have a different list of modules. It took him longer than usual to make a list, as he was not sure which instructions to follow.

The employees of NCB acknowledged pressure while performing their jobs. They had to follow two or three sets of instructions for a single task. Dowling *et al.* (2004) claim that one of the benefits of the partnership is that the managerial responsibilities can be shared, which can lead to less stress. In this case, the stress had increased because the partners had failed to delegate roles and duties properly during the planning. Secondly, due to power relations, they did not communicate among themselves.

The aspect of normalisation is missing in the partnership. The consequences are stress and confusion for the employees. Any social relation and interaction have power relations that need recognition. In order to achieve any collective goal, the organisation can use distributive power by assigning roles and duties to the individuals. These individuals work together to carry out their functions through their roles. This delegation of power through roles and duties offsets the power relations

throughout the organisation (Kapilashrami, 2010). The distributed power is so much embedded in the organisational culture that it is deemed normal and this fundamental feature is called 'normalisation' (Kapilashrami, 2010). The aspect of normalisation is missing in this campaign. In order to create discipline within an organisation, it is fundamental to build normalisation with the help of defined roles and responsibility.

This consequently unclear chain of command leads to duplication of work and increased workload. Brady (2013) while discussing benefits of partnership indicates that such duplication could be avoided by defining roles and responsibilities during planning. Failure to delegate power results in an unclear chain of command and duplication of work.

8.11.2 Power relations and transparency

Transparency is another issue that surfaces due to power relations. Transparency in this partnership is associated with the factor of control. It is linked to the fact of whoever controls the distribution of food commodities.

In this case, employees of NCB claim that after they took control transparency was achieved. For employees of the Health Department, it all went wrong after their exclusion. Previously, NCB would send the food commodities to EDOHs, and then they would distribute them to BHUs. However, later NCB hired their employees in each district for distribution. Due to this change, the partners questioned transparency in this partnership. Having control and access over resources can determine the power relations and nature of a partnership. Here the partners are more concerned to take control than to meet the goals. As Elliott (1987) argues, transparency in partnership is often affected by the asymmetry of power. The partners use the partnership to advance their objectives. This issue of transparency further leads to the issue of accountability.

8.11.3 Power relations and accountability

This partnership had limited accountability; there were procedures for it but when a complaint was launched, no action was taken. Due to power relations WFP or NCB could not hold anybody accountable, and if DG Health would not do it, they could not push him. There had been incidents when complaints were launched, but no action was taken by the DG Health against his fellow doctors (see observation exhibit five).

The findings indicate that there was a professional tension between the doctors and the managers of the campaign. The head of this partnership, DG Health Services, was a doctor, and he would not initiate actions against his fellow doctors. In Lukes' (2005) radical view of power, false understanding is created through manipulation to benefit the doctors. Power is manifested in the instruments, techniques and procedures to help them. These practices of radical power are not only creating an issue of accountability and transparency but also surfacing the issue of irresponsibility.

There is no agency between the employees of the Health Department and the rest of the partners. EDOHs lacked the obligation to work for the campaign. They knew they could not be held accountable for any misconduct. Lukes (2005) may claim that radical power is crafty and that it tends to influence others without consequences. Giddens (1984) critiques this and argues that people cannot naturally be affected at their expense for a long time. Sooner or later people will acknowledge and react, and in this case the reaction was irresponsibility.

Responsibility cannot be achieved without human agency (Giddens, 1984). It is a relational capacity that enables secure outcomes that depend on the agency of others (Kapilashrami, 2010). Power relations must be viewed as a constitutive act of exclusion and inclusion that shapes agency and structure and creates the condition for us to act appropriately (Torfing, 2009). Agency is co-created through interaction and learning, which was missing from this partnership. The best platform for such education and communication was the process of planning and decision-making.

8.12 Conclusion

The findings make sense, as they create awareness about the concept of partnership in a social marketing campaign in Balochistan. They provide suggestions for seeing the importance of the beneficiary during the process of planning and decision-making. There is interdependency between the IDAs, local partners and the beneficiary, and its recognition is vital for the effectiveness of this partnership and the success of the social marketing campaign.

In this case study, the reason for the creation of this partnership was to help NCB promote healthy nutrition practices among the beneficiary. However, the IDAs were more concerned about distributing the food commodities than engaging the beneficiary. They are failing to impart the healthy nutrition practices, which is the aim of this campaign. WFP targets for distribution of goods and NCB aims for healthy nutrition practices; there is a difference in the thinking of partners that is affecting the partnership.

In this partnership, the said characteristics of the partnership are mostly missing. Lister (1999) claims that partners driving the partnership (IDAs in this case) might promote their institutional targets. Their actions would make it hard to reach the common objectives of the partnership such as healthy nutrition practices (Lister, 1999). There is a lack of shared identity among partners; organisational partners consider themselves employees of NCB or IDAs or the Health Department rather than partners in the nutrition campaign.

As suggested by Kolk and Lenfant, (2015), Gregory (2005) and Hastings (2003), for a social marketing partnership to be more effective, the social marketers have to develop relationships with all the stakeholders based on valuable exchange. The process of planning and decision-making can be a phase for such relationship formations. If the process is not perceived as valuable, it can cause power relations resulting in value destruction that can cause ineffectiveness. In a social marketing campaign, the community is also a partner, as the aim is to provide them with services that can bring about change. UNICEF acknowledges the fact that the people of Pakistan are different, and they think differently. Still, they make a single plan for these fragmented people and believe that it will be implemental. Diversity among the people should be a motivation for their inclusion in the process to generate knowledge, not an excuse for their exclusion. Value can be created with the help of learning gained through interaction with the beneficiary (McHugh, Domegan, & Duane 2018). That learning from the beneficiary was missing during the planning and decision-making of this partnership.

Partnerships formed in developing countries are seen as flawed from the beginning and as being driven by power relations (Pieterse *et al.*, 2012; Ellersiek & Kenis, 2007; Crawford, 2003). A key reason for this mistrust about the partnership is that local

partners and the beneficiary are not often given an equal chance in the process of planning and decision-making (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016). This, in turn, generates irresponsibility between the beneficiary and the local partners. This ends the sense of ownership for them and causes ineffectiveness in the campaign.

This research has identified the less obvious forms of resistance such as irresponsibility and dishonesty. Dishonesty is covert as the evidence provided by the respondent is not objective, which makes it hard to identify it in the process. However, such forms of resistance are common to the discourse. They can contribute to the ineffectiveness of this partnership. This study does not consider such forms of resistance as objects to be overcome but interprets them as expressing a desire for inclusion to contribute to the effectiveness of the partnership. The research understands resistance as a mean for the suppressed group to indicate their desire, enthusiasm or need to get involved in the process.

The IDAs are ignoring that interdependency and trying to work in isolation. They are ignoring the interpersonal nature of power asserted by Elias. It implies that a society transforms with the structuring of social relationship or changes in its conditions. However, these changes are not related to the actions and the decision of particular, supposedly powerful groups or individuals. Hence, the action of an individual also has consequences for others. The organisational partners need to recognise the interdependency in the process of planning and decision-making. This isolation of the beneficiary not only affects the implementation of the campaign, but it also creates demerit.

The issues discussed in this chapter are associated with the process of planning and decision-making. The implications of partnership, beneficiary and power relations all converge in the process of planning and decision-making. This implies that an effective practice of planning and decision-making can create value for a partnership and success for a social marketing campaign.

Chapter 9

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.0 Introduction

The motivation for this study is to explore the value and performance of health campaigns in Balochistan. The government responds to health issues through social marketing campaigns. Partnerships are created as a precondition for the success of a campaign with planned outcomes; however, they are unsuccessful in the delivery of results. Looking at a nutrition campaign through the lens of social marketing aimed to explore the implications of preconditions of partnership and planning to determine the success of a social marketing campaign.

