

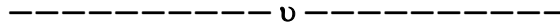
PPP (Public-Private Partnership) and Managing Accountability: A Narrative Review

Mariam Haider¹, Siddiqa Zubair²

Abstract — This Narrative Review elaborates the Public –Private Partnerships with complexities of accountability in hybrid organizations and presented evidences of various principles and forms of accountabilities which are prevailing in Partnerships. The current publications and research on Public-Private Partnerships is highly rhetoric based. Under the domain of new public management (NPM), a Public private partnership is considered efficient and effective in terms of accountability. The chance of Public –Private collaboration to be successful in terms of accountability is only through balancing power and enhanced transparency, as the organizations are shifting from traditional hierarchies to network organizations so, more decentralization ,information sharing and performance rewards in organizations based on PPP model would be fruitful to enhance accountability. Moreover, for PPP to be successful the views and reservations (conflicting) of both the sectors should be satisfied in terms accountability and risk allocation. Both the sector can work better if they work on their own competitive edge while creating synergy along with managing accountability.

Key words

New public Management, Public Accountability, Hybrid Organizations, Stewardship, Public-Private Partnerships, Quasi-governmental designs, synergy, accountability principles



1. OVERVIEW

Public private partnership is the buzz word these days ,it is wide range and confusing at the same time ,PPP is termed differently by different researchers, some consider the traditional contracting-out to be an example of public-private partnership while few think that only hybrid or quasi-Governmental models are purely a depiction of Public Private Partnerships.

Public Private Partnership's trends are applying globally, however an obvious dissimilarity is seen between the public and private sectors; they cannot be fixed to clear cut taxonomies due to blurring of the two sectors. This e-review paper is a narrative analysis based on original articles which are analyzed on the area of Public-Private Partnership generally and Accountability specifically. As mentioned earlier ,the boundary tends to be blurred when it comes to PPP (Sedjari, 2004).The Blurring of these two sectors also raise questions of democracy ,Legitimacy and last but not least the **questions of accountability**(Willems & Van Dooren, 2011).However the synergy which comes along with partners working together cannot be negated .An article by Elander, mentioned the clear-cut description of synergy, i.e. The added value which is achieved by two partners working together to achieve a common goal/objective. Both opportunities and challenges handed over in PPP, as Karin mentioned that PPP is defined as cooperative institutional relationships between public which are government /intergovernmental organizations and private actors which termed as civil. Public-Private Partnership differs from Private sector by shared authority between state and non state actors. Partnerships differentiate form private sector not only by degree of

Institutionalization and permanence but have looser networks which works only within certain time limitations. Critics pinpointed that partnership models are flawed, when it comes to implementations. As we consider partnerships from the reference of state it can be related to a term "*hollowing out*" of the nation by reinforcing and accelerating neoliberalism and privatization of governance. Other negative aspects mentioned was Public-Private Partnership arrangements can lead to power imbalance, intervening in businesses and recoil of state responsibility in terms of manufacturing public goods, which will further lead to fragmented governance model. Karin further reasoned that, how actors which are non-governmental can be held accountable if the actors of government are themselves unfathomable. In government, stakeholders such as parliamentarians are usually put on the back burner at the outlay of private actors.

Several Public Administrators and research scholars think that when organization shifts from Public to Public-Private partnerships the principles of accountability are difficult to handle. Through this paper readers may have deep insights into the concept of Public-Private Partnership and problems with accountability keeping in mind the global context along with Pakistani context. **The broad objective** of this paper is to explore the major research contributions, particularly PPP and to know how successful or unsuccessful the conception of accountability has been in last couple of decades across the globe and with reference to Pakistan. This paper attempts to explain the Public-Private Partnership in terms of accountability.

