Ekonomi

journal homepage: https://dergipark.org.tr/ekonomi

Managing citizen engagement: Public-private partnership governance in selected metropolitan, municipal and district assemblies in Ghana

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ARTICLE INFO	ABSTRACT
<i>Keywords:</i> Public-Private Partnership Governance Divergent Interests Collaboration Engagement Covid-19 pandemic	The study contributes to the existing literature by viewing the phenomenon of managing citizen engagement in PPPs through a governance lens instead of the generic stakeholder theory in the face of the ideological differences inherent in PPPs. A qualitative methodology facilitated data collection from fifty-six participants in four administrative regions in Ghana to explore in-depth, factors underlying the divergent interests of PPP actors in managing citizen engagement, their implications, and how to address the governance dilemma. The key findings revealed that the conflicting rationales for using PPP from the perspective of both public and private actors, constituted a major latent governance issue that influenced management of citizen engagement either positively or negatively. The study therefore suggests the alignment of the divergent interests to improve governance frameworks for managing citizen engagement to enhance PPP outcomes.

I. Introduction

Newcomer & Eric, 2010; Donahue & Zeckhauser, 2011) and consensus building Skeltcher, 2010; Perri, Leat, Selzner & Stoker (2002). among the actors, most PPP literature addressing this phenomenon have Haezendonck, 2014).

instead of the existing stakeholder frameworks to improve citizen engagement derived on implications and future research. frameworks and subsequent enhancement of PPP outcomes in the ten selected MMDAs in Ghana. The implications of conflicting interests in managing citizen **2. Literature Review** engagement in PPPs have received little attention in literature. So far a few scholars, including Kusnanto (2011) and Irfan (2015) in particular, have cautioned that the relationship between the PPP actors is threatened by a natural conflict of interest which may have implications for social dimensions paradigms that initiated the PPP concept to explain the ideological differences of public service delivery. In most cases, the literature on conflicting interests in PPPs bring to the fore the fundamental values of the parties. While the management of citizen oppositions by the PPP actors. private sector is associated with profit maximization (Hall, 2015; Loxley & 2.1. Public-private partnerships Loxley, 2010), their public sector counterpart is mandated to uphold the public interest which emphasizes citizen participation in service delivery (Denhardt

The ideological differences inherent in PPPs have been argued to present to issues related to citizen and stakeholder engagement activities is also flagged a governance issue and concerns have been raised that this key assumption (Hong & Kim, 2018). Interestingly, the conflicting commitments attributed to the should guide the implementation of all PPP activities (Hodge & Skeltcher, 2010; private sector actors in managing citizen engagement in PPPs is also associated Zaato & Hudon, 2015) including managing citizen engagement. However, even with the public officials who, in spite of their mandate pertaining to citizen though addressing complex citizen oppositions requires management decision participation in service delivery (Ahwoi, 2010) are also perceived to consider making processes involving collaboration mechanisms (Forrer, Kee, public accountability mechanisms a nuisance in some cases (Bovaird, 2004;

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Subsequently, the complicated and inconsistent commitments and interests focused mostly on approaches that deepen stakeholder relationships (Osei of the PPP actors argued in literature raise concerns about which of the parties is Kyei & Chan, 2017; Damoah & Akwei, 2017; Luoma-aho, 2015; El-Gohary, intrinsically positioned to manage citizen oppositions effectively to enhance PPP Osman & El-Diraby. 2006; Amadi, Carrillo & Tuuli, 2014) despite the outcomes in the selected MMDAs in Ghana. This study therefore seeks to governance dilemma. Even though some of these approaches, notably the faith- contribute to the literature by exploring factors that motivate or inhibit the holder, hateholder and fakeholder model (Luoma-aho, 2015) are innovative, interests of the PPP actors in managing citizen engagement in PPP in ten selected challenges in managing citizen engagement in PPPs still remain, to the extent MMDAs in Ghana, examine the implications of these factors and investigate how that proponents of the stakeholder theory themselves have identified the need to align the divergent interests to improve governance frameworks for managing for second-order stakeholder theories to manage complex citizen and citizen engagement in PPPs. The paper begins with an introduction which stakeholder issues in PPPs (Steurer, 2006; De Schepper, Dooms & presents the background of the study. This is followed by literature review encompassing both theoretical and empirical literature on the phenomenon to Specifically, De Schepper et al. (2014) recommended the identification of identify the gaps in previous literature. The methodology section provides insight governance models for managing citizen engagement for future research. into the philosophical assumptions, empirical context, data collection and Motivated by this recommendation, this study contributes to existing literature analysis as well as various steps involved in the knowledge development process by viewing management of citizen oppositions from a governance perspective to determine the findings. Finally, the findings are discussed and conclusions

The literature review section provided the missing pieces in literature that motivated this study. The chapter reviewed the various approaches and and interests inherent in the partnership and their implications for governing

PPP has been defined in many ways with some proponents describing it as a & Denhardt, 2011; Fombad, 2013; Fung, 2015). However in other literature, in form of cross-sector partnership (Stadtler, 2015; Dentoni, Bitzer & Schouten, spite of the profit motives associated with the private sector, their commitment 2018). Meanwhile, according to the Organization for Economic Development and

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Received: 19 March 2022; Received in revised from 01 May 2022; Accepted 06 May 2022

Cooperation (OECD, 2012). PPP has no clear definition. Notwithstanding the variety of definitions, a common understanding is that when governments and businesses work together, the synergy that occurs supersedes the individual outputs delivered by each party (Siematycki, 2012; Robinson, 2010). Dentoni et al. (2018) and Donahue and Zeckhauser (2011) therefore argue that partnerships can solve complex problems that individual organisations cannot solve on their own in monolithic arrangements. For instance, in the face of the uncertainty risk (Isik et al. 2019) occasioned by the Covid-19 pandemic, governments alone cannot provide all the necessary solutions. In such unprecedented and uncertain situations, it becomes necessary to adopt multiple strategies and methodologies (Isik et al. 2019) including partnership arrangements with the private sector to ensure better outcomes. In particular, partnership arrangements may become necessary to avoid disruptions in government action in peculiar cases when citizens lose trust in government and also when government action is perceived as profit-oriented (Ahmad et al. (2021).