A qualitative case study approach was selected on the ground of scarcity of knowledge, given that there has been no research related to a social marketing campaign in Balochistan, in particular on the partnership, people and power relations. The understanding was that ‘individual’ narratives are situated in particular interactions, and also in social, cultural and institutional discourses, which must be brought to bear to interpret them (Riessman, 1993:61). The approach assumed that the language does not merely hold ideas: it has a function in itself and is both constructive and constructed. So the research provided examples of narratives, each engaging with issues related to the partnership.

The study started with an argument that there is an issue of power relations that generates ineffectiveness in a partnership. The role of the beneficiary during a campaign was considered fundamental to the effectiveness of a partnership. However, the findings and discussion of this study further indicate that issues related to this partnership are associated with the process of planning and decision-making and direct and indirect influences. The conceptual framework of this research (see Figure 1.1) requires revision in the light of findings and discussion.

9.1 Revised Conceptual Framework

The initial framework identified that a partnership is built to achieve success for a social marketing campaign. The primary concern of a partnership is to generate mutuality and responsibility among the partners in order to achieve the planned outcomes for the campaign. The process of planning and decision-making is carried out at the start of the partnership. Due to this one-time planning and decision-making, trust issues emerge among the partners that create power relations and resistance. This results in conflicts in the implementation of the partnership and if conflicts are not resolved, they lead to challenges that will result in the unsuccessful delivery of planned outcomes. This research particularly examined the preconditions of partnership, planning and decision-making to identify ways in which conflicts could be resolved for value creation that will lead to successful delivery of the planned outcomes of the campaign. After the analysis and discussion of data, the conceptual framework has been revised; Figure 9.1 illustrates the revised framework.

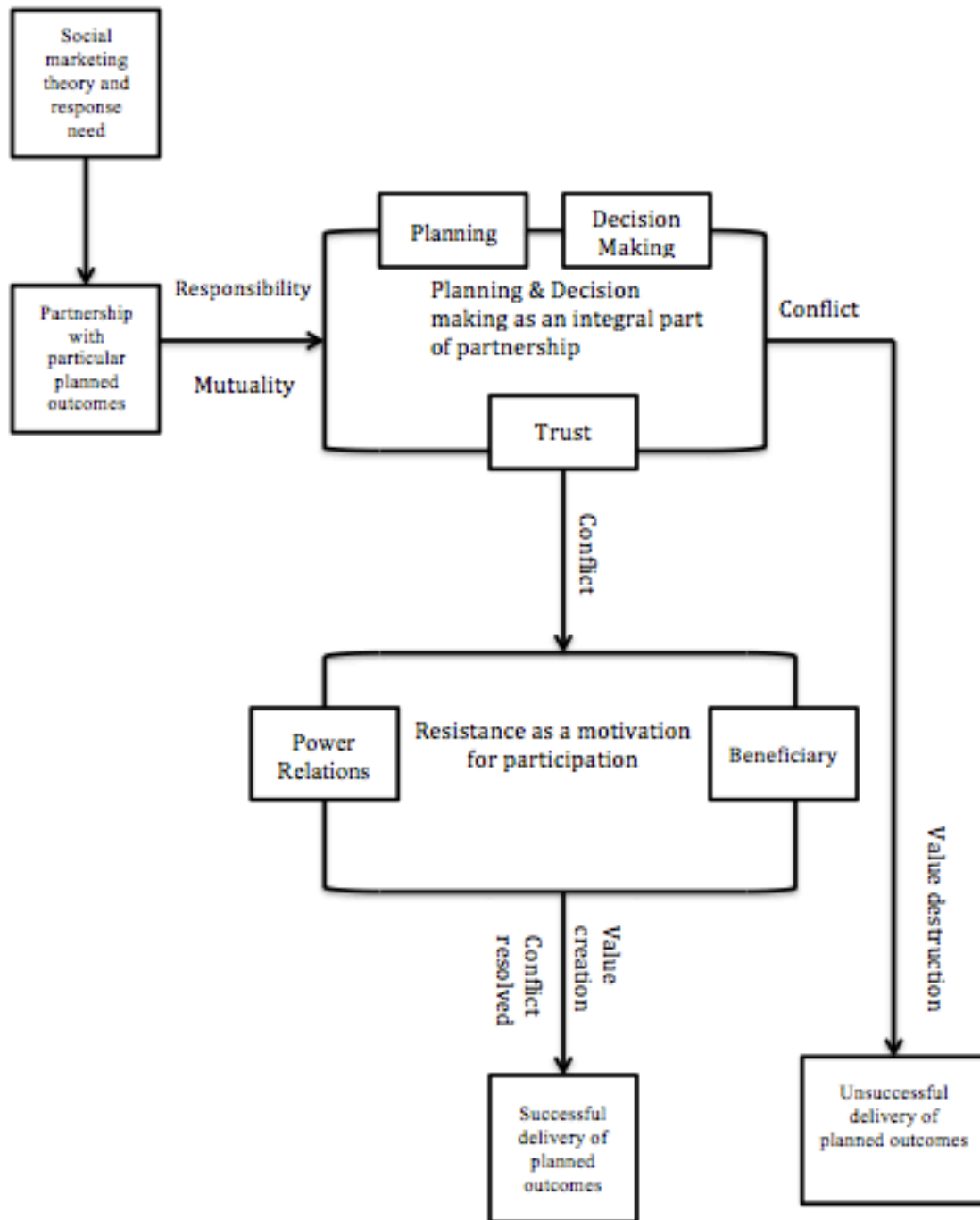


Figure 9.1 Revised conceptual framework

The revised framework illustrates that planning and decision-making should be an integral part of a partnership. Recognising the interdependency of the beneficiary in the process of planning and decision-making leads to trust among the stakeholders. This trust would further lead to value creation when conflicts are resolved. Continuous planning and decision-making is the key to resolve the conflicts provided the beneficiary is involved in the process. Due to their involvement, resistance will be

seen as a motivation to participate in the process of the partnership rather than a barrier to change. This will resolve the conflicts among the stakeholders and would create value that should lead to successful delivery of the planned outcome for a campaign. For a social marketing campaign to be more effective, the social marketers have to resolve conflicts and develop relationships with all the stakeholders. The process of planning and decision-making is the key to conflict resolutions and relationship formations. Value can be created with the help of learning gained from the beneficiary. The learning gained during planning and decision-making should be applied to achieve the desired outcome of the partnership. If the beneficiary is not involved in the process, this can generate value destruction for the campaign resulting in unsuccessful delivery of the desired outcome.

9.2 Research questions answered

This thesis provides a compelling and logical justification for the concept of partnership from the perspective of a developing country like Pakistan. It answers the questions of how a partnership is conceptualised differently in a social marketing campaign in Balochistan. The empirical evidence shows how planning and decision-making are practised and why the beneficiary needs to be involved in these processes. The findings and discussion indicate the implication of trust and resistance to the process of planning and decision-making. Finally, this research introduces the concept of power relations to the idea of partnership in a social marketing campaign in Balochistan.

9.2.1 Research Question 1: How is partnership conceptualised differently in a social marketing campaign in Balochistan?

The primary need for the creation of this partnership was the lack of money and technical skills to tackle malnutrition. The government was not able to provide funds to the nutrition cell, nor could it train the staff in the technical skills required to address malnutrition. Nutrition Cell Balochistan (NCB) lacked critical competencies which it could not develop on its own, and hence, the partnership was created (Selsky & Parker, 2005). Partnership in this sense is a way to address organisational needs while dealing with the issue of malnutrition in Balochistan (Selsky & Parker, 2005). The aim of this partnership is to support NCB in promoting healthy nutrition practice

among the beneficiary. However, the IDAs are more concerned with distributing their food commodities than engaging the beneficiary. Their targets are related to the distribution of goods and number of treatments. They are failing to impart the healthy nutrition practices.