The analysis of this review paper was conducted in two steps, first step involved collection and comprehensive study of PPP from 1990 to 2014, the Second phase of review involved articles related to accountability in general, and

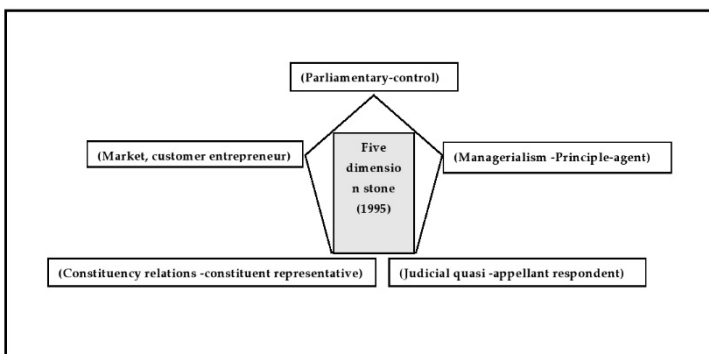
accountability with regard to PPP particularly. The period was not pre-determined, however the articles selected are from the era since the work on PPP and accountability started, there is sufficient and comprehensive researches conducted during that time span. After careful and thorough reading of abstract, editorials and various book reviews, the current analysis was done. All articles were properly reviewed: focusing Public-Private Partnerships, publications related to accountability, public accountability and concepts which are needed to be discussed for making the interpretations regarding the review.

2. INTRODUCTION

General concept of accountability

The political buzz word which had gained importance in a couple of years particularly in terms of Public-Private Partnership is “**Accountability**” (Steets & Blattner, 2010). As in a traditional perspective, accountability was more about fulfilling the expectations of defining rules and procedures (Jos & Tompkins, 2004). But from few years the conception of accountability has somehow changed as performance based accountability is evident from the concerned research. The performance based accountability included; total quality management, bench marking and privatization (Jos & Tompkins, 2004).

Now before we go into the depth of accountability, Public accountability and accountability in PPP framework, let us explore few more insights into broad idea of accountability in general. It is most of the time deceptive to consider reporting as the only means of **accountability**. Work along with effective practices and relations (including Dialogue) are also part of the accountability systems. (Bardach & Lesser, 1996). And, while measuring the quality of the work we found that the quality control mechanism are the accountability systems in an organization (Hoffer, 2000). However, when we talk about accountability in public sector, it is one of the most crucial aspects of public services which should not be negated. Accordingly there are 5 dimensions of accountability as mentioned by Stone including, accountability by Parliamentary control, secondly accountability is through Principal-agent and thirdly through Judicial review etc. (Hodge & Coghill, 2007). These dimensions can help to visualize how accountability takes place in the context of organizations as demonstrated below:



Accountability can also be defined with references to nonprofit organizations as accuracy of keeping the record of the funds and documentations (Kearns, 1994). As Paul defined accountability “*holding individuals and organizations responsible for performance measured as objectively as possible*”. And referring to another definition of accountability by “*the extent to which one must answer to higher authority-legal or organizational-for one's action in society at large or within one's organization*” as pinpointed by Harpus Collius. Two words which are quite evident from the definitions are :higher authority to whom the individuals are answerable and formal chain of command (Kearns, 1994). Numerous concepts and definitions have evolved in the past, so it had become quite difficult to set a hard and fast rule for defining single viewpoint of accountability. After throwing light on few concepts of accountability, it is important to know the historical aspect of the accountability as well.

Concerns of Accountability

Around 2000 (B.C), due to work of king Hammurabi regarding legal code, accountability had gained a lot of attention by him, in terms of resources which were entrusted and belonged to others (Bird, 1973). One can easily justify that concept of the word “Accountability” is as old as the civilization (Gray & Jenkins, 1993). United Kingdom has some of the relevant literature regarding institutional arrangements. Classical textbooks of British governance and Public administration are twenty-five years old. The myths of ministerial accountability were presented in the literature along with individual and collective responsibilities; however there seems no relationship between accountability and management of public services. Public accountability in the past was associated with describing institutions and processes concerning legal, political and administrative accountability, until Heald and Jackson in 1983 and 1982 have discovered the economic relationship of accountability. (Gray & Jenkins, 1993) concludes that by paying more attention to accountability relationships, one can have more insights which have nothing to do with institutional arrangements.

Many studies regarding accountability are conducted at global level, where accountability is thought to be a crucial and most important element of any organization, whether it is private or public sector. The condition where actions of a person are reviewed or judged by another person, a stakeholder or competent authority is termed as accountability as defined by Alex Araujo.

