AN EXCURSION INTO THE PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP JUNGLE: STAY PRECISE AND KEEP ON MAPPING!

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ABSTRACT

While the Private Finance Initiative (PFI) is doubtless the most visible Public-Private Partnership (PPP) in the public debate it is by no means the only one. A number of scholars have outlined the ambiguity of the PPP concept beyond PFIs and pointed to the multiplicity of differing types and understandings. Thus, when examining up close, the PPP concept seems to cover a jungle of arrangements and settings. However, inductive explorations across disciplinary and professional borders are still scarce. This article addresses this lack and reviews more than 100 publications for their PPP concepts and classifications. Following, the article first of all identifies the emergence of two dimensions that are differently emphasized by the proposed PPP definitions (1) the coresponsibility dimension and (2) the relational governance dimension. Second, the article finds two differing approaches within each dimension being the interventionist and marketization approach within the co-responsibility dimension and the structural and managerial approach in the relational governance dimension. Third, the reviewed variety of classifications illustrates the infinitive number of criteria that can be used to order the within-concept variety. Thus, while the developed map in this article highlights some (re)occurring and uniting patterns it also points to the inevitable ambiguity of the PPP concept and consequently encourages scholars to stay precise and keep on mapping.

Keywords – Inductive, Public-Private Partnership, Review

Introduction

Public-Private Partnership (PPP) is one of the most ambiguous, contested, and popular concepts of the last three decades. Although "PPPs usually mean heterogeneity, not tidiness" (Bovaird, 2004, p. 203), one approach seems to overshadow the current debate on PPPs: the UK's Private Finance Initiative (PFI), launched in 1992, whose name Tony Blair switched successfully to "PPP" five years later (Ghobadian, Gallear, O'Regan, & Viney, 2004). These PFI/PPPs are mostly used in an infrastructure setting and are hardly restricted to the UK, as "many countries were adopting the PFI approach and calling

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the multitude of projects that followed in its wake PPPs" (R. Wettenhall, 2010, p. 24). The dominance of these PFI/PPP schemes is reflected in a wide body of literature on infrastructure PPPs, including scientific articles (e.g. Koppenjan, 2005; Zhang, 2005), books (e.g. Grimsey & Lewis, 2004), international consulting reports (e.g. Eggers & Startup, 2006; PwC, 2005), and publications from international organizations (e.g. Delmon, 2010; OECD, 2013a; UNECE, 2000; United Nations ESCAP, 2011).

However, while evidently being a highly visible PPP form, such long-term infrastructure projects have received much critique, not least with respect to their use of the "partnership" term. For example, Klijn and Teisman (2005) have argued that these types of projects are nothing "but a revamped form of tendering" (p. 103), while Wettenhall (2010) has stated that "much serious analysis shows that many of them [PFIs] do not function like partnerships at all" (p. 24). The literature's critique also points to opposing or at least differing PPP conceptualizations beyond PFI-specific understandings. Consequently, a number of scholars have pointed out that the PPP concept goes beyond PFIs (e.g. Hodge & Greve, 2007; Li & Akintoye, 2003; McQuaid, 2010). For example, Wettenhall (2010) has explored the existence of partnership settings long before the PFI initiative was launched, while Boyaird (2010) and Linder (1999) identify the many differing ideological and theoretical ideas represented in the PPP concept over time and these are by no means restricted to a single PPP model. Weihe (2008) has also contributed to the breadth discussion by exploring how differing research streams have created divergent conceptualizations of PPP. Thus, when examining up close, the PPP concept seems to cover a jungle of arrangements and settings.

Perplexity about PPP meanings and PPP classifications beyond PFI/PPPs has led many scholars to conclude that "the term suffers from a lack of specificity" (Buse & Walt, 2000, p. 550), while some have even called for "an authoritative definition or a classification of PPP" (Weihe, 2008, p. 430). Yet others stress that "[i]t is not necessary that these meanings be standardized, only that we always explore what they are in specific contexts" (Bovaird, 2004, p. 213). In other words, when accepting the ambiguity of the concept, we are required to be precise and explicit about the chosen definition and its relation to other meanings.

While the authors referenced above provide valuable insights into the variety of meanings that have been ascribed to the PPP concept, there has been little focus on inductively mapping the constitutive assumptions behind current PPP conceptualizations across disciplinary and professional borders and neither has the variety of existing classifications been explored. Yet, just because definitions may be used at different ends of the jungle, one should not preclude that they are co-created and/or share any assumptions about the PPP concept and it's within variety.

This article addresses the need for a more explorative and integrative literature review by analyzing 113 publications, including the 50 most cited international journal articles on PPPs, chapters from high-impact PPP books, and publications from international players who are actively involved in PPPs (see below for more details about selection criteria). Based on this wide array of resources, the article asks two questions: (1) how are differing assumptions about the PPP concept reflected in differing delineation prac-

tices and (2) what are the main classifications of PPPs within and across differing conceptualizations of PPP?

The article reaches five key conclusions. First, there is small but nevertheless common ground when defining PPPs as collective, sector-crossing arrangements that fulfill a public task. Yet, beyond this shared assumptions, there is a variety of meanings that have been ascribed to the PPP concept. However, second, the multiplicity of definitions coalesce around two main dimensions. One strand of conceptualizations, which includes PFI/PPPs, defines PPPs with respect to the distribution of responsibilities between the partners, while the other highlights the relational dimension of PPPs. Third, while the first co-responsibility dimension focuses most on the partner level, thus the responsibilities assumed by the individual partners, the second relational governance dimension is mainly concerned with the partnership level, thus the degree of actual collaboration. The review demonstrates that, while both inherently part of the PPP concept, the two dimensions conflict when the PPP is mapped on a continuum between public and private provision. Fourth, the review identifies four differing approaches: the marketization and interventionist approaches, which relate to the co-responsibility dimension, and the structural and managerial approaches, which relate to the relational governance dimension. Fifth and finally, the overview of the many classifications illustrates that besides some (re)occurring patterns the PPP concept remains ambiguous and conceptual clarity and explicit practices remain a prerequisite when placing and classifying PPPs in the wider field of public-private arrangements.

The remainder of the article is structured as follows: It begins with specifying the central concepts of this article – being concept itself and classification. This is followed by an introduction of the analytical perspective used throughout the review. The subsequent section discusses the selection process before the analysis presents the findings of the review, beginning with the PPP concept and followed up by the PPP classifications. Finally, conclusion summarizes the main findings.