Political and social power relations influence this partnership. WFP is not satisfied with the performance of lady health workers; they have no other option to deliver their commodities to the mothers due to cultural norms. Apart from this, when a campaign starts in a particular area, politicians put pressure on the manager for the patronage of their kinship group, or they would not support the campaign. Due to these power relations, the partnership lacks mutuality, accountability, transparency and monitoring. There is a lack of shared identity among the partners as they consider themselves employees of NCB or WFP or the Health Department rather than partners in the nutrition campaign. The partners are competing within the partnership (see story box 1). There is limited mutual support and partners do not enjoy equal ownership (see story box 2). Ideally, in a partnership, each partner should enjoy equal rights and shared responsibility. They would correspondingly help one another to accomplish the collective goals of the partnership. In this campaign, such characteristics of a partnership are limited. The IDAs are driving the partnership and promoting their targets. As Lister (1999) suggests, their actions would make it hard to reach the common objectives of the partnership. There are procedures for the accountability and transparency of the partnership. However, there were complaints about the irregularities, but the DG Health Services took no action. The Director General of Health Services heads all the partnerships. He is responsible for monitoring, evaluation, posting and transfer of employees. He knows that EDOHs are not performing, but he supports them because he is a doctor himself. Finally, there is a single annual review meeting for the monitoring and planning of the campaign.

9.2.2 Research Question 2: How is the process of planning and decision-making practised in Balochistan?

The primary emphasis in the process of planning is on producing a document that could be used for campaign implementation. The planning meeting attended by the researcher presented a draft of the plan with essential components still unaddressed. The participants were informed that the plan would be finalised in Islamabad. During

the meeting group activities and discussions were used to generate ideas for the plan. However, during the presentations the members from Islamabad changed their ideas. The Secretary of Health stated during the meeting that his department was not satisfied with the planning process as relevant stakeholders were not part of the process. Due to this exclusion of stakeholders, the Health Department will not get an implemental plan. The IDAs do not consider the input of their partners sincerely during the planning. Agencies develop the plan keeping in mind their aims and objectives (read observation exhibit three). Then the department finds it hard to implement such plans. The planning is disjointed and unshared.

Contrary to Buyucek *et al.* (2016) and Brady (2013), this partnership is not mindful about the process of planning. There is one-time planning and assessment of the process. A planning document is made before the start of a campaign. Then, that document is mostly used for future planning and decision-making. Decision-making partners who hold resources can set limits to the process. For example, NCB holds the food commodities in their warehouse, so they decide how to distribute them. UNICEF and WFP hold the funds for seminars and training, so they decide about them. In this case, all the parties have access to some resources, but the vital resource is money that decides the authority. This places the IDAs as the major decision-makers.

In this partnership, authority (money) has been taken for granted, as apolitical, and assumed to be functional (Hardy, 1994). Any action taken under this authority is considered impartial and rational. Money and illegitimacy of power to other partners enable IDAs to make most of the decisions in this partnership. Their decisions are assumed to be in the best interests of all the partners. This resonates with the elitist's model when a selected few take decisions based on a set of rules (Hindess, 1996). The authority holders claim that they make the best decisions in the interests of the people. However, that interpretation on the part of decision-makers fails to represent the ground realities; rather it signifies their own interests (Scott, 1999). There is an oligarchy of selected figures that take the decisions for communities and society (Hindess, 1996).

Community involvement for this partnership is fundamental for two reasons. Firstly, their participation is vital for the development of trust and value creation (McHugh, Domegan, & Duane, 2018). Secondly, in Pakistan, there is a central political fact that

the society is significantly strong and the state is weak (Lodhi, 2011). The basic reason for the weakness of the state is the kinship loyalty that can also bring steadiness to the society (Lieven, 2011). Without the support of the beneficiary, it can be difficult to implement change (McHugh, Domegan, & Duane, 2018). There is no learning from the beneficiary that may create value. Involvement of the beneficiary could provide a better understanding of the ground realities and co-create value for the campaign.

UNICEF, the leading partner, acknowledges the fact that the people of Pakistan are divided, and they think differently. Still, they make a single plan for these fragmented people, assuming that it would be implementable. Mowles (2015) suggests that in highly differentiated societies, fluctuation in relations leads to the production of knowledge. Diversity among the beneficiary should be a motivation for their inclusion in the process to generate knowledge, not an excuse for their exclusion. The isolation of the beneficiary caused the campaign to be perceived as impersonal, which resulted in value destruction for the campaign. The food items distributed are either thrown away or fed to livestock. For the campaign to be more effective, the partners have to create a relationship based on valuable exchange.

This value can be created with the help of learning gained through interaction with the beneficiary (French, Russell-Bennett, & Mulcahy, 2017). However, this learning is missing during the planning and decision-making of this partnership. The learning acquired during the process could be implied to bring more value to the campaign. At the moment, the beneficiary thinks that IDAs are not here to help them. Rather they are working on a hidden agenda to hurt the Muslims. There is a general thinking that the food items supplied would make the mothers and children infertile. The beneficiaries question, if this campaign is for their benefit, then why they are not a part of it? Their inclusion in the process could create value and effectiveness for the campaign (French, Russell-Bennett, & Mulcahy, 2017). The partners need to create a 'collective will' among the beneficiary.

That 'collective will' about adopting nutrition practices is missing. Hegemony can be used to build that 'collective will' by articulating a variety of demands, beliefs and interests. This would offer ways to resolve the problem by common norms and values (Haugaard, 2009). In this case, instead of creating a 'collective will' the partners are

aiming for a ‘collective submission’ and that too without any articulation. The beneficiary would protect their old beliefs as they think it serves their interest. The decision to change their beliefs cannot be forced. If the beneficiary perceives value in the new set of beliefs, then they can adopt them (McHugh, Domegan, & Duane, 2018). That perception can only be co-created through interaction, so isolation is not an option.

9.2.3 Research Question 3: What is the nature of trust and resistance during a social marketing campaign in Balochistan?

Recognising the interdependency of the beneficiary and local partners in the process of planning and decision-making can lead to trust. This trust could lead to value creation and effectiveness for the partnership (McHugh, Domegan, & Duane, 2018). EDOHs are not a part of the planning and decision-making process because the managers at NCB do not trust them. The EDOHs are blamed for not following the guidelines of WFP. The EDOHs think they know the issue of malnutrition better and can select the right beneficiary for treatment. They trust their knowledge more than the information provided in the guidelines. There is a conflict between the doctors and managers resulting in trust issues, or perhaps due to mistrust there is a conflict (see observation exhibit five). The DG Health acknowledges that EDOHs are not performing, but he supports them because he is a doctor himself.

This mistrust among the partners delayed humanitarian work after an earthquake. The prior trustworthiness was missing among the partners, and there was no attempt to rebuild it (Perks & Halliday, 2003). Decisions were taken in isolation and interdependency among the partners was ignored. Instead of supporting the employees of the health department, WFP selected a different partner to distribute their commodities. The decision of a new partner was not shared with them. Such planning and decision-making resulted in mistrust that affected the partnership. The decision was taken on assumptions while ignoring the ground reality. If the EDOH of the district had been included in the process of planning and decision-making, he could have given a better picture of the situation. Then maybe the decision could have been quicker and more effective. However, due to lack of trust, the EDOH was not consulted. Trust is critical to the success of planning and decision-making. Trust

requires relationship building based on openness and sharing. Mistrust between the partners can cause resistance in the partnership.