Public service delivery has traditionally been assumed to be the ultimate responsibility of government (Forrer et al., 2010). However, the new public management (NPM) (Osborne, 2015) and the new governance reforms (Bryson, Crosby & Bloomberg, 2016; Bingham, Nabatchi & O'Leary, 2006; Salamon, 2002; Kettl, 2002) prescribed the adoption of public-private partnerships to achieve efficiency (Titorias & Mohandas, 2019; Aucoin, 2000; Denhardt, 2003; Politt & Boucaert, 2011), thus making the private sector the provider of public services in PPPs. The prime objective of PPP therefore is to improve the quality and efficiency of a given service to the citizenry (Titorias & Mohandas, 2019; Jomo et al., 2016; Siematycki, 2012). The popular types of PPPs are build-ownoperate-transfer (BOOT); build-operate-transfer (BOT); design-build-operatetransfer (DBOT) and design-build-finance-manage-operate (DBFMO) (Siematycki, 2012, Osei Kyei et al., 2017). Despite the numerous successes of some PPP projects, others have experienced challenges including ineffective management of citizen engagement (South et al., 2015; Kivleniece & Quelin, 2012) and subsequent failure of some PPPs. Managing divergent interests has been identified as a key governance issue in PPPs (Omobowale, 2010; Irfan, 2015) given the ideological differences inherent in the partnership. Since partnerships between public and private parties will invariably raise issues of divergent interests, it is appropriate to identify and manage these issues to enhance PPP outcomes (Kusnanto, 2011; Irfan, 2015).

2.2 Governing citizen engagement in PPPs

Citizen engagement is considered a key function in public administration (Ahwoi, 2010). However, in partnerships, Lowndes and Sullivan (2004) argued that this function is a challenging task which should be designed-in instead of assumed-in. To understand citizen engagement in partnerships, it is therefore important to examine the interests and roles of the parties to determine how they can govern citizen engagement effectively (Frederickson et al. 2012). In laying the foundation for the study of governance, Lynn et al. (2000), define governance as the system of laws that constrain or prescribe government activity in the delivery of public goods and services (Frederickson et al., 2012). However in PPPs, concerns have been raised about the implications of the partnership for public service delivery to end-users as citizens, (Hall, 2015; Loxford & Loxford, 2010) given the assumption that the ideological differences between the public and the private sector players present a governance issue (Hodge & Greve, 2017; Zaato & Hudon, 2015; Skeltcher, 2010). Furthermore, citizens as end-users demand transparency and accountability from the public sector as the traditional public service provider and consider private sector participation as illegitimate (Buabeng, 2015; Ahwoi, 2010). Incidentally, Donahue and Zeckhauser (2006) consider PPP as a collaborative governance arrangement that comprises end-users as well apart from the two main actors. Subsequently, the study argues that the main concepts relating to this study in terms of PPP and governance are not mutually exclusive (Zaato & Hudon, 2015; Hodge & Greve, 2017), to the extent that Nederhand and Klijn (2018), Hodge and Greve (2010), and Skeltcher (2010) argued that successful governance of PPP is predicated on managing citizens and stakeholders effectively given that poor management of citizen engagement is a recipe for failure of most PPPs (Chinyio & Olomolaiye, 2010; OECD, 2015). and other development programmes. The complex nature of citizens & subsequent citizen oppositions

is also imminent in monolithic arrangements. For example, Ahmad et al. (2021) attribute failures in implementing government's Covid-19 Guidelines in some countries to civil disobedience.

In complementing the various assumptions on the significance of governance in PPPs, Hodge and Greve (2017) argue that governance defines guidelines on which of the parties is best positioned to make, implement and also be accountable for implementing PPPs. So far this definition in particular explains the phenomenon the study seeks to explore in terms of which of the public and private sector actors is fully committed to managing citizen engagement in PPPs in the face of their ideological differences and interests. Given the governance dilemma argued in the PPP arrangement and subsequent implications for managing citizen engagement, the study will draw on two key governance theories in terms of the principal-agent theory and the network theory to explore factors underlying the divergent interests of the PPP actors in managing citizen engagement and investigate how to align these interests to improve governance frameworks for managing citizen engagement.

Principal-Agent theory: The body of literature on principal-agent theory identifies a key issue that it attempts to address, particularly the dilemma of cooperating parties not necessarily having the same interests (Eisenhardt, 1989). While the private sector emphasizes value for money, the public sector focuses on social values and the divergent goals and interests of the public and private actors have been discussed broadly in literature (Hall, 2015; Siematycki, 2012; Siematycki, 2010; Loxley & Loxley, 2010; Stiglitz, 2000). Kusnanto (2011) therefore identified a natural dissimilarity in the interests of the principal and the agent. However, Cuevas-Rodriguez et al. (2012) suggest that so long as the interests of the two parties align, there is the likelihood that the agent would meet the expectations of the principal. This assumption could be applied to the conflicting relationship in PPPs as well, to explore how the divergent goals and interests could be aligned to address the complicated and inconsistent commitments in managing citizen engagement in PPPs.

Network Theory: The characteristics of the new governance paradigm is similar to the network theory in terms of focus on the citizenry which is at the center of public service delivery (Bryson et al. (2016), Rhodes (2015) and Ofling (2007). This view is reflected in the assertion by Bingham et al. (2005) and South et al. (2015) that the successful governance of PPPs is predicated on managing a network of stakeholders having diverse motives (Nederhand & Klijn, 2018). The characteristics of the principal-agent theory as well as the network governance theory revealed two key issues. The principal-agent theory is criticized for focusing on the vertical relationship and not explaining the horizontal relationship between networks in terms of the involvement of citizens in public-private partnerships. Even though the network governance theory addresses this issue, it is not clear on vertical roles of the PPP actors in managing or governing citizen and stakeholder engagement. The two theories however are appropriate for explaining the phenomenon and guide the preparation of a conceptual model to facilitate the research process.

2.3 Existing frameworks for managing citizen engagement in PPPs

The OECD (2015) argue that most PPPs fail due to poor management of citizen engagement processes. In their contribution to the literature on participation processes in partnerships, Lowndes and Sullivan (2004) presented in detail, the challenges in securing citizen involvement in a particular context. For instance, as argued by (Ahmad et al., 2021). citizen oppositions can occur when the public lose trust in government due to lack of political will. Bryson, Quick, Slotterback and Crosby (2012) therefore suggest that effective public participation processes should involve intensive analysis taking into account the context to be able to identify the relevance of the participation effort to meticulously design and redesign the processes effectively.