CONCEPTS AND CLASSIFICATION

This first section discusses the theoretical background and understanding of "concepts" and "classifications". Concepts are omnipresent in human communication: without them we would not be able to "relate certain phenomena to each other [while] keeping others apart" (Dingwerth & Pattberg, 2006, p. 186). They are distinctions, and by creating an inside and an outside, concepts "fulfil the central function of ordering and structuring our perception of the world" (ibid.), which makes them fundamental tools not only in the social sciences, but also in everyday language. In the case of PPPs, it has been argued that "the concept is created just as much, probably even more, by the practical use as by the scientific use" (E. Klijn, 2010, p. 69). The latter observation supports the inclusion of a wide variety of sources in this literature review.

While concepts aim to order our world, they unavoidably remain unfixed and open for interpretation, contestation, and change. Yet, in order to be recognized as currently available, a concept needs to create some "outside" and "inside" that can be identified correspondingly by differing perspectives. In fact, if a concept were to embrace literally

everything, it would make its existence dispensable by not being delineable from anything outside at all. The more a concept is stretched, the more it loses in connotative precision—hence, "saying less, and ... saying less in a far less precise manner" (Sartori, 1970, p. 1035). It is this exact phenomenon that the PPP concept has been criticized for. On the other hand, if we were to introduce new terms for every difference, a confusing mass of concepts would quickly accumulate. Consequently, only concepts that are neither too flexible nor too precise have the capacity to structure and order our observations (Dingwerth & Pattberg, 2006). While a discussion of the current "stretch" of the PPP term may be advisable and useful, it should be based upon an understanding of the breadth and variation of usages. Moreover, any such discussion should be cautious about neglecting or ignoring these variations in favor of one theoretical understanding or specific setting and area.

Let us now turn to the formation of classifications, which is a well-developed practice within social and natural sciences. Just as with concepts, classifications play a central role in structuring and ordering our world, as they relate certain things to each other and keep other things apart. In this way "language builds up classification schemes to differentiate objects by 'gender' ... or by number; forms to make statements of action as against statements of being; modes of indicating degrees of social intimacy, and so on" (Luckmann, 1992, p. 41). Usually, scholars distinguish between two approaches, classifications and taxonomies. Within classifications, classes are identified based on conceptual ideal types, while taxonomies focus on patterns emerging from within empirical cases and observations. In practice the two often merge, and for simplification the article uses the term "classification" throughout.

SECOND-ORDER OBSERVATION AS AN ANALYTICAL POINT OF DEPARTURE

In this section, I will present the analytical approach taken in this article. Let me begin by outlining the general ontological assumptions that guide the literature review. This article follows a pragmatic orientation where no single "Truth" exists; rather, truth is what everyday practices and experiences allow for, and there may be many different truths. Thus, while dominant patterns emerge and are (re)produced, they are inherently contingent. There is no final structure or hidden reality that needs to be revealed. It follows that there is no objectivity, but neither is there a purely subjective meaning. Rather, the world is not only inherently contingent but also relational: any individual statement always relates to its embedding meanings, structures, and possibilities.

For the literature review these assumptions have three specific implications. First, as already outlined above, any PPP concept and/or classification is but one way of observing and ordering. Second, whatever is excluded is not absent: it creates the inside by staying outside. Third, there is no place outside society from which one can observe ongoing processes. The implication for this article is that the review it presents is just as much a part of the definitory and classificatory practices as any of the reviewed publications.

The review does, however, distinguish itself from existing overviews in two essential ways. First, it goes beyond mere descriptive overviews by questioning assumptions that

guide the reviewed conceptualizations and classifications. Second, it explores current meanings and orderings from within the concepts and classifications rather than by assuming *a priori* criteria (i.e. history, research stream, ideology). In other words, similarities and differences are created as the result of the analytical process rather than being the point of departure. In other words, the article pursues a "second-order observation" that analyses how meanings and orderings are established as but one approach of many possible ways of observation (Luhmann 2001). It follows that, while pointing to some emerging constitutive conditions for the PPP concept, the review does not itself establish a definition. While making a strong case for conceptual clarity, it leaves the choice of the specific conceptualization open to the reader and future user.

SAMPLING AND ANALYZING DEFINITIONS AND CLASSIFICATIONS

Given the purpose to identify definitory and classificatory patterns across disciplines and professions, the ideal aim would be to search "for whatever variation in usage ... formal definition [and classification] might exist within a language region" (Gerring & Barresi, 2003, p. 206). However, it would be naive to believe that a full sampling of all usages is (a) possible and (b) manageable. Therefore, the focus is limited to widespread or diffused concepts and classifications and thereby also the dominating patterns. Furthermore, the empirical material is limited to written documents, leaving oral everyday usages outside. Lastly, the focus is on the global English-speaking community. Hence, specific usages of the PPP concept in individual countries have been ignored unless they are discussed within the global context (as is done, for example, with the conceptualizations of the Canadian Council for P3 or the UK definition of PFI/PPPs).

The review includes three main types of publications. First, the review contains (a) 64 journal articles of which, following Web of Science, 50 are the most frequently cited articles that have PPP in their title. The additional articles have been identified by using Google and following references as to compensate for the eventual bias of Web of Science towards US-based journals and natural sciences. Additionally, the review encompasses (b) 20 chapters or sections from high-impact books on PPPs and (c) 29 publications from international organizations, which were partly referenced by the above articles and chapters and partly supported by a qualitative identification of global actors involved in the regulation, development, and/or implementation of PPPs. Figure 1 provides an overview of the number of articles, chapters and global-actor publications compared to the number of sources (i.e. journals, books, global actors).

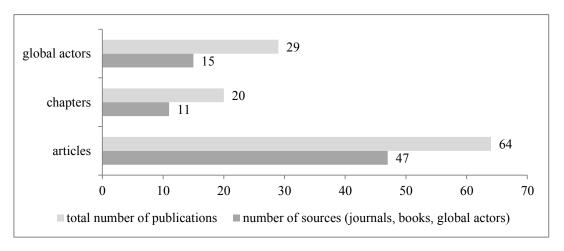


Figure 1: Overview of reviewed publications and sources

Appendix 1 provides a more detailed overview of the 113 identified publications, including the number of citations in Web of Science and Google when available. It should be mentioned that the number of citations is of course tentative given the differing "methods" for including references: Web of Science restricts its findings to journal articles, while Google is broader, yet the actual selection method for Google is difficult to identify. Overall, neither of them is very effective in including printed publications (such as books) and/or publications by international actors. Generally, the quantitative differences between Web of Science and Google point to their differing inclusion strategies, but for this review total number of citations is less important than the fact that they are referred to frequently. While the number of quotations may thus give a rough impression on their relative influence, this article focuses on the meanings in the identified publications, not their relative weight against each other. While the latter may be a very interesting "network" analysis, it lies outside the scope of this review.