Not to take responsibility for work is the easiest way to resist in this partnership (Thomas & Davies, 2005). The employees of the health department understand that WFP or NCB cannot hold them accountable for their performance. This makes it easy for them not to perform their activities. The issue of irresponsibility was observed many times during the data collection process. The employees of the health department during their interviews mentioned the campaign as a work of IDAs. They were not prepared to take responsibility for the campaign. Story box 4 illustrated one such attempt where employees were not ready to attend an event organised by NCB. Due to the agency between the employees of the health department, power relations shifted in their favour and created a situation of domination. Due to a high level of interdependency in the context, resistance needs to be understood as sense-making for participants. Then shared sense-making by parties involved could move the partnership towards ways of actually achieving those ends agreed from the outset.

The research sees resistance as a means for suppressed group to indicate their desire, enthusiasm or need to get involved in the process of planning and decision-making (Mdletye *et al.*, 2014). This research has identified the less obvious forms of resistance such as irresponsibility and dishonesty; such forms of resistance are common to the discourse. They contribute to the ineffectiveness of this partnership. This study does not consider such forms of resistance as objects to be overcome but interprets them as expressing a desire for inclusion in order to contribute to the effectiveness of the partnership (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016).

9.2.4 Research Question 4: What are the consequences of power relations for a partnership in Balochistan?

There is an unclear chain of command that affects the performance of employees. The employees of NCB acknowledged pressure while performing their jobs. They have to follow two or three sets of instructions for a single task. Dowling *et al.* (2004) claim that one of the benefits of a partnership is that managerial responsibilities can be shared, which leads to less stress. In this case, the stress has increased because the partners have failed to delegate roles and duties properly during the planning. The resulting unclear chain of command is creating work duplication and an increasing

workload. The aspect of normalisation is missing in the partnership. The consequences are stress and confusion for the employees. To build discipline, it is fundamental to create normalisation with the help of defined roles and responsibility. As indicated by Brady (2013), such duplication could be avoided by defining roles and responsibilities during planning. Failure to delegate power is a result of disjointed planning and decision-making.

Transparency is another issue that surfaced due to power relations in this partnership. It is associated with the factor of who controls the distribution of food commodities. Employees of NCB claim that after they took control transparency was achieved. For employees of the health department, after their exclusion transparency was lost. The partners are more concerned to take control than with meeting the goals. As Elliott (1987) argues, transparency in a partnership is often affected by an asymmetry of power. The partners use the partnership to advance their own objectives. This issue of transparency further leads into the issue of accountability. Lister (1999) indicates a causal relation between transparency and accountability.

This campaign has limited accountability; there are procedures for it but when a complaint is launched no action is taken. There is a professional tension between the doctors and the managers of the campaign. The head of this partnership, DG Health Services, is a doctor, and he covers up any action against his fellow doctors. These practices of radical power not only create an issue of accountability and transparency but also present the problem of irresponsibility. There is no agency between the employees of the health department and the rest of the partners. The EDOHs lack the obligation to work for the campaign. They know they cannot be held accountable for any misconduct. Lukes (2005) might claim that the practice of radical power from DG Health is crafty and that it tends to influence others without there being consequences. However, sooner or later people would acknowledge and react, and in this case, the reaction is irresponsibility. Responsibility in this partnership cannot be achieved without human agency (Giddens, 1984).

9.3 Recommendations

9.3.1 Recommendations for managers of the nutrition campaign

Partners are failing to impart the healthy nutrition practices, which is the main aim of this campaign. WFP targets the distribution of goods and NCB aims for healthy nutrition practices. This disparity in objectives creates value destruction for the campaign, resulting in ineffectiveness in the partnership. For the campaign to be more effective, the partners have to develop relationships with all the stakeholders (Hastings, 2003) based on valuable exchange.

The process of planning and decision-making could be the operation through which partners can create value for this campaign. The value can be co-created through learning about the beneficiary and this co-creation will help them to adapt previously held ideas (McHugh, Domegan, & Duane, 2018). Value creation requires that knowledge must be shared with other stakeholders (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016). In this case, the partners can give or take more information to the beneficiary and integrate their input in the planning and implementation of the campaign. The relationship must be mutual and reciprocal in nature. Partners and beneficiary can be connected through a web of relationship to co-create value (French, Russell-Bennett, & Mulcahy, 2017). Such relationships must be built during the process of planning (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016).

Granting access to the beneficiary in the process of planning and decision-making can be an aid to value creation. Value can be created with the help of learning gained through interaction with the beneficiary. It is not possible to engage the beneficiary. So instead the IDAs could use the Mullahs to reach the beneficiary. This research has already presented empirical evidence of how the support of a mullah was gained. The IDAs can use field workers to engage Mullahs in their campaign. The government of Balochistan also needs to work at the political level to create a collective will among the beneficiary.

Hegemony can be used to create that 'collective will' by articulating a variety of demands, beliefs and interests. This can offer ways to resolve the socio-political

problem in agreement with popular norms and values (Haugaard, 2009). Articulation can be a mutual modification of dissimilar elements to create such a relationship that gives a unified identity. When the discourse is limited, as in this case, then hegemonic articulation is impossible. So positing an external enemy as, in this case, malnutrition can set the unity of the discourse.

9.3.2 Recommendations for social marketers

Trust and Resistance

Trust is essential for the effectiveness of planning and decision-making. Trust requires relationship building based on openness and sharing. Trust is placed due to prior investment in reputation or prior evidence of trustworthiness (Perks & Halliday, 2003); it needs to be actively built during the relationship. This implies sharing and learning, and involving the beneficiary and local partners in planning and decision-making would increase trust. The process of partnership has high interdependency and it is acknowledged that ignoring this can create resistance (Scott, 1999; Van Krieken, 1998).

This study argues that it is necessary to focus on the beneficiary operating in a particular setting. The access for the beneficiary that makes up partnership has, in fact, been overlooked. The research integrated the issues of planning and decision-making and power relations as possible barriers to change. This study reflects that disjointed planning and decision-making can provoke resistance that leads towards the issues of mistrust, dishonesty, irresponsibility, transparency and accountability. There is interdependency between power relations, planning and decision-making, trust and resistance that needs acknowledgement at managerial level.

The nature of a partnership may be mutual and transparent at the beginning of the process but not practising shared planning and decision-making can cause mistrust. This mistrust can lead to resistance. Partners can resist through dishonesty and irresponsibility, yet this research does not consider such forms of resistance as an object of opposition, but rather it is their means of expression. Resistance is a means of expressing their desire to be included in the process of planning and joint decision-making.

Power relations

The partnerships formed are seen as flawed from the beginning and as being driven by power relations (Crawford, 2003). When the planner of the campaign does not ensure the participation of all stakeholders, conflict will emerge (see story box 5) (Buyucek *et al.*, 2016). As a result of isolation, the beneficiary links the UN with Jews and Christians. Such conflicts can be addressed if the people are involved in the process of planning to create value (Wood, 2016). Mowles (2015), discussing from Elias perspective, suggests that interdependency is fundamental for a highly differentiated society like Pakistan. However, the IDAs are ignoring that interdependency and trying to work in isolation. They are ignoring the interpersonal nature of power asserted by Elias.