In other literature, concerns have been expressed concerning the need to consider conflicting interests (Omobowale, 2010) inherent in PPPs particularly when it comes to managing citizen engagement. Notwithstanding these promptings, most frameworks on how to address citizen oppositions in PPPs do not focus on collaborative arrangements between the public and the private sector actors for addressing these issues. The concentration is rather on how to deepen relationship with the end-users as citizens and stakeholders in line with the stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984; Donaldsen & Preston, 2005). It is not surprising that in spite of the numerous citizen and stakeholder engagement frameworks the issue of citizen oppositions still exist (Omobowale, 2010; Hovy,

2015) threatening the survival of most PPPs. For instance, the semantic and taxonomy stakeholder engagement model proposed by El-Gohary et al. (2006) aims at mitigating the effects of citizen and stakeholder oppositions. However, the model lacked the governance dimension (Hodge & Skeltcher, 2017) that should clarify arrangements put in place in terms of the role of the PPP actors in the implementation phase to make it more effective. Similarly, the multi-stakeholders management model by Henjewele et al. (2013) sought to address the issue of stakeholder oppositions in a holistic manner. The five different processes in this model comprise mapping of end-users and stakeholders, prioritization of stakeholders, relationship building with stakeholders, identification and management of challenges and conflicts as well as effective communication. In spite of the strong focus on stakeholder mapping, (Hong & Kim, 2018; Freeman, 2010), this model lacked the horizontal focus suggested by De Schepper et al. (2014) in terms of collaborative arrangement between the PPP actors. Other models such as the Public-Private-People Partnership Process Framework suggested by Ng et al.(2013) is also modeled along the stakeholder approach which focuses on relationship with the citizen and stakeholders. The framework does not take into account the assumption that PPP is primarily a governance strategy (Boardman et al., 2016) which require a collaborative effort of the PPP actors in decision making processes regarding which of the parties should engage citizens and stakeholders more effectively given their divergent interests.

Arguably, most of the existing models are quite innovative and could be effective in monolithic public or private arrangements instead of partnerships (Hodge & Greve, 2017). The All-Inclusive Stakeholder Management Framework (Amadi et al. 2014) for instance focuses on the mapping as well as engagement of all citizens and stakeholders involved in PPPs thus taking into account democratic accountability in service delivery (Skeltcher & Mathur, 2005; Denhardt & Denhardt, 2011). However, in as much as this framework adopted a holistic approach the governance perspective was missing and it appears the public sector will be exercising control even though the private sector delivers the public services in PPPs. Most of these frameworks and models overlook the collaborative nature of PPPs (Yamamoto, 2015; Donahue & Zeckhauser, 2011) even though each party may have a role to play in managing this all-inclusive framework to make it work, drawing from the principal-agent theory.

The faith-holder, hateholder and fakeholder model (Luoma-aho, 2015) is another innovative model for managing stakeholder engagement. The model was developed by Luoma-aho (2010) on how to identify "faith-holders", "fakeholders" and "hateholders" to complement Freeman's (1984, 2010) stakeholder theory to elicit the nascent interests of stakeholders that are not easy to identify at the initial stages of engagement. The logic behind the faithholder, hateholder and fakeholder model is that organizations can only thrive in the long term if the number of faith-holders exceeds the number of hateholders (Luoma-aho, 2015). In spite of the innovative nature of this model, it has limitations given that identifying the categories of stakeholders stated requires inputs from both actors in the PPP arrangement to be able to design the appropriate processes (Bryson et al., 2012) taking into account governance perspectives (Zaato & Hudon, 2015). So far, out of the various stakeholder engagement models reviewed, the dynamic dual stakeholder management tool (De Schepper et al. 2014) discussed in their article "Stakeholder Dynamics and Responsibilities in PPPs: A mixed experience" provided a certain level of collaboration (Dentoni et al., 2018) in decision making regarding citizen and stakeholder engagement. However, notwithstanding the advantages of the dual dynamic approach, De Schepper et al. (2014) recommended for future research, the identification of governance structures that allow the sharing and division of responsibilities between the PPP actors. The recommendation for identifying governance structures for a collaborative arrangement for managing citizen and stakeholder issues is consistent with the guidelines proposed by Van Slyke (2017) for governing citizen and stakeholder engagement in PPPs. This study therefore seeks to contribute to existing literature by exploring among other factors, the implications of factors underlying the interests of the PPP actors in managing citizen engagement and investigate how to align these divergent interests towards a governance framework for managing citizen engagement.

3. Methodology

The study adopted a qualitative methodology to investigate issues relating to the divergent interests of the PPP actors in managing citizen engagement in the selected district assemblies in Ghana and how to address the research problem. This is because the interests and commitments of the PPP actors in managing citizen engagement vary and cannot be measured or generalized (Jomo et al., 2016; Kusnanto, 2011; Eisenhardt, 1989). Specifically, the study explores factors underlying the divergent interests of the PPP actors in managing citizen engagement, examines the implications of these factors and finally investigates how the divergent interests can be aligned to improve citizen engagement frameworks in the selected MMDAs in Ghana.

3.1 Empirical context

In Ghana, the PPP concept has become an indispensable approach for deploying private sector finance in the delivery of public infrastructure (National PPP Policy, 2011) to improve local economic development. According to the World Bank's estimation (World Bank, 2011), Ghana would require around USD 1.5 billion every year to bridge the gap for funding infrastructure making the PPP concept a relevant innovative approach for deploying private sector finance in the delivery of public infrastructure (National PPP Policy, 2011) to improve local economic development. PPP is therefore district-led in Ghana and the Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA, 2013) as well as the Ghana Decentralization Policy (GDP, 2010) stipulate clearly the critical role of Metropolitan, Municipal and District Assemblies (MMDAs) in the national development process. The contributions of the private sector in terms of delivery of efficient and effective services in the MMDAs have also been acknowledged (Ghana Decentralization Policy Framework, 2010). This is because most of the MMDAs are underfunded and they also grapple with the challenge of governance, finance and capacity building (Ahwoi, 2010). This factor justifies the need for partnership with private investors in the 10 selected MMDAs to secure alternative sources of funding for public service delivery in Ghana (National PPP Policy 2011). In Ghana, PPPs are either solicited by the MMDAs to fill a financing gap for infrastructure development or unsolicited in cases where the private sector proactively identifies an investment opportunity to enable the provision of public services in a particular MMDA. The MMDAs therefore constitute the main repertoire of knowledge on private investors participating in PPPs.