The work done on accountability which has its own importance answers three questions i.e. “accountability for whom by whom and for what”. The discussion is what does the word accountability means, how do we interpret this term and how do various scholars have professed and inferred the term “accountability”. What is the association of accountability with participation? According to a Research done by (Jabbara and Dwivedi 1988; Jenkins and Goetz 1999) the word accountability has number of different

implications. *"Giving account"* to substitute partner, consider being the stakeholders or having their stake regarding what is done or to be done is accountability. Accountability is thought to be applied frequently in the area of finance and accounts where the accountability refers to proper utilization of funds which is, how funds are being allocated, how much funds are being utilized and where those funds are utilized. But when we talk about the governance model, the word accountability means that public office holders are responsible or accountable for the performance outcomes along with the effect of the decision they take (Jalal 1999; Edwards and 1-lulme 1994).

The first stage to untangle or extract the meaning of accountability involves, three questions to whom, by whom and for what. A study performed on the Healthcare sectors presented that there are certain complexities involved in Health Sector keeping in mind the notion of accountability, for instance those officials who were responsible for public health provision elaborated that they themselves are held accountable to only their health service managers, they simply do not consider themselves to be accountable for the one who use their health services. The Health service managers will then be held accountable to the users of their health services, anyhow the basic responsibility for holding them accountable is still vague. Due to imbalance of power between government and community, Public and Private sectors conglomerates may have issues of transparency and accountability is considered to be a crucial component to govern performance or receptiveness.(Cornwall, Lucas, & Pasteur, 2000) He concluded that in spite of the issues and complexities of collaborations or partnerships, service provision and accountability is thought to be enhanced. In addition to what have been cited earlier, procedural fairness in terms of equal representation of stakeholders, their transparency, reporting mechanism and information sharing are the values of accountability and it is thought to be enhanced through hierarchical and non-hierarchical mechanisms in Partnerships(Bäckstrand, 2008).

Accountability hold different meanings for different areas i.e. in some cases we have institutional accountability while in some cases we may have social accountability. Accountability in terms of Institutional structure is shown as roles & rules which gives power as restricted and appropriately practiced(Anechiarico and Jacobs 1994; Anechiarico and Jacobs 1996; Burke 1986; Caiden 1988; Carey 1978; Diamond 1999; Gruber 1987; Harris 1964; Khademian 1996; Laver and Shepsle 1999; Livingston 1976; March and Olsen 1989; Oakerson 1989; O'Donnell 1998; Rosen 1989).While dealing with accountability through interaction, Nancy Roberts mentioned that accountability paradox are thought to be resolved by dialogue which helps individuals to be more transparent ,when the traditional accountability mechanism comes in interplay(Roberts, 2002).One more case which needs special attention is, the complexity which the non for profit organizations usually entails regarding accountability(Ebrahim, 2003).

Public-Accountability ancient perspective

The historical perspective of accountability is known by minimum consensus achieved in the past .There seems to be overlapping which is quite evident in the concepts of "Accountability"(M. Bovens, Goodin, & Schillemans, 2014).However the word "Public Accountability" is somehow taken in different terms .Public Accountability is thought to be the foundation of democracy. The historic roots of public accountability traced back to the control of William I, which was later than era of Norman Quest of England Back in 1066.In the Domes day Books, the valuables of the people of the realm were listed, to have account of all the valuables and property they possessed. Unified auditing and semi-annual account giving in centralized administrative Kingship transformed and evolved the existing notion in early 12th century (M. Bovens, 2005)To cut a long story short, nowadays the traditional ideas of accountability have shifted from literature to more practical forms ,where public managers and officials are held accountable for their work and the public money specifically the Public funds and its rotation.

The word "Public" in Public accountability needs bit of comprehensive overview ,there are two phases to public accountability .Firstly the word public could be referred to "openness", which means account will not be behind the doors or hidden rather it will be easily accessible to general public for accountability(M. A. Bovens, 2006).Secondly it relates to accountability of funds utilized by public officials and public sector organizations. One more thing which should be considered; accountability is not only of the public organizations, it may also surround the private firms involved in utilization of public money (Scott 2000, 41).