Computer software Nvivo 10 was used to create an overview of all the identified definitions and classifications. First of all, definitory and classificatory passages were transferred into an Excel spreadsheet before importing it into Nvivo 10. Thereafter, the definitions were inductively coded for their defining elements. The software facilitated the subsequent process of grouping the differences as well as similarities, resulting in a map of the most central variations that will be presented below. While further differentiations are of course possible, the focus has been on the most prevalent and significant deviations. Having reviewed the concepts, a second analysis focused on the classifications. Here, it was the underlying criteria that were central to the inductive coding process. Once more the analysis was facilitated by Nvivo10 as to create an overview of the differences as well as similarities and relate them to the earlier identified map of definitory practices.

MAPPING THE PPP JUNGLE

As outlined above, this analysis is an inductive attempt to create an overview of currently used PPP definitions and classifications across fields of research and practice. A first

review of the identified publications illustrates that the term is applied to a wide variety of settings. While infrastructure projects dominate, there are also significant numbers of publications focusing on health, public services, and research & development (R&D). A small number of the publications explore PPPs in a food, environment, and social rights/security context. Finally, a significant number of the publications are context-unspecific: that is, the definitions do not refer to any explicit setting. Figure 2 illustrates the distribution of the PPP term's usage by context.

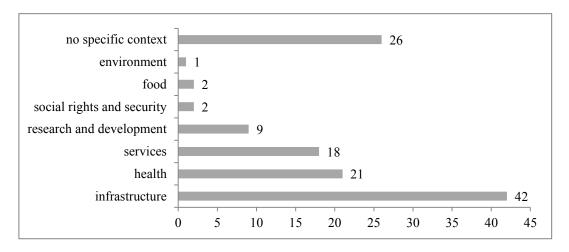


Figure 2: Usages of PPP concept by context^a

^aNote: some publications refer to more than one setting and are therefore included several times.

However, just because PPP conceptualizations and classifications are used in differing contexts, this does not necessarily imply differing understandings and/or classifications. To explore the emerging definitory and classificatory patterns in the PPP literature, the following analysis answers two questions:

- 1. How are differing assumptions about the PPP concept reflected in differing delineation practices?
- 2. What are the main categorizations of PPPs within and across the different understandings of the PPP concept?

(1) The PPP Concept

As indicated earlier, the literature has emphasized the ambiguity of the PPP concept, arguing that the PPP term is overworked (2005) and has been used to cover "virtually every government initiative..., a practice that trivializes the term" (Allan, 1999, p. 7). In other words, we may question whether PPP represents a distinct concept at all or instead merely exists as a brand (Klijn, 2010) or language game (Hodge & Greve, 2007). At least within a number of medical publications the latter seems to be the case, as they mainly use PPP as a label without content, remaining very loose about its meaning (see also Appendix 1). However, more than 90 publications use a distinct PPP definition and ascribe some explicit meanings to the concept, thereby distinguishing it from other closely related phenomena.

A search for a common ground across all identified definitions led to a broad but nevertheless shared understanding, where PPPs (1) are collective as opposed to individual actions, (2) include actors from the public and private sector as opposed to sector-intern cooperation, and (3) perform a public as opposed to private task. Hence, there seems to be agreement about distinguishing PPPs from full privatization and/or private self-regulation, as well as from the in-house provision of services by a public agency. Also PPPs are distinct from private alliances and networks between public organizations. Although such a common ground has some delineation potential, it leaves a lot of room for variation and conflicting definitions.

An immediate apparent source of divergence is the inclusion versus exclusion of notfor-profit organizations as private sector organizations. While about one third of the reviewed publications consider not-for-profits to be private organizations, two thirds exclude them from their conceptualizations of PPPs. Yet, when it comes to delineating PPPs from other phenomena, this disagreement is not a central issue and will therefore not be elaborated further here.

In the following four sub-sections, the review addresses the main sources for divergence and convergence. To start, the commonly used differentiation between broad and narrow definitions will be presented. It will be argued that this split may be helpful to create an initial overview, yet is not sufficient to explain how the concept is related differently to its surroundings. Rather, two different dimensions are identified as the main source of divergence and are presented separately in the second and third sub-section. Finally, the inherent relationship between these two dimensions is discussed.

Broad versus Narrow Definitions. Frequently scholars draw a distinction between broad and narrow definitions of PPPs (Weihe, 2008). Consequently, there is indeed a first, rather small, group of conceptualizations drawing a very broad line by sufficing with the earlier presented common ground. Thus, they use the PPP concept to refer to almost any situation where the private sector participates in the provision of a public service. It has been pointed out elsewhere (Skelcher 2005) that such broad usages of the PPP term seem to dominate within the US, as represented by Savas (2000), Linder and Roseneau (2000) and also Minow (2003).

However, there are also some non-American authors that make use of this broader conceptualization. For example, the Germans Börzel and Risse (2005) only exclude lobbying, advocacy activities, and self-coordination of markets from their understanding of cooperative arrangements, i.e. PPPs (p. 198). In a similar vein, Chong and colleagues (2006) refer to PPPs as "a range of organizational arrangements between fully public provision of services and complete privatization" (p. 150) in a French context, and Skelcher's (2005) chapter in *The Oxford Handbook of Public Management* "refer[s] to the ways in which government and private actors work together in pursuit of societal goals" (p. 348). Hence, while there may be a tradition of broad conceptualizations in the US, it is not limited to that country, just as there are a number of American publications referring to narrower PPP understandings (e.g. Bloomfield, 2006; Weiner & Alexander, 1998).

While the distinction in narrow and broad definitions provides a first useful map of diverging definitory practices, it falls short of explaining another pattern that divides the reviewed publications and cuts across the narrow and broad definition. When placing PPPs on the continuum between public and private provision of services, there is one group of conceptualizations that situates PPPs closer to private provision and outsourcing arrangements closer to public provision, whereas another group places PPPs closer to public provision and outsourcing arrangements closer to private provision. This split is illustrated in Figure 3, where the question mark indicates that the focus seems to be on differing dimensions when situating PPPs on the continuum.