Since the launching of a National PPP Policy (2011) to guide PPP activities in Ghana, successive governments have prioritized PPPs as a viable local economic development tool (Buabeng, 2015; Osei Kyei et al., 2017). However, a cursory analysis of the policy document revealed minimal consideration of issues relating to how citizens and stakeholders should be managed in PPPs, in spite of the ideological differences of the public and private actors which may present governance issues in terms of their commitment to managing citizen engagement given the shift in the mode of public service delivery. Given that PPPs attract citizen oppositions which threaten the survival of most PPPs (El-Gohary et al., 2006; Chinyio & Olomolaiye, 2010), there is the need to explore how to address management of citizen oppositions effectively. In addressing the research problem therefore, it was appropriate to conceptualize the issue of divergent interests in managing citizen engagement from the perspective of the public and private actors at the MMDAs in Ghana to determine the appropriate sample size necessary for the qualitative study.

3.2 Scope of the study

Table 1.	The	study	covers	ten	selected	MMDAs	in	four	Regions	in	Ghana
presente	d as f	follows	:								

Greater Accra	Four (Two Metropolitan and Two Municipal Assemblies) Accra Metropolitan, Tema Metropolitan, Ashaiman Municipal and Kpong Akatamanso Municipal Assemblies respectively.
Central Region	Two (One Metropolitan and One Municipal Assembly). Cape Coast Metropolitan and Awutu-Senya East Municipal Assemblies respectively.
Eastern Region	Two (Two Municipal Assemblies). Kwahu West Municipal and New Juaben Municipal Assemblies respectively.
Ashanti Region	Two (One Metropolitan and One Municipal Assembly). Kumasi Metropolitan and Ejisu Juaben Municipal Assemblies respectively.

3.3 Sampling size

Identifying the appropriate participants for answering the research questions was appropriate to facilitate gathering of rich data for thick descriptions (Geertz, 1976; Osamloo, 2014) and to ensure unambiguous findings (Yin, 2009). A non-probability sampling technique in terms of purposive sampling therefore became appropriate (Schutt, 2012; Creswell, 2007) to ensure an in-depth inquiry. Even though PPP is meant to be districtled, information on PPP actors at both regional and MMDA levels is unstructured unlike PPPs in the developed countries (Skeltcher & Mathurs, 2006; Boardman et al., 2016). Notwithstanding these challenges, four regions were sampled out of the 16 regions in Ghana. These are Greater Accra, Ashanti, Eastern and Central Regions respectively to enable an in-depth inquiry (Creswell, 2017). The purposive sampling technique became necessary because these areas particularly, the Greater Accra and Ashanti regions attracted private sector investment due to favorable demographic factors that enable quick returns on investment in relation to construction of markets and public utilities in sub-urban areas that needed local economic development. In most cases, private sector investors are attracted to areas where they can identify viable business opportunities. The Central and Eastern regions respectively also attract appreciable levels of private investments in light infrastructure due to their proximity to the Greater Accra and Ashanti regions respectively to address development needs. In particular, there is a gradual expansion of Accra, the capital, towards the Central region (Kasoa - Awutu Senva) and parts of the Eastern region (Koforidua, New Juaben). Even though there are PPP activities in the other regions, these activities did not meet the criteria set for this study in terms of a minimum of three years of implementation to be able to explore in-depth, the phenomenon of divergent interests of the PPP actors in managing citizen engagement and related consequences. The types of PPPs implemented at the MMDA levels were also considered an important factor in addressing the research problem given that not all types of PPPs require intensive citizen engagement to determine which of the public and private actors is committed to it or not.

For the 4 regions and their respective 10 MMDAs, the sample size comprised 20 relevant top public officials encompassing municipal chief executives, municipal coordinating directors, economic planning officers and public relations officers. These public officers were selected because they were conversant with the divergent interests inherent in the relationship between the public and private sector actors and it was assumed that they would be able to provide perspectives on the implications of the divergent interests on service delivery with particular focus on managing citizen engagement in PPPs and how to resolve them effectively to enhance PPP outcomes in the selected MMDAs. The breakdown of public officials sampled for the study is presented in Table 3.5 (see Annex).

In addition to the 20 public officials sampled, 5 other key informants were selected from the Public Investments Unit (PIU) of the Ministry of Finance and the Local Government Service Secretariat (LGSS) respectively as presented in Figure 3.6 (see Annex). These public officials were selected based on the assumption that they would be able to provide the policy dimension of the phenomenon to be explored. Specifically, the PIU of the Ministry of Finance constitutes the National Secretariat of PPPs in Ghana and it was expedient to explore from their perspectives how PPPs have evolved so far, and to also identify lessons learned in relation to managing citizen engagement, a social function in PPPs in the face of the conflicting ideologies. The LGSS as the implementation wing of the MRDLG works closely with the MMDAs and is conversant with most of the PPP projects under implementation. The total number of key informants at the public sector level was 25.

In relation to the private sector actors in PPP, eleven private investors were selected out of 30 private businesses and contractors participating in the different types of PPPs at the MMDA level as depicted in Table 3.7 (see Annex). Given the absence of an official database on private sector participation in PPPs, identification of these actors was made possible through the snowballing technique where the MMDAs were the only source of information on private sector actors working with them on PPP projects. However, in conformity with the research purpose and design, the sampling strategy ensured that the participants selected were appropriate for answering the three major research questions. For the three focus group discussions (FGDs), 20 participants in total were sampled as depicted in Table 3.9 (see Annex). The focus groups were sampled purposively to represent perspectives of both public and private sector actors as well as end-users of

PPPs. Overall, 56 participants were sampled for the in-depth interviews.