3. ACCOUNTABILITY IN THE FRAMEWORK OF PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP

The term accountability refers to word "to account for", as the world of public administration is shifting to NPM there are many positive and negative side of this shift. The condition in which individual power is constrained by internal norms and external means is accountability (Chandler and Plano 1988) as defined in the public administration vocabulary. Accountability is one of the complex notions which are to be discussed when we talk about Public-Private Partnership, few researches proved it to be a major problem in PPP while few have given arguments that accountability is enhanced in Public-Private Partnerships. So as everything has its merits and demerits, same is the case of PPP model. (Aucoin & Heintzman, 2000)mentioned that there are few ways in which overlapping is seen, same is the case of purposes of accountability which are principally three fold: 1) Have power over of misuse and abuse of the Public power ,one of the most important purposes of accountability 2) Assurance to adhere to laws and respect to utilize public resources 3) Encouragement for learning and improvement in public

management and governance. These are the three purposes of accountability specifically in Public-Private Partnerships. But due to more decentralization, shared powers and resource distribution between Public and private sectors, the concerns for accountability in terms of performance are genuine. There are few who think that traditional systems of accountability could not accommodate outcomes of NPM. One thing which is the main concern of this paper is explained by (Multan 2002), states that two out of many factors have an impact on accountability practices. On the First place, addition of private sector with different accountability practices with public sector leads to certain limitations of adaptability. On the second place there is a replacement of internal structures and relationship with that of contractor i.e. relationships in terms of purchaser and provider. (Cameron, 2004). This is when the issues of accountability may rise when we go for Public-Private Partnerships, which is clearly evident from this study but one thing that should be kept in mind; the concept of accountability is quite subtle in nature. At the time when organizations are shifted towards hybrid or quasi-governmental models, the question of how their accountability will be judged gets complicated to be answered due to multiplicity of accountability. However, some prefer the responsiveness notion of accountability for time being (Koppell, 2005). Similarly Acar and Robertson mentioned that certain issues like lack of access to performance data, recurrent changes in personnel, lack of information regarding performance data and collaboration along with sectorial and personal differences of performance makes a type of accountability named as "hierarchical accountability" difficult to be established (Acar & Robertson, 2004). In Partnerships, due to absence of no obvious agent, the situation of accountability gets complicated too (Agranoff & McGuire, 2001, p. 309) with no "formal" wherewithal to compel compliance with obliging undertaking as mentioned (O'Toole, 1997a, p. 445). There are several challenges of accountability which are being faced by Public Private Partnerships (Acar, Guo, & Yang, 2008).

Researchers may better be able to understand the accountability structures and its impact on dynamic networks by studying hybrid organization's accountability systems. Tools of social sciences; surveys and observations could be a helpful way to know the actors which are operating in these hybrid or network organizations. The "agent-based" models were the way through which researchers had introduced the accountability in the context of network governance (North and Macal 2007). When the concerned trade off problems are not depicted in law or practice, then usually complexities may emerge in hybrid or network structures. Although, some critics clearly state that accountability is reduced in Public-Private Partnerships due to lack of democratic accountability (Kim, 2017).

4. PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP AND ACCOUNTABILITY IN THE CONTEXT OF PAKISTAN

It was the year 1990's when the notion of Public-Private Partnership prevailed in Pakistan, government started to form collaborations with private parties, business sector and philanthropists. Government under the socialist learning nationalized all the private sector educational institutes of Pakistan in the year 1970. Since long, international commitments along with economic and political realities pressurized the government to introduce partnership models in Pakistan (Farah & Rizvi, 2007), however as mentioned earlier, the presence of more than one actor can increase the synergy but as far as transition of partnership to privatization is concerned, it may prove to be very fruitful. For the notion of public-private partnership to be applied in Pakistan, there should be serious measures taken for genuine partnerships. Another model of public private partnership which is applied in Islamabad is **EMS (Emergency Medical Services)**, an increased user satisfaction and confidence level about these services was recorded by a client survey. A developing country like Pakistan which face scarcity when it comes to its resources is successfully exemplifying this model by involving the police and private sector which may prove to be a model for third world (Ali, Miyoshi, & Ushijima, 2006). As far as accountability is concerned, a case on **SME's (Small and Medium Enterprise)** in Pakistan, concludes that public private partnerships can increase accountability and performance incentives which is thought to be one out of many takings of Public-Private Partnerships (Hussain, Farooq, & Akhtar, 2012). In an environment where public private partnerships are introducing, the tools which were needed to maintain public accountability have changed due to involvement of private partners. As private sector engage with public sector based on different reasons, so government should carefully scrutinize the terms and conditions before entering into contract with private partners (Posner 2002).