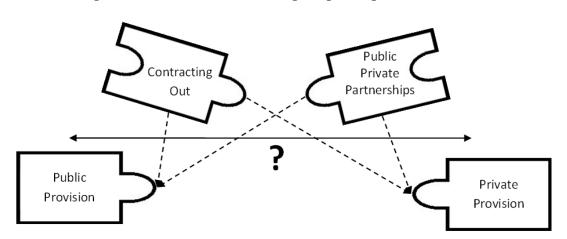


Figure 3: PPP delineations along the public private continuum

Thus, while the distinction between broad and narrow definitions provides a first overview, it is insufficient to explain the diverging delineation practices. Here, the focus on differing dimensions seems to be more useful and the review finds that the first group of publications focuses on the distribution of responsibility (finance, ownership, risk, etc.) while the second group emphasizes the degree of collaboration (joint decision-making, governance, etc.). In the following, the first dimension is referred to as the *coresponsibility dimension* and the other is denoted as the *relational governance dimension*. While Hodge and Greve (2007) have outlined the existence of two dimensions in the PPP concept earlier, their focus is on financial and organizational aspects. Although to some extent similar, the following presentation of the two dimensions in separate sub-sections emphasizes that variations go beyond mere financial and organizational references and are not least related to a shift in focus from the partner to the partnership level.

The Co-Responsibility Dimension. When focusing on the co-responsibility dimension of PPPs, definitions delineate PPPs by referring to the number of responsibilities being shared and/or distributed between the involved public versus private organizations. These responsibilities may include risks, ownership, financial revenue, involvement and/or tasks. In contrast to outsourcing arrangements, PPPs are defined to transfer more responsibility to the private sector and thus are often described as "extensions of contracting-out" (Bettignies & Ross, 2004) and "long-term contracts" (Grimsey & Lewis, 2002, 2005; Hodge, 2004; PwC, 2005). The greater private responsibility is created by

bundling tasks (Bettignies & Ross, 2004; Hart, 2003; Martimort & Pouyet, 2008; UNECE, 2000, 2008) and the transfer of financial as well as operational risks (Bettignies & Ross, 2004; Fiscals Affairs Department, 2004; Ke, Wang, Chan, & Lam, 2010) for all these tasks. While some authors even argue for a change in ownership structures (Grimsey & Lewis, 2002; Martimort & Pouyet, 2008; OECD, 2013a), others point out that "[u]nder PPPs, there is no transfer of ownership and the public sector remains accountable" (UNECE, 2008, p.5).

Generally, the focus is not so much on how the organizations cooperate, but on the fact that they both contribute to a given project. Thereby PPPs provide a new way of shifting risks, incentives, and costs between the sectors, leading to more efficient and effective solutions for society. A focus on PPPs as co-responsibility arrangements is mainly pursued by two streams in the literature. First, there are a number of scholarly publications with a financial and economic perspective, being primarily publications on PFI/PPPs in infrastructure and R&D (Bettignies & Ross, 2004; Grimsey & Lewis, 2002, 2005; Hart, 2003; Hodge, 2004; Kwak, Chih, & Ibbs, 2009; Link & Scott, 2001; Martimort & Pouyet, 2008; Nijkamp, van der Burch, & Vindigni, 2002; Spackman, 2002; Stiglitz & Wallsten, 1999; Wheeler & Seth, 2001; Zhang, 2005). Second, such an approach also dominates amongst international organizations and banks (EIB, 2004; Fiscals Affairs Department, 2004; OECD, 2008, 2011, 2013b; Temesgen, 2011; UNECE, 2008; United Nations ESCAP, 2011; World Bank, 2006, 2009) and consulting firms such as Deloitte, PwC, and KPMG (Eggers & Startup, 2006; KMPG Global; PwC, 2005). These two streams are far from independent, but frequently refer to each other in their definitory outlines.

Besides the overall agreement on PPPs as a new means of responsibility sharing/distribution, there is an interesting divergence in this group of publications which surfaces when they specify the public tasks that are to be fulfilled by the PPP. A number of definitions use the adjective "traditional" to refer to the task's original public character, which is at least partly challenged in PPPs when private actors assume some of the responsibility for such tasks (Bettignies & Ross, 2004; Grimsey & Lewis, 2004; Hodge, 2004; Zhang, 2005). Consequently, they imply a failure or deficiency of the state which can be addressed by the inclusion of private actors, i.e. using the market to create more efficient solutions (European Commission, 2003; Fiscals Affairs Department, 2004; Hammami, Ruhashyankiko, & Yehoue, 1999; OECD, 2013a). Generally, publications following such a *marketization approach* towards PPPs focus on (traditionally) strong states that have assumed a wide range of responsibilities which can now be minimized through market inclusion. By observing PPPs as one way to commercialize the public sector, such definitions can be embedded in what has popularly been referred to as "New Public Management" (Bovaird, 2010; Grimsey & Lewis, 2004).

The latter view clearly dominates the literature, yet the opposite argument also exists, especially within R&D publications. While they too "focus on funding, high-risk and high-cost projects" (Wheeler & Seth, 2001, p. 729), they refer to PPPs as "a new and effective response to the medical needs associated with low commercial returns, needs that are not being addressed through competitive industrial R&D" (ibid.). Thus, they argue, the PPP task has not been addressed sufficiently by the private market and there-

fore the state or often an inter-governmental organization intervenes to contravene market failure (Audretsch, Link, & Scott, 2002; Croft, 2005; Newell, Pande, Baral, Bam, & Malla, 2004; Nwaka & Ridley, 2003; Reich, 2000). Not surprisingly, these *interventionist approaches* are mainly situated in settings with little government influence, such as the transnational sphere and countries with weak or minimal states. While such an approach does not oppose the efficiency and value-for-the-money paradigm of new public management, they differ in their view that public responsibilities need to be built rather than minimized in order to create viable and effective solutions for society.

Irrespective of the chosen approach, it is common for definitions that focus on the coresponsibility dimension to use the PPP concept for referring to arrangements where both public and private organizations assume some kind of responsibility for the regulation, implementation, and/or provision of a public task. The mapping within the coresponsibility dimension and the two identified approaches towards the PPP task are summarized in Figure 4.