3.4 Data collection

The study commenced with three meetings with a senior director and two assistant directors at the LGSS, and a senior manager at the Ministry of Finance (Public Investments Unit) to gather first-hand perspectives on the policy framework on PPPs. The interviewing process began with twenty selected public officials at the MMDAs partly due to the fact that prior to the NPM approach (Pollitt & Boucaert, 2013) which gave birth to the PPP concept, they were traditionally mandated to provide public services and to prioritize citizen participation (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2011). The public officials comprised metropolitan and municipal chief executives (MCEs), metropolitan coordinating directors (MCDs), economic planning officers, procurement officers, finance officers, budget officers and public relation officers. Some of the public officials linked the PPP initiative to some of the existing acts in the Constitution of Ghana that promote partnership between the public sector and the private sector in the provision of public services to ensure accelerated local economic development in the MMDAs (PPP Policy Document, 2011). Twenty open-ended questions were administered to the 20 selected public officials in the MMDAs to understand their views on the phenomenon the study seeks to explore. On average, two participants were interviewed in each MMDA. The highest rate of participation was recorded at the Kwahu West District Assembly where the researcher met in one meeting, five high level participants including the Municipal Chief Executive.

With regard to the private sector, eleven participants were interviewed. They comprise private investors and contractors working in partnership with the MMDAs in PPPs ranging from market construction, waste management, bus terminals, revenue collection, on-street parking and revenue collection were also interviewed on the key theme of the research in relation to the divergent interests in managing citizen engagement in PPPs. Even though the selected MMDAs were engaged in not less than four PPP projects individually, selection of which private partner to work with was at the sole discretion of the public officials. On average, one private investor was interviewed in each MMDA. To make up for this shortfall, it became necessary to identify other private investors involved in the provision of public services in the framework of privatization of state-owned enterprises, to determine how citizens are engaged. This activity was necessary to enhance rigor of the data (Yin, 2013). This category of key informants included Vodafone, a fully privatized state-owned organization and State Housing Company, a quasi-state-owned organization. The open-ended questions administered to the private investors varied slightly based on the nature of their operations and different ideologies. Interviews with the private investors lasted between 45 to 150 minutes due to the high-level interest generated by the issues discussed.

Data were also collected purposively from twenty representatives from three different focus groups (Nyumba & Wilson, 2018) as presented in Table 3.9 (see Annex) to tease out their multiple views on conflicting interests of the PPP actors to ascertain which of them was best positioned to carry out citizen engagement effectively and efficiently. The groups comprised the citizens themselves as endusers of PPP projects being explored. The study also gathered secondary data from desk reviews. Silverman (2013) argues that texts and documents are very useful sources of data for qualitative and quantitative research. From a public sector perspective, documents reviewed included regulatory frameworks in terms of provisions in the Constitution of Ghana for instance Act 426 and PNDC Law 327 mandating MMDAs to engage in partnerships with the private sector and also Act 936 sections 10 and 12 mandating MMDAs to ensure citizen participation in service delivery. The Public Procurement Act was also reviewed given that PPP is considered as a form of procurement. Other documents reviewed were the National PPP Policy, Draft PPP Bill, the PPP Programme document, Ghana Decentralization Policy, and the Ghana Shared Growth Development Agenda. These documents spelt out policy framework on identification of PPPs as a district-led mechanism with the private sector driving local economic development at the district levels. Documents on Governance in Local Government highlighted the importance of citizen participation and the role of MMDAs in service delivery. Franchise Agreements and contracts governing PPPs were also reviewed to ascertain provisions for managing citizen engagement and how this activity is measured to emphasize the governance dimension. Documents relating to PPPs were obtained from the Local Government Service Secretariat. Specific information on the selected MMDAs however were not made available by the public officials but were accessed online by the researcher on the respective websites of the MMDAs. In relation to the private sector, corporate

strategic business plans were reviewed to ascertain their core values and intrinsic interests in engaging citizens and stakeholders as part of their corporate strategies. The stakeholder theory (Hong & Kim, 2018; Freeman, 1984) explains that firms consider stakeholders as an integral part of their operations given that the complex nature of citizens and stakeholders can impact negatively on their operations. Reports from NGOs and other sources on civic actors also provided useful insights into trends in managing citizen engagement. In addition, existing frameworks for governing PPPs, general guidelines for managing citizen engagement in Ghana and global best practices in governing and managing citizen and stakeholder engagement such as the Global Compact and OECD Guidelines on citizen engagement in PPPs were analyzed. These reviews provided an understanding of global best practices in managing citizen engagement in PPPs, institutional arrangements implemented, roles and responsibilities of the partners and factors motivating the PPP actors. It is expected that the combined approaches adopted for primary and secondary data collection should ensure rigor to make the study findings credible, dependable, and confirmable.

3.5 Data analysis

The qualitative nature of the interviews permitted flexibility for numerous follow-up questions which led to collection of rich data, identification of codes and themes to facilitate thick descriptions and analysis (Yin, 2009; Creswell, 2012). The researcher focused on codes that articulate the action of the participants as well as inferences (Miles, Huberman & Saldana, 2013) from relevant documents to reflect the objectives of the study and facilitate answers to the research questions. 103 descriptive codes were generated from the raw data transcribed. These descriptive codes comprised summarized data related to the three research questions. (See Tables 4.1 and Table 4.2 in Annex). The descriptive codes were reduced to 15 categories or sub-themes which were further synthesized to five main themes which gave a concise perspective on the phenomena being explored at the various levels in terms of the issues bordering on divergent interests of the 36 key informants comprising public sector players at the 10 selected MMDAs and their private sector counterparts. Data from the three focus group discussions were also analyzed. After a rigorous data analysis process five major themes were extracted from the 103 coded data. These are rationale for using PPPs, Regulatory Framework, Governance Arrangements, Efficiency in PPPs, and Collaboration for Managing Citizen Engagement.



4.Findings

The findings are related to the three research objectives and revealed various factors underlying the divergent interests of the PPP actors in managing citizen engagement implications of these factors, and how to align the divergent interests of the PPP actors to improve citizen engagement frameworks in PPPs.