It is thought to be more challenging to sustain the interest of public through the delivery of public services rather than to maintain the trust of public in the government. The demands of public such as transparency, sharing of risk, reliability, participation stakeholder, innovation and cost-effectiveness and reliability are the components of accountability which are balanced by organizing accountability in Public-Private Partnership. The benefits of PPP give a glowing picture of government services which are improved in collaboration but the challenges of accountability and complexities involved with service delivery are much more. (Forrer, Kee, Newcomer, & Boyer, 2010) mentioned that in order to ensure effective accountability in Public-Private Partnerships, six dimensions of accountability should be applied along with performance management culture to encourage public accountability, 6 proportions comprised of 1) collaboration 2) expertise 3) risk 4) cost and benefits 5) political impact and 6) social impact. Along with issues of accountability in PPP and in the context of Pakistan, public-private partnership model is considered to be fruitful. There are several cases where the value addition, efficiency and effectiveness is

more as compared to the issues of collaborative networks. Similar is the case with education sector of Pakistan which seems to flourish due to public private collaboration .However the study conducted in education sector of Pakistan showed that despite PPP model doing better than public sector schools but still performing badly, their competition is with private schools so, school based on public-private partnerships are not the ultimate solutions of deep rooted educational dilemma of Pakistan.(Amjad & MacLeod, 2014). Pakistan is a country of scarce resources along with shortage of financial capital which most of the time cause blockade in the path of projects which proves to be fruitful for the public.(Ahmad & Ahmad)mentioned that models of Public-Private Partnership could be a better choice for Pakistan in tackling the scarcity of resources by collaborating. The Government of Pakistan can also favor in this regard, Ahmed revealed an optimistic view of Public-Private Partnership which is quite opposite to the complexities which it involves. Concerning a similar case of Asia, the Public accountability in Bangladesh is traditional but the modern accountability mechanism are still in the implementation phase(Sarker, 2009)

new ways to effectively and efficiently. Traditional model of accountability should be replaced by shared accountability because the traditional way doesn't encourage sharing of responsibility, which is prevalent in many cases.

“Pathologies of Accountability: ICANN and the Challenge of Multiple Accountabilities Disorder” In The new forms of hybrid organizations are somehow accountability gets difficult where questions such how their accountability will be judge .The blurring of this may lead to serious issues for Public administration. (Koppell, 2005)

“Seeking Salvation for Accountability” The study revolves around the philosophy of accountability and notion should be paid attention towards the unusual world of accountability which is begin as a tool of rhetoric in terms of the notion of Governance. (Dubnick, 2002)

Table.1.1 Summary of studies done on Public Accountability ,Accountability and Public-Private Partnership and its evidence based take away

Study	Take-away	Reference
“Analyzing and assessing Public accountability .A conceptual Framework”	The study starts a debate that whether the European accountability can be stated in terms of a glass which is half full and half empty. This research may prove to be a building block for starting a debate and discussions but still the notion of accountability is stuck in whether there is even water in the glass.	(M.A. Bovens, 2006)
“Public Accountability: Effectiveness, Equity, Ethics”	The effective accountability is only possible through government seeking to find	(Cameron, 2004)

“Two Concepts of Accountability” The study (M. Bovens, 2014) revealed whether it is a virtue /mechanism and concludes that accountability mechanism is the basis of accountability as a virtue because without giving account there will be no accountable governance and no virtue who are to be held accountable.

“Accountability When Hierarchical Authority Is Absent” The study (Acar et al., 2008) concluded that accountability in Public private partnerships is more complicated due to multiple organizational networks. The role of accountability should be channelized into the strategies. To facilitates the role of accountability in Partnerships it is also important to initiate inter-organizational trust and by realizing accountability which serves to be a tool for managing public relations in

public-Private partnerships.

“Public Private Partnerships in Health in Malaysia: Lessons for Policy Implementation” The study (Phua, Ling,& Phua, 2014) concluded general conclusions of success and failures can be known about PPP in terms of healthcare system of Malaysia but the success factors of Public-Private Partnership i.e. efficient evaluation, clarity regarding policy guidance, transparency, operational procedures and transparency still outperform despite certain uses and abuses, which shows that this article supports the notion of success model with regard to PPP.