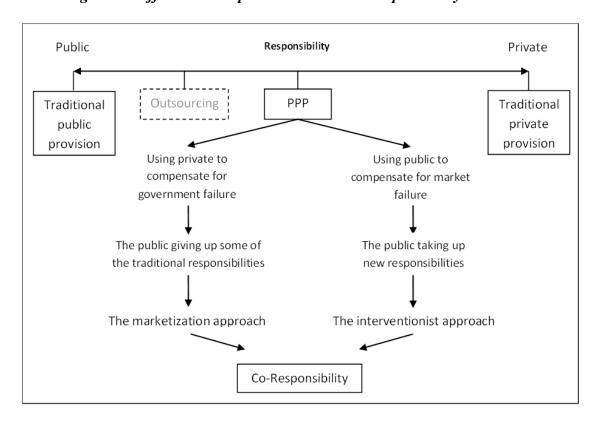


Figure 4: Different assumptions within the co-responsibility dimension

The Relational Governance Dimension. The second way of delineating PPPs from their outside primarily concerns the degree of collaboration. When emphasizing a relational governance dimension, the focus is on actual interaction (Mitchell-Weaver & Manning, 1991; Teisman & Klijn, 2002), horizontal power relations (Miraftab, 2004), trust (Bloomfield, 2006; Entwistle & Martin, 2005; Osborne, 2006; R. Wettenhall, 2010), and joint governance (Börzel & Risse, 2005; Mitchell-Weaver & Manning, 1991; R. Wettenhall, 2003). Consequently, PPPs are distinct from outsourcing arrangements in

that they create a joint and interactive relationship rather than an arm's length relationship, where the private partner is left to be market-driven and the public partner uses hierarchical controls to monitor the private partner. In other words, PPPs are related to a network mode of governance (Lowndes & Skelcher, 1998) and thereby placed closer to public provision than outsourcing arrangements.

The main proponents of more relational definitions of the PPP concept are situated in the public management literature (Klijn & Teisman, 2000, 2003; McQuaid, 2000, 2010; Noble & Jones, 2006, Selsky & Parker 2005) and governance literature (Andonova, 2010; Mitchell-Weaver & Manning, 1991), including publications on global health PPPs (Buse & Harmer, 2007; Widdus, 2001, 2003). Beginning with the public management literature, a focus on PPPs as relational governance mechanisms usually entails a critique of the previously outlined definitions that emphasize the co-responsibility dimension. This may be illustrated by Klijn and Teisman's (2005) critique of PFI/PPPs where they argue that "the level of co-production is low and the risks are mostly clearly shared among partners in a strong contractual manner" (p. 114). In a similar vein, Rosenau (1999) introduces the notion of "authentic partnering" that, "in theory, involves close collaboration and the combination of the strengths of both the private sector ... and the public sector" (p. 12). In other words, the critique entails that it is not enough to refer to sharing when what is described is mainly a distribution of risks and responsibility between partners. Rather, joint decision-making, close organizational relationships, and collaborative management are concerned central to the definition of PPPs.

Turning to the public governance strand, these scholars focus on how rules and norms are increasingly co-created by state and non-state actors (Börzel & Risse, 2005; Garcia Martinez, Fearne, Caswell, & Henson, 2007; McKinsey, 2009a, 2009b; Schäferhoff, Campe, & Kaan, 2009). This strand typically focuses on transnational PPPs and includes mainly inter-governmental organizations as public actors and civil as well as societal organizations as private actors. They create a PPP in- and outside by referring to the sharing of autonomy and authority. In this vein, Schäferhoff and colleagues (2009) argue that "PPPs are therefore an expression of the ongoing reconfiguration of authority in world politics" (p. 145) and Börzel and Risse (2005) state that the private actor gains more autonomy when a task is delegated, i.e. outsourced, compared to arrangements of co-regulation, i.e. narrow PPPs, where autonomy is shared (p. 200). It should be noted that governance literature refers both to broader understandings, including all kinds of actors and autonomy-distributing arrangements (ibid.), and narrower understandings, in which only actual co-regulation is thought of as PPP (Andonova, 2010; Mitchell-Weaver & Manning, 1991).

While the outlined publications generally agree that PPPs present a specific form of governance and management, there is one main divergence regarding the "collaboration". On the one hand, there is a *structural approach* assuming that institutional structures such as the creation of a joint organization lead to more partnership behavior than contractual structures or separate offices (Buse & Walt, 2000; Greve & Hodge, 2005; Klijn & Teisman, 2005). On the other hand, there is a *managerial approach* arguing that mutual PPPs are created by having joint managerial strategies and interaction rather

than implementing the right organizational form (Osborne & Murry, 2000; Skelcher, 2010; G. Weihe, 2010). While the first approach aims to establish a positive correlation between organizational structures and the creation of PPPs, the other refers to a positive correlation between management and PPPs. Although the two approaches lead to differing emphases, they may and do indeed co-exist in definitions as for example in Buse and Harmer (2007), where the PPP term is used "to describe relatively institutionalized initiatives ... in which public and for-profit private sector organizations have a voice in collective decision-making" (p. 259).

Generally, the relational governance approach highlights PPPs as the "third way" making up for market and state failure (e.g. Schäferhoff et al., 2009). In other words, they go beyond a focus on efficiency by emphasizing joint value creation and relationships (Osborne, 2006). These newer tendencies have been increasingly considered as a shift towards new public governance (Osborne 2010), although some authors seem to include the latter in the new public management paradigm (e.g. Grimesy and Lewis 2004).

Discussing and Summarizing the Two Dimensions. Having presented the two dimensions separately, let us now turn to their conflicting yet inherent co-existence. The conflict between the two has been illustrated in their differing delineation practices, placing PPPs closer and further from public provision than outsourcing arrangements. The source for divergence has been shown to lie in the differing dimensions ascribed to the continuum, that is, responsibility in the former and degree of interaction and decision-making in the latter. Going one step further, it may be argued that the co-responsibility dimension primarily refers to the partner level when focusing on how responsibilities are shared/distributed across partners. The relational governance dimension, on the other hand, refers to the partnership level when focusing on joint and mutual decision-making. Clearly, a PPP requires both a partnership as well as autonomous and responsible partners. It follows that they are inherently related even as they must remain separate dimensions: there is no partnership without partners and no partners without a partnership.

From this perspective we may interpret Klijn and Teisman's (2005) previously presented criticism of PFI/PPPs as a critique of too much focus on clear and detailed risk sharing undermining the partnership relation. On the other hand, an almost exclusive focus on the partnership level can also be precarious. For example, Buse and Harmer (2007) argue that

[p]artnerships require all participants to span organizational boundaries ... and to devote extraordinary time and energy to partnership activities, often at the expense of corporate interests. Moreover, contributions to partnerships are often *not* explicitly recognized and rewarded in the parent organizations. (p. 268, italics added)

Yet, when the partnership level is given priority there is a risk of dissolving partners and turning the PPP into a partner-independent, autonomous organization.