4.1 Rationale for using PPPs

This theme concerning the rationale of the PPP actors is linked to research objective one and research objective two in connection with factors underlying the divergent interests of PPP actors and implications of the factors on managing citizen engagement in PPPs. For example, in answering questions on factors that motivate or inhibit their interests in governing or managing citizen engagement and related implications, 18 out of the 20 public servants were of the view that any activity in the PPP arrangement including managing citizen engagement is premised on their rationale for using PPPs. This is in relation to the source of financing their numerous development projects using the PPP mechanism. They emphasized that private sector actors are merely financiers of PPP projects who should not engage in managing citizen engagement processes in PPPs. The following excerpts highlight this perspective.

"To be honest, the discussion on managing citizen engagement should focus primarily on why we at the Assemblies use the private sector in the first place..... we are only looking for cost-effective way to provide service to the citizen. If we get money from common fund we don't need the private sector for anything... they are profit-minded... We can also go for bank loans if we want to... it is all about funds." The perception of the public officials in terms of their rationale for instituting PPPs seems to be consistent with the view of some proponents of PPP that governments have various justifications for undertaking various types of PPPs particularly in the area of infrastructure development (Osei-Kyei et al., 2014; Cheung et al., 2009). In the case of Ghana, PPPs are perceived to reduce fiscal deficits that limit financing of most infrastructure projects and services. In relation to how citizen engagement is managed in the PPP arrangement, the public officials referred to Act 936 Sections 10 and 12 as their guideline for ensuring democratic accountability. An excerpt from participants from two Municipal Assemblies:

"We engage citizens whether PPP or not. Private sector comes in for funding..." "PPPs are public goods provided by private people, but we own the public goods you know. How can we leave our citizens at the mercy of private people?"

In another instance, when asked how they can manage this role in isolation while the private sector delivers the core public services and interact with citizens, the public officials maintain that the citizens do not know the voice of the private sector. They also indicated that based on the perceived role of the private investors, the PPP contracts were designed based on the assumption that managing citizen engagement in PPPs was the mandate of the Assemblies who are committed by law to be accountable to citizens in service delivery by ensuring citizen participation (Act 936 Sections 10 and 12) making the role of private sector in managing citizen engagement illegitimate. The public officials however admitted that despite their obligation to citizens, there are several factors that limit their mandate such as time, inadequate staff, poor skills in communicating in local dialects, to mention a few.

"We are in charge of managing citizen engagement, but we are thinking about how to improve on it because we don't have the capacity..."

The exclusion of the private investors from functions other than financing is inconsistent with traditional governance principles. Van Slyke (2017) argue that the relationship between the PPP actors transcends financial mechanisms.

From the perspective of the private investors, when asked about factors motivating their interest or otherwise and the related implications in governing citizen engagement, 9 out of the 11 private investors linked their interests in managing citizen engagement to their financial investment in the PPPs. The private sector actors perceive the rationale for their participation in the PPPs as a viable investment opportunity as seen in a statement by some interviewees below:

"We want to help the government to develop the communities and PPP is one of the ways we can do that.

.... we want to protect our investment through positive interaction with users of our services."

In relation to their reaction to perceptions about their profit motives which negate their interest in social issues such as managing citizen engagement, the private investors asserted that the profit motive is the main factor driving their interest in engaging citizens given that close interaction with end-users reduces the risk of high maintenance cost which is a key issue in attaining their goal of efficiency in the profit-making process. They also added that the PPP arrangement in terms of build-operate-transfer with a duration of 30 years payment streams locks up capital and this requires that as risk-takers in the partnership, they must work closely with the end-users of PPP projects to protect their investment to avoid losses or total project failure in the long run.

4.2 Regulatory framework

Drawing from the theme on rationale for using PPPs, the type of regulatory framework adopted by the public actors had implications for divergent interests in managing citizen engagement. From the perspectives of the public sector actors, even though their mandate in governing and managing citizen engagement is based on Act 936 Sections 10 and 12, and subsequent bye-laws, the same legal framework prevents the private investors from managing citizen engagement. This view is inconsistent with the governance objectives for PPPs suggested by Van Slyke (2017) in terms of a mutual understanding between the parties as well as fair negotiations taking into account the different interests inherent in the partnership.

"No, no, no... The private sector has no right to engage! They don't have the legitimacy to enforce bye-laws... The citizens don't know their voice... they are too profit-minded... nothing can change them..."

In spite of their statutory mandate to manage citizen engagement, the public sector actors claim they lack the necessary resources to carry out the task of managing citizen engagement in PPPs, revealing their inconsistent commitments. On the other hand, in spite of the limitations posed by the inadequate regulatory framework, the private sector investors claim they are committed to managing citizen engagement to protect their investment contrary to perceptions about their commitment in this regard: "Our relationship with the Assembly is based on Franchise Agreement in which the roles and responsibilities of each partner is specified... We can educate citizens so that our services will be effective. ... And to protect our investment. We don't depend on the Assembly to tell us what to do. We are creative and innovative. We want to change attitudes in sanitation...... we can't wait for agreements for this... we call this CSR."

The existing legal framework guiding PPP practice in Ghana appears to be inadequate. Osei Kyei and Chan (2017) therefore expressed concern about this shortfall when they argued that so far, the National PPP policy which should guide PPP practice does not provide ample details on the implementation process. In particular, the national policy is not clear on the necessary procedures for managing citizen engagement. According to Van Slyke (2017), apart from the contract which serves as the main governing tool in PPPs, factors like clear, transparent, and enforceable regulatory frameworks convenient to both parties are also appropriate and important.

4.3 Governance arrangements:

This theme builds on the theme on regulatory frameworks which is also linked to the theme on the rationale for using PPPs. The existing governance arrangement in terms of contracts and franchise agreements are premised on the regulatory framework i.e. Act 436 as legal backing for private sector participation in public service delivery.

In relation to governance or management of citizen engagement, the public officials were of the view that the existing contracts and franchise agreement guide the PPP relationship in terms of roles and responsibilities of each actor. In Assemblies such as KMA, Awutu Senya East, AMA and TMA, there are steering committees and specialized PPP Units in place to guide implementation of projects and services. However, there are no provisions in the contracts on management of citizen engagement. The following excerpts highlight the views of the public actors.

"We have the agreement alright... But the private actors are not fit to be managing our citizens. It is illegitimate. We are mandated to protect the public interest, not the private sector. They are to provide the money and that is all. We can choose to get the money from elsewhere anyway..."