9.4 Theoretical contribution of the research

1. Kolk and Lenfant (2015), Gregory (2005) and Hastings (2003) argue about the significance of partnership and relationship in social marketing. They assert that social marketers need to develop relationships with the stakeholders but they fail to identify how these relationships can be developed. This study finds that efficient partnership, effective planning and joint decision-making are the preconditions whereby social marketers can foster valuable relationships with the target audience.
2. This research contributes to the debate on the structural view of power. It adds the notion of interdependency from Elias' perceptive (Mowles, 2015) to the academic debate. It highlights the importance of the target audience during the process of planning in a developing country like Pakistan where the *biradari* system (family and kinship ties) brings stability to the society. This research features the centrality of the target audience for a social marketing campaign in a highly differentiated society such as Pakistan. The diversity of the target audience should be taken as a motivation for their inclusion in the process to generate knowledge, not as an excuse for their exclusion. Isolation of the target audience can cause the campaign to be perceived as impersonal and without value.
3. This research contributes to the conception of partnership presented by Buyucek *et al.* (2016), Seitanidi (2010), Stern and Green (2005), Selsky and Parker (2005), Dowling *et al.* (2004) and Lister (1999). It deliberates on how

it is viewed and practised differently in the developing world. It highlights the notion of power relations in relation to the concept of partnership in a social marketing campaign. It emphasises how power relations can influence the process of partnership in a developing country. Lack of accountability, transparency, mutuality and monitoring are identified as consequences of power relations between the partners. The research demonstrates how the partners work for the promotion of their organisational goals while ignoring the common aim of the partnership due to power relations. It is fundamental to focus on the relational aspect of power as suggested by Elias. This research contributes the notion of interdependency from Elias' perceptive. Interdependency is significant for a highly differentiated society like Pakistan. The intentions, actions and interactions of people are interdependent on a web of intentions, actions and interactions of other people that create chances of power (Mowles, 2015).

4. This research contributes further insights to those provided by Mdletye *et al.* (2014) and Thomas and Davies (2005). The research brings forth a new conceptualisation of resistance in the context of Pakistan. The research has identified less obvious forms of resistance such as irresponsibility. The study argues that such forms of resistance in developing countries should not be considered as an object to be overcome but as an expression of a desire for inclusion for the effectiveness of the campaign. This research contributes to a new conceptualisation of resistance as a means for the suppressed group to indicate their desire, enthusiasm or need to become involved in the process of decision-making.
5. This study adds the concept of *biradari* to the academic debate of social marketing and argues that it is different from other cultural influences. It can be said that the concept of *biradari* in Pakistan draws its inspiration from *wasta*, but the consequences of these two are different. Not following the *biradari* system can get people killed, whereas in *wasta* or *guanxi* no such thing happens. *Wasta* or *guanxi* are mostly associated with economic transactions whereas the *biradari* system runs the whole social life in Pakistan. *Wasta* and *guanxi* help in operating within the economic system but *biradari* helps leading a better life in Pakistan.

6. Finally, this research present a case in favour of expanding the idea of social marketing to incorporate further elements such as power relations, planning, policy and the target audience, to name a few. This thesis adds further insight into the work of French, Russell-Bennett and Mulcahy (2017), Buyucek *et al.* (2016), Gordon (2012) and Stead *et al.* (2007).

9.5 The limitations of the research

- The premise upon which this case study is based is that social marketing campaigns are not delivering their desired outcomes. This study design is limited regarding numbers and the exploratory nature of its enquiry. Various directions are discussed to point the way forward in conceptualising social marketing campaigns in a developing country such as Pakistan. The research has explored more than one aspect of the campaign that may not have produced a substantial description of elements.
- Security risk has been a limitation since the start of the research. Initially, the researcher wanted to explore the polio campaign, but due to high security risks, it was dropped. However, the nutrition campaign was also not free of such risk. The researcher limited his field trip to a single one, due to security concerns. He was not able to visit the district offices to observe the process of implementation.
- The researcher belongs to a well-known family in Balochistan that has helped him gain access to the target audience and places. However, the participants may not have expressed themselves reasonably during the interview process. For example, there were many mentions of corruption, but nobody gave him any clear evidence of it. They knew that the researcher is close to the health minister and disclosing such information may get the other person into trouble, as he might tell the minister about it.
- The researcher spent five months in Quetta for data collection. The period might have been sufficient if the process had been continuous. It was interrupted for two weeks because of an earthquake. Apart from this, due to bomb blasts and killings of people the process was stopped twice. Then there were 15 public holidays during the data collection. Owing to these facts the time spent was limited.

9.6 Directions of future research

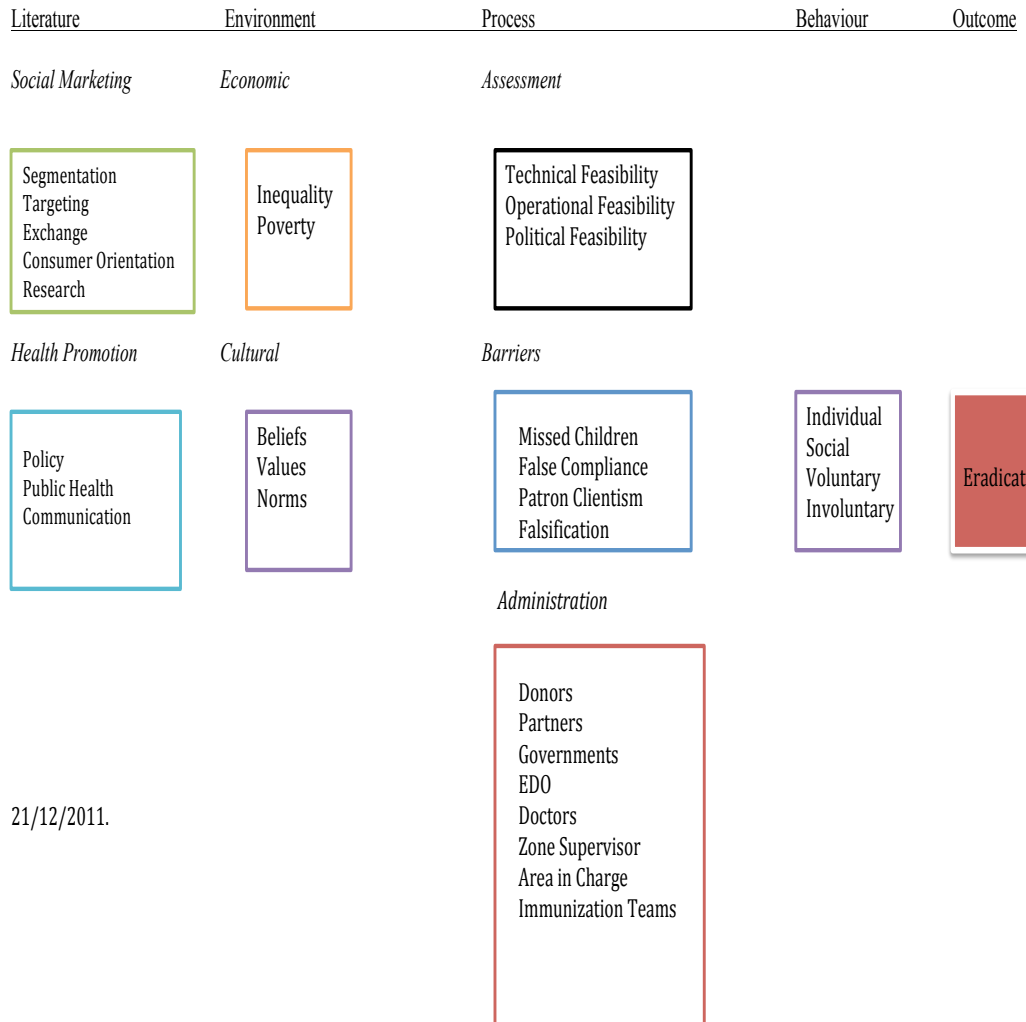
The centrality of planning and decision-making can now be used to examine value creation and implementation in a social marketing campaign. Further case study research could be conducted on health campaigns operating in Pakistan. A comparative analysis could be undertaken between campaigns in Balochistan and Punjab. The comparison can highlight how planning and decision-making in the most developed region of Pakistan are different from the underdeveloped area of Balochistan.