In other words, while the two dimensions have been presented separately, most definitions include both of them to some degree, yet, the tendency is to emphasize one over the other. Only few, especially public management and governance scholars, explicitly

refer to both of them (e.g. Buse & Walt, 2000; Buse & Harmer, 2007; Greve & Hodge, 2005; Grimsey & Lewis, 2004; Klijn & Teisman, 2005; G. Weihe, 2010; R. Widdus, 2003). Still, they cannot escape that the co-existence of these dimensions also embodies an inherent conflict when it comes to delineating the PPP concept from its surrounding. The two dimensions and their approaches are summarized in Figure 5 below.

The PPP Concept PPPs between contracting out and PPPs between contracting out and private provision public provision Degree of responsibility shared/distributed Degree of collaboration between the two partners The interventionist The structural The managerial The marketization approach approach approach approach (increase of public (increase of private (structure deciding on (management deciding responsibility) on relationship) responsibility) relationship) The co-responsibility The relational governance dim ensi on dim ension

Figure 5: Overview of dimensions and approaches used to define the PPP concept

(2) Reviewing PPP Classifications

Having outlined two emerging dimensions and four differing approaches, it may be argued that the PPP concept is less ambiguous than it initially appeared. However, while the proposed map (see Figure 5 above) illustrates some (re)occurring patterns concerning how differing in- and outsides are created, the "insides" of the concept are another source of diversity. In other words, when focusing on the many proposed classificatory schemes of PPP, there seems to be an indefinite number of criteria. In total almost 50 classifications were identified in the review and in the following three sub-sections, differing ordering criteria will be presented according to their relationship to earlier outlined dimensions.

Classifications within the Co-Responsibility Dimension. It has already been mentioned that there are various ways of "measuring" responsibility. Along these lines, classifications emphasizing the co-responsibility dimension mostly order differing PPP types along a continuum between public and private risk, ownership, and general responsibility. To distinguish between differing PPP types, classifications most frequently refer to differing combinations of involved tasks such as design, finance, build, operate, maintain, own, lease, and transfer (CCPPP; Kwak et al., 2009; Nijkamp et al., 2002). By combining these in differing ways a number of PPP types have been identified (e.g. design-build-maintain, design-build-operate-maintain, build-own-operate). In addition to the task combinations identified above, another frequently used PPP type is concession, while broader definitions also include service and management contracts as well as pri-

vatization (divestiture) in their PPP classification (Eggers & Startup, 2006; Li & Akintoye, 2003).

While scholars generally agree on how to order these differing PPP-types, the identified PPP types differ widely in number and setup. Grimsey and Lewis (2004) identify a total of sixteen types (pp. 10), while Deloitte's research report (2006) and the International Monetary Fund (2004) classify eleven PPP models, and the often-cited typology of the Canadian Council for Public-Private Partnerships (2014) presents eight types on their homepage. The confusion about the many abbreviations that have been applied to differing types has led Grimsey and Lewis (2004) to refer to "the 'alphabet soup' of acronyms" (p. 12).

Thus, while partly disagreeing on the existing types and labels, the above presented classifications share a common focus on sharing/distribution responsibility in a given PPP project. Consistent with definitory tendencies in the co-responsibility dimension introduced earlier, these classifications are mainly used by global actors and scholars adapting an economic perspective prevalent for PFI/PPP settings while none of the R&D publications presents a specific classificatory scheme.

Classifications within the Relational Governance Dimension. Within the relational governance dimension there is generally less convergence about the ordering criteria. Most agreement is amongst scholars emphasizing a structural approach who generally focus on the organizational form of PPPs. Here, the main distinction has been drawn between contractual and institutional PPPs (Klijn & Teisman 2005) or concession versus alliance PPPs (Koppenjan, 2005). Yet, when focusing on the tightness of the relationship, the distinction between contract and entity is typically expanded as to allow for further classifications.

In this vein, for example Klijn (2010), while also including contracts, further identifies informal project groups and the creation of a common office when ordering different PPP models along the continuum between tight and loose organizational structures. Within the governance literature on global heath PPPs Buse and Walt (2000) distinguish between an elite committee model, an NGO model, and a quasi-public authority model and order them according to the degree of participation in strategic decision-making. Another example are Buse and Waxman (2001) who classify PPPs according to their decision-making body and differ between PPPs with a secretariat within public or NGO and PPPs with a separate legal entity. Generally, these organizational classifications tend to assume that the tighter the organizational structure, the more interaction and joint decision-making will there be, yet, as illustrated above the categories are far from streamlined and contingent on context.

Publications that follow a managerial approach are even more heterogeneous. While they share a focus on management/governance style they do so in various ways. In their broader approach towards PPPs, Börzel and Risse (2005) include a number of governance schemes such as "private self-regulation in the shadow of hierarchy" and "delegation", i.e. outsourcing, in their PPP classification and order the differing types according to the involved autonomy of the private versus the public actor (p. 200). Klijn and Teisman (2000), on the other hand, identify three different management styles that can

be used in PPPs and that decide about their success: While project management is argued to be more valuable for outsourcing projects, process management and network constitution are outlined to be decisive for the establishment of real PPPs. Finally, a number of scholars do not classify actual PPP types but rather focus on the involved managerial phases in PPPs. For example, Osborn and Murray identify five stages: the pre-contact phase, the preliminary contact phase, the negotiation phase, the implementation phase, and the evaluation phase. Weihe (2010) and Koppenjan (2005) also focus on processes, but settle with two stages, the planning or pre-contract stage and the contract or realization phase.

Thus, there are various classificatory schemes used to order PPPs according to their degree of collaboration, i.e. relational governance, and while the focus on organizational forms slightly predominates the reviewed literature, the overview clearly illustrates that there is far from consensus.

Dimension Crossing Classifications. Lastly, the heterogeneity of existing classification is further illustrated by the large number of classifications that crosses the earlier outlined dimensions. Beginning with Hodge and Greve (2005), they propose a classification that addresses both the co-responsibility and the relational governance dimension by including the organizational and the financial relationship. By incorporating two criteria they allow for a more nuanced ordering of PPP types.

Most classifications that cross the dimensions do not, however, address both of them but rather create some kind of overview without directly relating to the definition in the publication. One such example is the distinction between institutional versus contractual PPPs that is also used by scholars and global actors who otherwise define PPPs based on their degree of responsibility distribution. When they nevertheless use organizational form to provide an overview they do so without assuming differing partnership degrees or public/private responsibility (e.g. European Commission, 2004; Nijkamp et al., 2002; UNECE, 2008). Other commonly used criteria that are used to create an overview are the level and/or function of inter-agency cooperation (Börzel & Risse, 2005; McQuaid, 2010), the central activity undertaken (Domberger & Fernandez, 1999, Bovaird 2004), the objective of the PPP (K. Buse & Walt, 2000; McKinsey, 2009b), and the revenue source (Bovaird, 2004; S. Linder & Rosenau, 2000). It is not always clear how the differing variables overlap and/or differ, and identified types are far from neutral but usually specific to the context addressed in the papers.