The above extracts summarize the views of the public officials on existing governance arrangements in PPPs in force at the MMDAs and their implications for managing citizen engagement. With regard to the levels of engagement and the party responsible for each stage, the public actors were of the view that they were in charge of the social aspect of the relationship while the private sector handles the economic aspect.

"The citizens know our voice, we are government, the PPP projects are owned by us so we have to be close to the people...The private investors like money too much and cannot be trusted."

4.4 Efficiency in public-private partnerships

The theme on Efficiency in PPPs was derived from the perspectives of the

private investors who perceive their motivation to manage citizen engagement as driven by their desire to achieve efficiency. This theme was derived from the rationale for using PPPs based on the views of the private sector investors. They perceive their motivation for participating in PPPs as being driven by investing in local economic development. Subsequently, they are eager to protect this investment by adopting efficiency measures including managing citizen engagement to minimize maintenance costs in order to maximize profit.

The private sector investors were of the view that the build-operate-transfer type of PPPs with related payment streams spread over thirty years after which the PPP projects become the property of the MMDAs require a high level of efficiency to enable them achieve value for money. Meanwhile, the public sector actors also claim that by using the private sector as the most cost-effective source of financing service delivery instead of bank loans, they are also conscious of efficiency. The quest for efficiency in service delivery is the main reason underlying the NPM paradigm instituting the PPP concept (Osborne, 2015; Andrew & Entswistle, 2015; Jomo et al., 2016). For example, in a PPP arrangement for construction and management of public bathrooms and toilet facilities, end-users need continuous education on the effective use of the facilities to limit cost of repairs and in some cases the sustainability of the project in question.

Given that most of the private investors in the PPP arrangement are in areas that require intensive human interaction to ensure efficiency and effectiveness in areas such as waste management, biogas, construction and management of public washrooms and public toilet, they are very particular about high maintenance costs which come as a result of the heavy use of the facility and the tendency for end-users to damage the facility before the end of the project. Huge maintenance costs resulting from frequent repairs constitute a heavy toll on the payment streams as returns on their investment which in most cases are delayed

"When we take the risk to engage, it is because we want to protect our investment... to ensure sustainability... Because if we leave the people to use the facility anyhow, in 30 years when the contract expires, we will lose our investment..."

Taking proactive steps to engage citizens in spite of stiff oppositions enables the private sector to operate in the most efficient and profitable manner to enhance shareholder value. Meanwhile, the perspective of some of the private sector contractors of a project with less human interaction is highlighted below:

"The Assembly owns the property we have invested in after the contract... Why should we bother to engage citizens? It is not our work... we provided the money that is enough responsibility... They should look after the citizens as their contribution."

4.5 Collaboration for citizen engagement

This theme also emerged mostly from data analyzed from the perspectives of the private sector actors. The private sector investors cited the rationales of the public sector actors for using PPPs as a major disincentive for the effective management of citizen engagement in PPPs. The underlying factor is that the public officials perceive the private sector as a financing mechanism only when other sources of financing such as common fund or loans fail. According to the public sector actors, apart from being a source of funding, the private sector investors have no other business in the PPP relationship including the management of citizens which is a key issue in service delivery.

"The private investors are too profit-oriented... They like money too much... But we need their money because they control the economy you know... The common fund is no longer 'common' and bank loans attract high interest rates."

This view is contrary to assumptions of early proponents of the PPP concept like Rhodes (1997) and contemporary authors like Marx (2019) who argued that the private sector participation in public service delivery is likened to "governance without government" where the government is expected to exercise a hands-off approach in service delivery based on the NPM paradigm. Meanwhile, despite insisting on their traditional roles in the PPP arrangement which excluded the private sector actors from managing citizen engagement, the public officials also admitted that they lack the necessary resources such as time and adequate staff strength to assume that role. The following excerpts highlight their views:

"Citizens are complex, and we don't have all the resources to engage them. There are a whole lot of implications... For me I think managing citizen engagement should be a shared responsibility.... We can't do it all..."

The private investors on the other hand, view PPPs as an investment opportunity and in striving to achieve returns on their investment, citizen engagement becomes means to achieving that end. Their rationale for using PPPs PPPs enables them to prioritize citizen engagement. However, this view is inconsistent with claims that the private sector is motivated by profit (Loxley & Loxley, 2010; Donaldson & Preston, 1995) and does not prioritize social values (Hall, 2015; Stiglitz, 2000). The perception of the private investors however is closely linked to views by Luoma-aho (2015) and Hong and Kim (2018) that private investors consider citizens and stakeholders as an integral part of corporate governance and adopt strategies to map complex citizens that are likely to threaten their survival. The private investors perceive that close interaction with end-users of PPP projects and services particularly those that involve intensive human interaction like waste management and public washrooms and toilet facilities, reduces maintenance costs which can improve profit margins. In spite of the gaps in the existing governance arrangements for citizen engagement frameworks, the private investors maintain that their interest in managing citizen engagement is premised on their corporate social responsibility

"We are aware that participating in this PPP is like doing government's job for them and this makes us exercise our social responsibility by working closely with the end-users. We belong to a vibrant association which reminds us constantly that we are offering social services and must do the right thing."

"We have to teach them how to flush the toilet properly... Some of them have not used water-closets before and we have to teach them... We have to replace the things every time and this is not in our budget!"

Notwithstanding their willingness to manage citizen engagement as a means of achieving the efficiency required in PPPs, the private investors were of the view that the end-users do not recognize their citizen engagement activities as legitimate. In most instances, they are met with opposition from complex end-users who insist the PPP projects are government property funded through their levies and taxes and that the private sector has no right to tell them how they should use the facility.

From the perspective of the private sector, without the involvement of the public sector, it will be very difficult for them to undertake any meaningful citizen engagement even though they are fully committed to this task as their social responsibility.

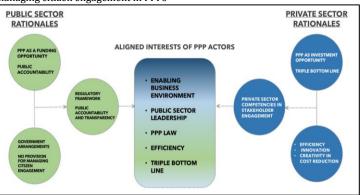
"We can engage the citizens but on what basis can we do that? We don't have the mandate to enforce bye-laws..."