This research has recognised irresponsibility as a form of resistance during a social marketing campaign. The issue of irresponsibility can be examined in partnerships operating in the UK. The investigation can conceptualise the notion of irresponsibility in a developed country. It could also introduce the concept of resistance to a social marketing campaign. We can study why organisational partners and the target audience in a social marketing campaign practise resistance and how the managers of social marketing campaigns see resistance.

This research has introduced the notion of power relations to social marketing. The paradox of stability and change (Mowles, 2015) from Elias' perspective can be applied to future research. The investigation can look into the implications of process reduction in social marketing campaigns. The research can look into the process of inclusion and exclusion manifested in human interdependence and the interpersonal nature of power (Mowles, 2015).

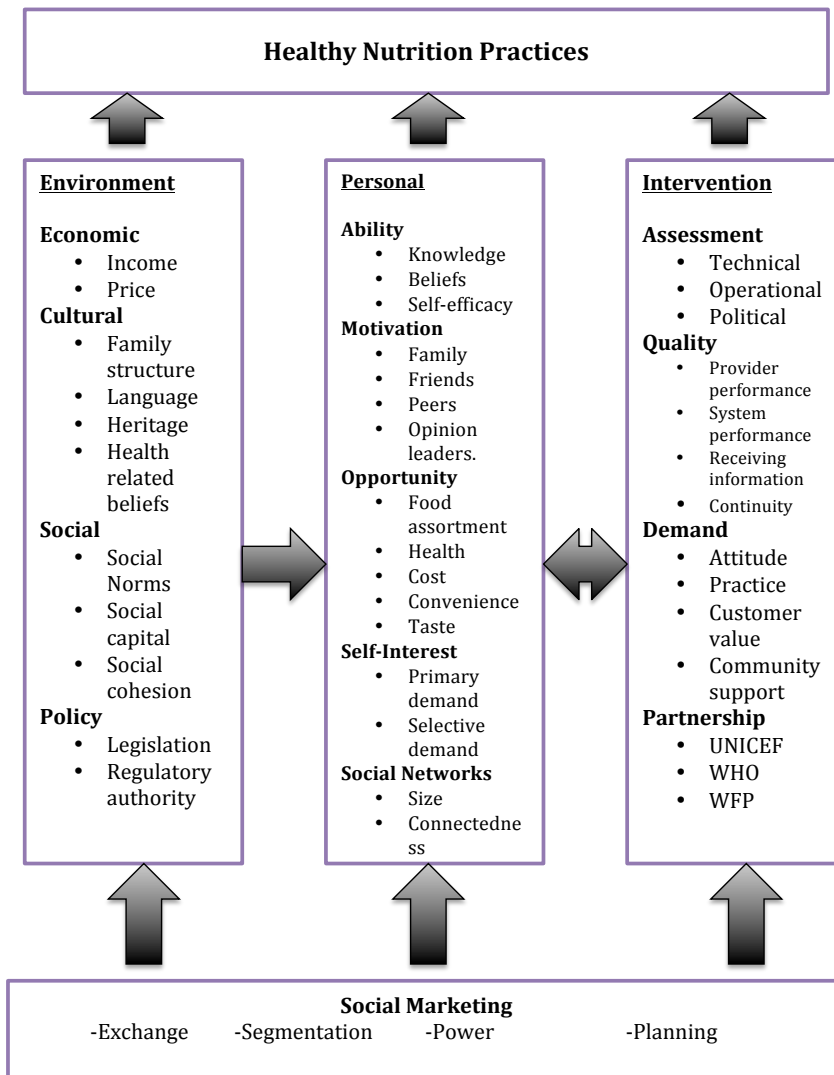
Appendix A

Conceptual Framework for Research

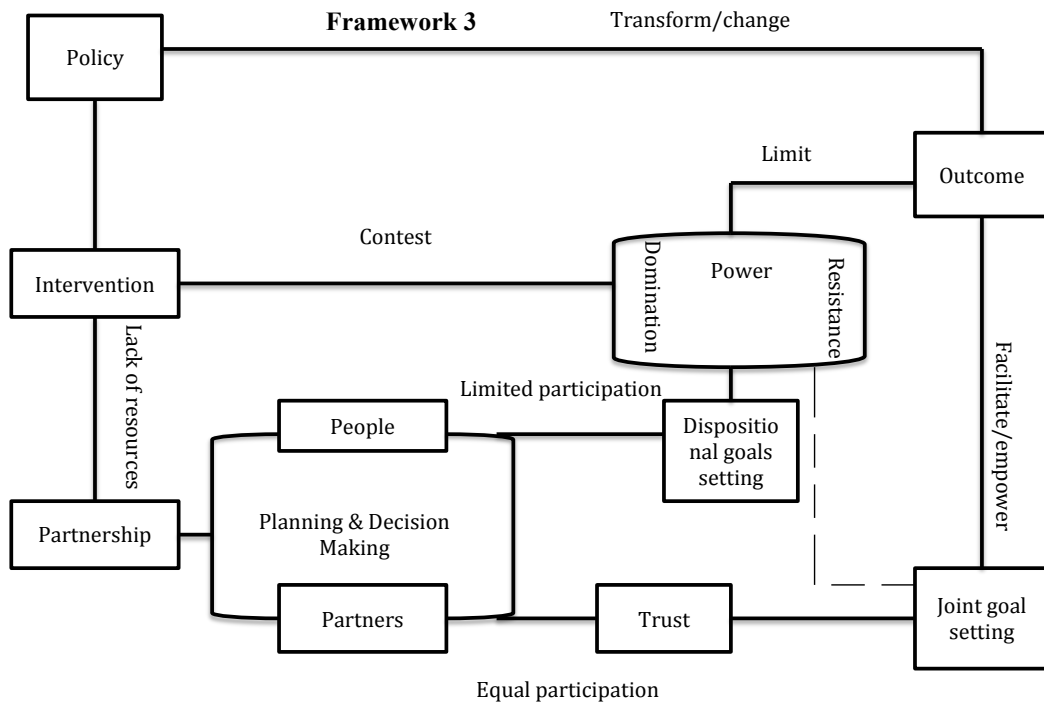


21/12/2011.

Framework 2



29/05/12



22/11/2012

Appendix B

PhD Research project on

Partnership, People, Power Relations in social marketing partnership: reflections and conceptions from Pakistan

By

Mir Sadaat Baloch (m.baloch@herts.ac.uk)

Business School, University of Hertfordshire, Hatfield.

U.K.

Agreement to Participate in this Research

The purpose of this case study is to understand the significance of upstream social marketing activities in Pakistan. The research will explore the upstream activity of partnership in health department of Balochistan. Instead of focusing on the whole process of partnership the study will focus on the process of planning and decision-making. The researcher understands that there is a dichotomy between the perception and practice of partnership that requires attention. In order to create a better insight about the concept of partnership, the notion of people and power needs exploration. The research will also describe the significance of power towards the sustainability of partnerships in Pakistan. This interview is the part of data collection for the research. Data obtained through this interview will be kept confidential and will only be used for the purpose mentioned. Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw from interview anytime you wish.

Please answer the following (select all that apply):

- I agree to take part in the above study
- I confirm that I understand the purpose of this research
- I understand that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason, and without me being affected in any way
- I agree to the voice recording of the interview/discussion
- I understand that my identity in this research will be kept confidential.

Name (optional pseudonym):

Signature:

Date:

Interview guide

Time of Interview:

Date:

Place:

Interviewee:

Why does this partnership exist?

Prompts:

- Who decided about this partnership?
- Is the purpose clearly defined?
- Are the goals clearly defined?
- Are there shared purposes and goals of the partnership?
- Is it clear who is responsible for what in the partnership?

How roles are defined within the partnership?

Prompts:

- Who defines the roles?
- Are roles clear?
- Is everyone aware of his/her tasks and responsibilities?
- Does any clash occur among the roles?

How are members held accountable for their roles and responsibilities?