Finally, there are also some classifications that remain ambiguous about the chosen criteria while concentrating on evolving PPP types – thus creating taxonomies rather than classifications. In this vein, Hodge and Greve (2007) present five emerging PPP families whereas Ghobadian and colleagues (2004) refer to five PPP types used by UK government. Thus, while there may be dominant patterns to order PPP types according to responsibility and/or organizational forms, this does not prevent other potential orderings from being used and the myriad of existing classifications and PPP types does not least illustrate the ambiguity and jungle-like appearance of the PPP concept.

CONCLUSION

This article has its point of departure in the observation that, despite the existence of few explorative overviews of PPPs beyond a PFI context, an inductive map of existing definitory practices across disciplinary and professional borders is still missing. Thus, we still know little about the actual dispersion of the concept and how ascribed meanings and classifications differ, yet also converge across contexts. Furthermore, reviews usually focus on exploring conceptualizations and classifications within academic writings although it has been argued that PPP is just as much created by its practical use (Klijn 2010). The article has addressed this gap by reviewing and analyzing PPP conceptualizations and classifications in more than 100 publications and across disciplinary and professional boundaries. In the following, five main insights shall be highlighted.

First, the common ground across all publications is rather small and can be summarized in three main PPP characteristics. Following, PPPs are commonly defined as collective—as opposed to individual—actions, sector-crossing rather than sector-intern projects, and fulfilling a public rather than a private task. This common ground refers to wide range of public-private arrangements and while some authors suffice with such a broad definition most publications are more exclusive when delineating PPP from its surrounding.

Second, the review identified one main divergence when the PPP concept is delineated and related to outsourcing arrangements, public provision, and private provision. On the one hand, publications focusing on the co-responsibility dimension define PPPs as responsibility-sharing/distributing arrangements and place PPP closer to private provision than outsourcing. On the other hand, publications focusing on the relational governance dimension define PPPs as collaborative arrangements and place PPPs closer to public provision than outsourcing.

Third, it has been argued that two dimensions emphasize two different levels of the PPP and while the co-responsibility focuses on the responsibility assumed by the *individual partners*, the relational governance dimension highlights the *partnership level*. Thereby, they are both inherently related to the PPP concept since without partners there is no partnership and without partnership there are no partners. However, given the conflicting definitory practices, these two dimensions also establish a paradox that seems to be unsolvable and constitutive for the PPP concept.

Fourth, the analysis has identified four differing approaches within the identified dimensions. On the one hand, there is a difference between the interventionist approach that indicates PPPs as an increase of state intervention versus the marketization approach that considers PPPs to increase market participation, a split which is situated within the co-responsibility dimension. On the other hand, within the relational governance dimension, there is a difference between a structural approach that considers the organizational structure as central to creating partnerships versus a managerial approach

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that considers the processual, managerial and interpersonal relations to be critical for a partnership.

Fifth, the article has related the reviewed classifications to the identified dimensions and approaches. The review illustrates that there are a number of classifications that relate explicitly to the used definitions when ordering according to involved risks, responsibility, organizational form and management/governance style. Yet, countless additional criteria are used to order the PPP variety and even if the same criterion was used, identified types usually differ. In other words, the multiplicity of classifications is infinite and so are the PPP-types that are gathered in the concept. It follows, that there may be some dominant patterns when delineating and approaching the PPP concept, yet the within variety resembles a jungle rather than an arranged plantation.

Overall, the multiplicity of understandings and orderings highlights the need for conceptual clarity and deliberative dealings with the PPP concept and its classificatory diversity. While the developed map in this article provides a useful starting point, it has also been emphasized that there is more than one way of ordering and thus further explorations are encouraged. A review and exploration of current PPP practices, especially across national and continental borders, may further enrich and widen the current discourse on PPPs. Hence, rather than complaining about the PPP concept's ambiguity one should accept and acknowledge the diversity that will most likely be (re)produced and, given the concept's wide diffusion, further increase. Hence, the conclusion of this review is to stay precise—but keep on mapping.

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APPENDIX 1:

Authors	Pub Year	Title	Source Title		
THE 40 MOST-CITED ARTICLES USING WEB OF KNOWLEDGE SEARCHING FOR "PUB- LIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP" IN THE TITLE					
Nwaka, S; Ridley, RG	2003	Virtual drug discovery and development for neglected diseases through public-private partnerships	NATURE REVIEWS DRUG DISCOVERY		
Buse, K; Walt, G	2000	Global public-private partnerships: part $I-a$ new development in health?	BULLETIN OF THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION		
Crowley, WF et al.	2004	Clinical research in the United States at a crossroads – Proposal for a novel public-private partnership to establish a National Clinical Research Enterprise	JAMA-JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIA- TION		
Buse, K; Walt, G	2000	Global public-private partnerships: part II – what are the health issues for global governance?	BULLETIN OF THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION		
Widdus, R	2001	Public-private partnerships for health: their main targets, their diversity, and their future directions	BULLETIN OF THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION		
Minow, Martha	2003	Public and Private Partnerships: Accounting for the New Religion	HAVARD LAW RE- VIEW ASSOCIATION		
Bazzoli, GJ	1997	Public-private collaboration in health and human service delivery: Evidence from community partnerships	MILBANK QUAR- TERLY		
Weiner, BJ; Alexander, JA	1998	The challenges of governing public-private community health partnerships	HEALTH CARE MANAGEMENT RE- VIEW		
Murthy, KJR et al.	2001	Public-private partnership in tuberculosis control: experience in Hyderabad, India	INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF TU- BERCULOSIS AND LUNG DISEASE		
Hart, O	2003	Incomplete contracts and public ownership: Remarks, and an application to public-private partnerships	ECONOMIC JOUR- NAL		
Newell, JN; Pande, SB; Baral, SC; Bam, DS; Malla, P	2004	Control of tuberculosis in an urban setting in Nepal: public-private partnership	BULLETIN OF THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION		
Buse, K; Waxman, A	2001	Public-private health partnerships: a strategy for WHO	BULLETIN OF THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION		
Yamey, G	2002	The world's most neglected diseases – Ignored by the pharmaceutical industry and by public-private partnerships	BRITISH MEDICAL JOURNAL		