“Healthcare Public and Private Partnership in Italy: Assessing risk sharing and governance issues with Pestle and SWOT Analysis” The main (Moro Visconti, 2016) concluding point of this article / finding is that strategic drivers for PPP can highlight the optimal success of Public Private partnerships. The governance issues of PPP

are usually or most of the time is related to the type of partnering and financial package given tends to assess and control issues of governance.

“The evolution of public-private partnership in Ireland: a sustainable pathway?”

The article (Sheppard & Beck, 2016) concluded that if decision making and robust money testing is not done In the case of Public-Private Partnerships then it may prove to be long term threat to public money .In a small country like Ireland PPP will face complexities .Along with managing the challenges and issues of accountability (Willems & Van Dooren, 2011)

“DEMOCRATIC ACCOUNTABILITY IN PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS: The curious case of Flemish school infrastructure”

This case (Willems, 2014) establishes a different point of view regarding accountability that is the indulging of active members in PPP can make accountability better; it also narrates an example which is of critical nature to prove how

accountability has increased in PPP based school as compared to direct public schools.

“Dancing with elephants: Accountability in cross cultural Christians partnerships”

This article (Rowe, 2009) explained the notion of accountability in Christian’s partnerships and portrays it as a dancing elephant, and complexities of accountability are also seen there.

“Accountability in Governance Networks”

The study (Koliba, Mills, & Zia, 2011) focuses on that by clear fully studying the variety of visible principles and comprehensive norms which contours the accountability of hybridized governments scholars can understand the impact of accountability on network dynamics

“Stimulating cooperation among farmers in post socialist economy: Lessons from public private marketing partnership in Poland”

The study is a (Gramzow & Petrick, 2007) special case which reveals how Public-Private Partnership is fruitful rather than futile for farmers. Different stakeholders are getting benefits out of Partnerships by achieving their goals

“Public-Private Partnerships and the Public Accountability Question” Forrer (Forrer et al., 2010) elaborated that there are challenges to be involved when multi-sector delivery of public goods are seen. This article also explains how accountability can be improve through continuous monitoring during the duration of Partnership

“Accountability in Privatized state” The study (Hodge & Coghill, 2007) elaborates that partnership tends to have increased market and managerial accountability but the political accountability is lower. It also concludes that there are complexities with partnership i.e. the conflict between public accountability and managerial values which can only be resolved through proper models for enhancing accountability.

“Coming to terms with accountability” To conclude (Willems & Van Dooren, 2012) this article it is important to realize more and a little less accountability is not good, despite

supporting the argument that accountability is good we cannot denounce the price we pay for it.

5. CONCLUSION

In this paper a wide range of articles and literature have been read and utilized in order to grasp better understanding of Public-Private Partnership along with accountability. Articles support the notion of complexities involved with accountability principles, accountability is more diffused in this (PPP) mode of Governance. In an economy like Pakistan where GDP is far less than the developed countries, it is considered to be more beneficial to work in the mode of Public-Private Partnerships, in order to get product and services at lower costs when public sector is contracting-out with private sector. Similar case in Pakistani context is WAPDA(Water and Power Development Authority),which has a position to connect with more parties indirectly along with connection with dominant parties (Pakistan Government and The SPV).The study also shows that Pakistan government has more control with regard to PPP in contracts and connection as evident from the case of WAPDA unlike UK Government(Chowdhury, Chen, & Tiong, 2011).Despite issues of accountability and accounting faced by collaborations or Partnerships, we as public administrators need to strike a balance by better understanding the principles of accounting and accountability in a better way to support joined-up government and to influence rather to react to such collaborations for execution of effective public service delivery(Hodges, 2012).By utilizing the core competitive edge of both the sectors ,filling the communication gaps and openness in PPP, accountability could be managed in a better way.

6. FUTURE RESEARCH

This Research involved themes focusing on reducing the relevant data after filtration ensuring comprehensive coverage of PPP articles and Accountability. An analytic multi-dimensional concept of PPP focuses on under-represented concepts and linkages which seems failing during analyzing the publications .Furthermore, future Research can be conducted on accountability (principles and problems) in public-private partnership in education and HealthCare in Pakistan, to know whether Public-Private Partnerships reduce accountability while increasing performance of public managers or vice versa.

7. CONFLICT OF INTEREST

There are two schools of thought; one believes that accountability is enhanced in PPP model while another school of thought believes that PPP give rise to number of complexities, one of which is accountability.

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