Prompts:

- What processes are in place to ensure that people fulfill their obligations?
- What are the consequences if members do not fulfill their duties?

How does information sharing take place within the partnership?

Prompts:

- What are the formal means of Information Sharing?
- What are the informal means of Information Sharing?
- How is Information documented?
- Is written communication clear?

How decisions are made in the partnership?

Prompts:

- Are all stakeholders involved in decision-making and planning?
- How is everyone made aware of new decisions?
- How are everyone's thoughts and ideas incorporated into policies, practices, decision-making, etc.?

Do you think resources are used and distributed appropriately within the context of the partnership? Why or why not?

Prompts:

- How does this use and distribution of resources reflect principles of fairness and equity?
- What is the role of governance and leaderships in distribution of resources?
- Is it good or bad?
- It is positive or negative?

What are your thoughts around whether the partnership has a trustworthy distribution of resources to support the partnership?

Prompts:

- Can you describe the distribution of resources on Individual, agency and systemic/political levels?
- Does this distribution of resources contribute towards sustainability of partnership?

Do you take your partners as strength to partnership or a weakness?

Prompts:

- Why do you consider them as strength?
- Why do you consider them as weakness?
- Why do you not consider them as strength?
- Why do you not consider them as weakness?

How is power distributed in meetings?

Prompts:

- Describe how leadership roles in meetings are managed (e.g., chairing/ co-chairing)
- Is there appropriate representation at meetings (e.g., various opinions, positions, and roles are present)?
- If conflicts arise how they are resolved?
- Do all parties have opportunities to discuss issues?
- Is there sufficient effort made to satisfy the needs of relevant stakeholders?

How are responsibilities are distributed?

Prompts:

- Is there an effort to collaborate with all partners when establishing these roles?
- What strategies are in place to decrease power differentials between stakeholders, especially when engaging in problem resolution?
- Who are the relevant stakeholders that need to have input into the partnership?
- What level and form of input do they have?
- What is the impact of this on power sharing?

How planning and decision-making takes place in the partnership?

Prompts:

- How are you involved in the process?
- Are you involved enough? If yes how? If no why?
- When decisions have to be made quickly, is it clear who makes decisions?
- Are all partners comfortable with this? Why or why not?
- Is the process transparent, fair, and thorough (e.g., relevant stakeholders are aware decisions are being made, all relevant stakeholders have the opportunity to give input)?
- In general, do you feel that your opinions influence decisions?
- In general, which partner opinions influence the decisions most? And why?

What is your experience regarding trust between members of the partnership?

Prompts:

- What are some examples/thoughts regarding:
 - Members showing that they trust and/or respect your contribution
 - Members showing trust and/or respect to another in the partnership
 - Members showing trust in the process/ the project

Can you tell me how you appreciate differences between members of the partnership?

Prompts:

- What are some examples/thoughts regarding:
 - Members demonstrating mutual respect
 - Members' efforts to learn each other's perspective
 - Members demonstrating flexibility

Do you focus more on the goals of partnership or the operational measures?

Prompts

- Which is more important?
- How do you define a successful partnership?
- How can a partnership best be evaluated?

Thank you for participating in this interview

Focus group guide

Time of focus group:

Date:

Place:

Group No.:

Why does this partnership exist?

Prompts:

- Who decided about this partnership?
- Is the purpose clearly defined?
- Are the goals clearly defined?
- Are there shared purposes and goals of the partnership?
- Is it clear who is responsible for what in the partnership?

How roles are defined within the partnership?

Prompts:

- Who defines the roles?
- Are roles clear?
- Is everyone aware of his/her tasks and responsibilities?
- Does any clash occur among the roles?

How decisions are made in the partnership?

Prompts:

- Are all stakeholders involved in decision-making and planning?
- How is everyone made aware of new decisions?
- How are everyone's thoughts and ideas incorporated into policies, practices, decision-making, etc.?

Do you think resources are used and distributed appropriately within the context of the partnership? Why or why not?

Prompts:

- How does this use and distribution of resources reflect principles of fairness and equity?
- What is the role of governance and leaderships in distribution of resources? Is it good or bad? It is positive or negative?

What are your thoughts around whether the partnership has a trustworthy distribution of resources to support the partnership?

Prompts:

- Can you describe the distribution of resources on Individual, agency and systemic/political levels?
- Does this distribution of resources contribute towards sustainability of partnership?

How planning and decision-making takes place in the partnership?

Prompts:

- How are you involved in the process?
- Are you involved enough?
- When decisions have to be made quickly, is it clear who makes decisions?
- Are all partners comfortable with this? Why or why not?

- Is the process transparent, fair, and thorough (e.g., relevant stakeholders are aware decisions are being made, all relevant stakeholders have the opportunity to give input)?
- In general, do you feel that your opinions influence decisions?
- In general, which partner opinions influence the decisions most? And why?

What has your experience been regarding trust between members of the partnership?

Prompts:

- What are some examples/thoughts regarding:
 - Members showing that they trust and/or respect your contribution
 - Members showing trust and/or respect to another in the partnership
 - Members showing trust in the process/ the project

UNIVERSITY OF HERTFORDSHIRE
SOCIAL, SCIENCES, ARTS AND HUMANITIES

MEMORANDUM

TO Mir Sadaar Baloch

CC Peter Fraser

FROM Caroline Large, Social, Sciences, Art and Humanities, ECDA Chairman

DATE 9 August 2013

Protocol number: BUS/PG/UH/00264

Title of study: Social Marketing Partnership: Reflections from people, power and Policy in Pakistan

Your application for ethical approval has been accepted and approved by the ECDA for your school.

This approval is valid:

From: 19 August 2013

To: 31 January 2014

Please note:

Approval applies specifically to the research study/methodology and timings as detailed in your Form EC1. Should you amend any aspect of your research, or wish to apply for an extension to your study, you will need your supervisor's approval and must complete and submit form EC2. In cases where the amendments to the original study are deemed to be substantial, a new Form EC1 may need to be completed prior to the study being undertaken.

Secretary of Health
Government of Balochistan
Pakistan

Subject: Grant of permission to conduct research at department of health from 19th August 2013 to 31st January 2014.

Honourable Sir,

I am a research scholar from the University of Hertfordshire United Kingdom. As per the requirement of PhD I need to collect primary data related to my research. My research focuses on the partnerships that health department is engaged in with international agency such as WHO, WFP and UNICEF. The research protocol of my university requires an ethic approval of my research before I proceed to collect my data. For this approval I need a consent letter from your department for granting me permission to conduct research on your department. The data collection methods would involve, expert interviews, focus groups, research diaries, document analysis and video recording of events. The researcher is bound by his university rules to keep all the data confidential and anonymous. I hereby request you to please grant me permission to conduct research at department of health Balochistan from 19th August 2013 to 31st January 2014. This research will help the managers of health department to bring effectiveness into their partnerships.

Best wishes,

Mir Sadaat Baloch
PhD candidate
MIRU Business School
University of Herefordshire UK

Dated 29th April 13.



NO.PC(H)/ GEN /2013/ 3726-28
GOVERNMENT OF BALOCHISTAN
HEALTH DEPARTMENT
(Planning Cell)
Ph: #081-9202287, Fax: #081-9201141
E-mail: health.planningcell.qta@hotmail.com

Dated Quetta, the 28th, 2013

To whom it may concern

Health Department, Government of Balochistan hereby grants permission to Mr.Saadat Baloch, PhD Candidate at University of Hertfordshire, U.K to carry out research from 19th August 2013 to 31st January 2014 at Health Department Balochistan, Pakistan; focusing upon Health Department and its partnership with International Donors such as AusAID, DFID Global Fund etc. and UN Agencies i.e WHO, WFP, UNICEF etc. The permission is granted subject to conditions that data collected will be kept confidential and will not be used for purposes other than specified. There will be no financial liability on part of Government of Balochistan/Pakistan.