Zhang, XQ	2005	Critical success factors for public-private partnerships in infrastructure development	JOURNAL OF CON- STRUCTION ENGI- NEERING AND MANAGEMENT- ASCE
Linder, SH	1999	Coming to terms with the public-private partnership – A grammar of multiple meanings	AMERICAN BEHAV- IORAL SCIENTIST
Hodge, Graeme A; Greve, C	2007	Public-private partnerships: An international performance review	PUBLIC ADMIN- ISTRATION REVIEW
Buse, K; Harmer, Andrew M	2007	Seven habits of highly effective global public-private health partnerships: Practice and potential	SOCIAL SCIENCE & MEDICINE
Reich, MR	2000	Public-private partnerships for public health	NATURE MEDICINE
Bovaird, T	2004	Public-private partnerships: from contested concepts to prevalent practice	INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF ADMIN- ISTRATIVE SCIENC- ES
Miraftab, F	2004	Public-private partnerships – The Trojan Horse of neoliberal development?	JOURNAL OF PLAN- NING EDUCATION AND RESEARCH
Croft, SL	2005	Public-private partnership: from there to here	TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL SOCIE- TY OF TROPICAL MEDICINE AND HY- GIENE
Rosenau, PV	1999	Introduction – The strengths and weaknesses of public-private policy partnerships	AMERICAN BEHAV- IORAL SCIENTIST
Koppenjan, JFM	2005	The formation of public-private partnerships: Lessons from nine transport infrastructure projects in the Netherlands	PUBLIC ADMIN- ISTRATION
Jeziersky, L	1990	Neighborhoods and public-private partner- ships in Pittsburgh	URBAN AFFAIRS REVIEW
Wheeler, C; Berkley, S	2001	Initial lessons front public-private partner- ships in drug and vaccine development	BULLETIN OF THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION
Audretsch, DB; Link, AN; Scott, JT	2002	Public/private technology partnerships: evaluating SBIR-supported research	RESEARCH POLICY
Klijn, EH; Teisman, GR	2003	Institutional and strategic barriers to public- private partnership: An analysis of Dutch cases	PUBLIC MONEY & MANAGEMENT
Hodge, GA	2004	The risky business of public-private partnerships	AUSTRALIAN JOUR- NAL OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
Bloomfield, P	2006	The challenging business of long-term public- private partnerships: Reflections on local experience	PUBLIC ADMIN- ISTRATION REVIEW
Yerby, MS et al.	1998	A North American Registry for Epilepsy and Pregnancy, a unique public/private partnership of health surveillance	EPILEPSIA

Nijkamp, P; van der Burch, M; Vindigni, G	2002	A comparative institutional evaluation of public-private partnerships in Dutch urban land-use and 27revitalization projects	URBAN STUDIES				
de Bettignies, JE; Ross, TW	2004	The economics of public-private partnerships	CANADIAN PUBLIC POLICY-ANALYSE DE POLITIQUES				
Lim, MK	2004	Shifting the burden of health care finance: a case study of public-private partnership in Singapore	HEALTH POLICY				
Garcia Martinez, M; Fearne, A; Caswell, JA; Hen- son, S	2007	Co-regulation as a possible model for food safety governance: Opportunities for public-private partnerships	FOOD POLICY				
Link, AN; Scott, JT	2001	Public/private partnerships: stimulating competition in a dynamic market	INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF IN- DUSTRIAL ORGANI- ZATION				
Widdus, R	2003	Public-private partnerships for health require thoughtful evaluation	BULLETIN OF THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION				
Peters, DH; Phillips, T	2004	Mectizan Donation Program: evaluation of a public-private partnership	TROPICAL MEDI- CINE & INTERNA- TIONAL HEALTH				
Stiglitz, JE; Wallsten, SJ	1999	Public-private technology partnerships – Promises and pitfalls	AMERICAN BEHAV- IORAL SCIENTIST				
Schwartz, JB; Bhushan, I	2004	Improving immunization equity through a public-private partnership in Cambodia	BULLETIN OF THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION				
Krishna, Vijesh V.; Qaim, Matin	2007	Estimating the adoption of Bt eggplant in India: Who Benefits from public-private partnership?	FOOD POLICY				
ARTICLES IDENTIFIED BY USING (REVERSED) SNOWBALL METHOD & REVIEWING BOOKS ON PPPs							
Allan, J	1999	Public-Private Partnerships: A Review of Literature and Practice	Policy Paper No 4, Sas- katchewan Institute of Public Policy				
Börzel, T; Risse, T	2005	Public-Private Partnerships: Effective and Legitimate Tools of Transnational Governance?	Book: Complex Sover- eignty: Reconstituting Political Authority in the Twenty-first Centu- ry				
Bovarid, Tony	2010	Chapter: A brief intellectual history of the public-private partnership movement	Book: International Handbook on Public- Private Partnerships				
Domberger, S; Fernandez, P	1999	Chapter Public-Private Partnerships for Service Delivery	BUSINESS STRATE- GY REVIEW				
Hodge, G; Greve, C	2005	Chapter: Introduction	Book: The challenge of public-private partner- ships. Learning from Experience				

Klijn, E-H	2010	Chapter: Public-private partnerships: deciphering meaning, message and phenomenon	Book: International Handbook on Public- Private Partnerships
Klijn, E-H; Edelenbos, J.; Kort M; Twist, M	2008	Facing management choices: an analysis of managerial choices in 19 complex environmental public-private partnership projects	INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF ADMIN- ISTRATIVE SCIENCE
Klijn, E-H; Teisman, G	2005	Chapter: Public-Private Partnerships as the management of co-production. Strate- gic and institutional obstacles in a diffi- cult marriage	Book: The challenge of public-private partner- ships. Learning from Experience
Osborne, S; Murray V	2000	Chapter: Understanding the process of public-private partnerships	Book: Public-Private Partnerships. Theory and practice in interna- tional perspective
Osborne, S	2006	The New Public Governance?	PUBLIC MANAGE- MENT REVIEW
Savas, E	1999	Privatization and Public-Private Partnerships	Book
Stijn, B; Klijn, E-H; Edelenbos, J	2011	Public-Private Partnerships: Added Value by organizational form or management?	PUBLIC ADMIN- ISTRATION
Weihe G	2008	Ordering Disorder - on the Perplexities of the Partnership Literature	AUSTRALIAN JOURRNAL FOR PUBLIC AD- MINSITRATION
Weihe, G	2010	Chapter: Towards a process perspective on public-private partnerships	Book: International Handbook on Public- Private Partnerships
Wettenhall, Roger	2010	Chapter: Mixes and partnerships through time	Book: International Handbook on Public- Private Partnerships

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