We wish him best of luck in the future.

Abdul Rasool Zehri
(Abdul Rasool Zehri) 28-5-13
Chief Planning Officer

C.c to;

- 1) The Director General, Health Services Balochistan, Quetta.
- 2) The Medical Superintendent all Tertiary Care Hospitals Quetta.
- 3) Mr.Saadat Baloch, PhD Candidate.
- 4) Master file.

Appendix C

Concept: Responsibility

Themes of Analysis:

- Lack of ownership 1
- Lack of interest from government 5
- Lack of responsibility 34 Forging data 54
- Undue Favours 13
- Money making 18
- Blackmailing staff 37
- Dishonesty with work 38
- Misappropriation of resources 43

Related Responses from the respondents:

“NCBH: We remind them [employees of health department] every now and then but they forget that this campaign is also theirs’. At times, they warn us that they will stop the campaign if their personal interests are not addressed. They create constraints for us, last month I arranged a seminar in one of the district; I informed the EDOH about it. (He clears his throat). When I reached there everything was in order, but when the coordinator of the national health worker realised that he is not getting any benefit from the seminar he asked his employees not to participate in it. He also asked the President of Paramedic Staff not to participate. Then I had to call an emergency meeting with the EDOH, President of Paramedic Staff and the coordinator of the national health worker. We had a good discussion and re-planned the whole event. That seminar would have been a failure without my personal efforts and links. They never realise that the information provided through such a seminar will benefit their people.”

Concept: Value

Themes of Analysis:

- Differing objectives/motives 2
- Self interest 3
- Extra incentive 36
- Taking credit for work 23

- Rich & poor divide 53

Related Responses from the respondents

“WFPZ: [These] three [UN] agencies will not even look at each other’s faces (*shakal bhi nahe daikay ge*), they are competing for resources, and working for their own benefits. Actually, a nutrition policy is in making [...] WHO and UNICEF are working on it and a rat race is on between them. The policy was initiated by WHO, but UNICEF is the lead agency in this partnership so, they whipped it from them (*woh beech me ghus aae*). UNICEF made a policy from their end and sent it to the government. Eventually, the government has to run the policy, and they have no idea about it (*unke kak be nahe pata*) like what is in, how it was made, and who made it. It's a magic show (*ya ek topi darma hai*).”

Concept: Resistance

Themes of Analysis:

- Good EDOH & Bad EDOH 4
- We know our work 10
- They don’t know their work 11
- A few good men 12
- Not matching ground reality 25
- Uncertain about future 8
- Ambivalence 33
- Fear of failure 52

Related Responses from the respondents

NCBH: Everyone from top to bottom in the district is involved in misappropriation of commodities. Unfortunately working according to rules is not a priority for them. You will hardly find a trustworthy EDOH who will work by the book.

Concept: Partnership

Themes of Analysis:

- Mutual respect 48
- Perception of fairness 31

- Perception of partner dependency 26
- Perception about partnership 32
- Partnership 50
- Lady Health Worker 15

Related Responses from the respondents

“UNICEF: In their capacity those helpless people (*baicharay*) they do their best [...] we have discussions and the government shows high level of commitment, those helpless people (*baicharay*) they have to operate in an overall system that has its own challenges. We try our best to help them, but we also have to meet our targets.”

“NCBA: We are bound to an agency; we own nothing in this [partnership]; we are helpless! We can’t take any decision at our will, we are instructed to do things, at the district level we are operating this [partnership] if there is a delay or any constrain we face the music not UNICEF or WFP. But whatever work has been done in last 13years is all because of these agencies, so we can’t say anything to them.”

Concept: Mutuality

Themes of Analysis:

- Incapable government 6
- Unsustainable government 14
- Policy Making 7
- Accountability 24
- Monitoring 16
- Structural issues 22
- Capacity building 17

Related Responses from the respondents

“WFPZ: [These] three [UN] agencies will not even look at each other’s faces (*shakal bhi nahe daikay ge*), they are competing for resources, and working for their own benefits. Actually, a nutrition policy is in making [...] WHO and UNICEF are working on it and a rat race is on between them. The policy was initiated by WHO, but UNICEF is the lead agency in this partnership so, they whipped it from them (*woh beech me ghus aae*). UNICEF made a policy from their end and sent it to the

government. Eventually, the government has to run the policy, and they have no idea about it (*unko kak be nahe pata*) like what is in, how it was made, and who made it. It's a magic show (*ya ek topi darma hai*).”

Concept: Trust

Themes of Analysis:

- Information Sharing 21
- Knowledge & Awareness 39
- Value and Equity 30
- Trust 9

Related Responses from the respondents

“WFPZ: The reason is that when you go to a new district government don't have the capacity to handle it. When our [WFP] supply will reach there, there will be 20 or more trucks, and you tell me now can we trust the employees of the health department to handle 20 trucks?”

Related Responses from the respondents

“NCBH: Everyone from top to bottom in the district is involved in misappropriation of commodities. Unfortunately working according to rules is not a priority for them. You will hardly find a trustworthy EDOH who will work by the book.”

Concept: Power Relations

Themes of Analysis:

- Social power relations 28
- Procedural power 29
- Financial power 35
- Political power relations 44
- Demonstration of partner power 27
- Power & Domination 19

Related Responses from the respondents

“WFPZ: If I go to community and start distribution, they will confront me that how dare me to come in front of their ladies and children, so we have to ask the government to engage LHWs for this partnership. Do you know about LHW’s Lady Health Workers? They go house to house to give polio drops and do other health-related activities. They are residing within a community, and they have their health houses there [...] they are not doing a good job, but we have our limitations.”

9. Theme: Beneficiary

Themes of Analysis:

- Social reality 46
- Community involvement 47
- Communication 49
- Resistance 20

Related Responses from the respondents

“Dr Bu: The real issue is that individuals who have never been to the field do the planning, and those who experience the reality on the ground are missing from the process [...] you know they are sitting on the top [Islamabad] and they will not let others infiltrate their circle of power.”

Concepts: Planning & Decision Making

Themes of Analysis:

- Dynamic context 55
- Upstream activities 51
- Meetings 45
- Planning 41
- Decision making 40

“PCO: The international organisations don’t involve us in their planning; they only send us a report. Then we make a plan based on it and send it to the Secretary for approval. When they visit planning cell for meetings, they mostly come for their report submission, or they discuss issues related to their partnerships. Our whole planning is dependent on the report they submit to us.”

Appendix D

Themes of Analysis

1. Lack of ownership
2. Differing objectives/motives
3. Self interest
4. Good EDOH & Bad EDOH
5. Lack of interest from government
6. Incapable government
7. Policy Making
8. Uncertain about future
9. Trust issues
10. We know our work
11. They don't know their work
12. A few good men
13. Undue favours
14. Unsustainable government
15. Lady Health Worker
16. Monitoring
17. Capacity building
18. Money making
19. Power/Domination
20. Resistance
21. Information sharing
22. Structural issues
23. Taking credit for work
24. Accountability
25. Not matching ground reality
26. Perception of partner dependency
27. Demonstration of partner power
28. Social power relations
29. Procedural power
30. Value and equity
31. Perception of fairness

32. Perception about partnership
33. Ambivalence
34. Lack of responsibility
35. Financial power
36. Extra incentive
37. Blackmailing
38. Dishonesty
39. Knowledge and awareness
40. Decision Making
41. Planning
42. Subjectivity
43. Misappropriation of resources
44. Political power relations
45. Meetings
46. Social reality
47. Community involvement
48. Mutual respect
49. Communication
50. Partnership
51. Upstream activities
52. Fear of failure
53. Rich & poor divide
54. Forging
55. Dynamic context

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