The views of the private sector investors are consistent with the OECD Guidelines on public governance in PPPs (OECD, 2012) which commit the public actors to provide an enabling environment as initiators of PPP projects to serve as an incentive for private sector participation. The private investors were of the view that the leadership role of the Assembly in supporting them to engage citizens in service delivery is indispensable because the citizens consider their actions as illegal. This view is consistent with the argument of Tahir (2017) that to overcome the hindrances and constraints in PPP implementation, the public sector actors must initiate teamwork given that the government has the utmost authority and accountability to strengthen the partnership. The private investors acknowledged that they are not accountable to the citizens like the Assemblies who take taxes and tolls from them and are therefore expected to address their needs by law. They are also conscious of the fact that there is no legal binding terms in the existing regulatory frameworks and the PPP agreements on their role in relation to managing citizen engagement. The private investors were however conscious of their key strengths in managing citizen engagement in terms of corporate social responsibility and creativity and specialized skills in designing models for managing complex end-users characteristic of PPP projects. When these competencies are matched with the core competencies and legal mandates of their public sector counterparts, a meaningful collaboration for managing complex citizens will be the positive outcome blending their inconsistent commitments into an effective framework for governing the management of citizen engagement in PPPs.

The concept map of findings highlighted the rationale for using PPPs as the major theme in terms of the major factor underlying the divergent interests of the PPP actors in managing citizen engagement in PPPs. Analysis of the implications of the factors underlying the divergent interests provided insights for aligning the divergent interests towards an improvement of frameworks for managing citizen engagement in PPPs in the selected MMDAs in Ghana.

5. Discussion

Figure 4. 0: concept map of findings – operational model aligning interests for managing citizen engagement in PPPs



Discussion of the findings of this study has enabled an interpretation that the interests and inconsistent commitments exercised by the public sector actors were mostly driven by their rationale for using PPPs. This factor invariably had negative implications for managing citizen engagement in PPPs in the selected MMDAs in Ghana.

According to Osei Kyei and Chan (2017) every country has its own rationale for using PPPs. The rationale of public sector actors in using PPPs in Ghana is premised on the assumption that PPP is merely a funding mechanism with no implications for managing citizen engagement. Driven by these factors, the public sector actors adopted inappropriate regulatory frameworks and governance arrangements that constituted governance bottlenecks that limited their private sector counterpart implementing PPP projects from engaging with citizens as end-users. The limitations that excluded the private sector actors from managing citizen engagement contradict claims by Nederhand and Klijn (2018) and Bingham et al. (2006) that to govern PPPs successfully is to manage a complex network of citizens whose negative actions can cause failure of PPPs. With the citizenry at the center of service delivery, managing citizen engagement becomes an indispensable function (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2011) that should be managed by the private sector actors as well in PPPs.

The study revealed that contrary to views of the public sector actors on the illegitimacy of the private sector role in managing citizens engagement, they prioritize citizen engagement in stand-alone arrangements, having developed innovative frameworks (Luoma-aho, 2015; De Schepper, 2014) in line with Freeman's (1984: 2010) view that businesses are sensitive to external stakeholders whose actions may have dire implications for their operations. The private sector actors proactively maintain a broad view on issues relating to citizen engagement to the extent that animals such as frogs are also considered as stakeholders in project implementation (Tryggestad, Justesen & Mouritsen, 2013). In this study however, the public sector players excluded the private sector actors in spite of their impressive background in handling this function. The private sector actors on the other hand view PPP as an investment opportunity and acknowledged that citizens and stakeholders are an integral part of service delivery and the means to achieving efficiency and profit. The private sector interests therefore in managing citizen engagement is premised on their rationale for using PPPs which is focused on efficiency and collaboration for managing citizen engagement in line with the ideals of the new public management approach (Osborne, 2015). Most of the private sector actors believe that achieving efficiency in public service delivery under PPPs required taking proactive measures such as managing citizen engagement to reduce maintenance costs. Ironically, even though public officials are ultimately responsible for public service delivery (Forrer et al. 2010) including citizen participation (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2011), in PPPs however, factors underlying their interests such as inadequate regulatory framework and governance arrangements serve as a disincentive for managing citizen engagement and a recipe for failure of most PPPs. Even though the public sectors actors assumed that generic approaches such as town hall meetings and public hearings were also appropriate for citizen engagement in PPPs, this notion contradicts PPP literature given that that the complex nature of end-users of public services under PPP arrangements (South et al. 2015) require specialized skills (Rhodes, (2015) to be able to identify difficult citizens and stakeholders whose engagement should go far beyond generic approaches to avoid failure of PPPs. Meanwhile, most of the public sector

actors have challenges in managing citizens under PPP arrangements. Rhodes (2015), Jooste (2011) and Salamon (2002) have in their various capacities argued enabling skills for public sector actors to position them for coordinating PPP activities effectively. Furthermore, in addressing the complexities involved in managing citizen participation in partnerships, Lowndes and Sullivan (2004) argued that in partnerships, citizen participation processes should be redesigned when necessary instead of assuming that the existing participation frameworks could be appropriate in all circumstances. In contributing to the literature on enabling capabilities on the part of the public sector actors, Stadtler and Probst (2012) suggested the involvement of broker organizations with the expertise to support management of peculiar functions including management of citizen engagement when necessary.

The discussions provided a deeper meaning of the findings to the extent that contrary to perceptions that the private sector actors do not prioritize citizen engagement due to their profit motive, they perceive PPPs as an investment opportunity, and take proactive steps to maximize returns on their investment. It can therefore be assumed that the very reasons for which the private sector actors are being criticized in terms of profit motive is the very factor that underlie or motivate their interests in managing citizen engagement. This enables them to minimize maintenance costs, realize efficiency required in PPPs and ultimately improve their profit margins. Interestingly, a study conducted by Ahmad et al. (2019) revealed that government also focus on profit-making in public service delivery sometimes and this action can lead to lack of trust in political will.

Even though the private sector actors have been criticized for their profit motives and inability to prioritize social issues (Hall, 2015; Stiglitz, 2000), the private sector actually engages citizens outside PPP arrangements effectively as part of their business activities and also in other 'stand-alone' arrangements such as privatization where the private sector is involved in the provision of public service (Adams, 2011). The proactive stance adopted by the private investors is consistent with arguments by Hong and Kim (2018) and Freeman (1984) that the private sector considers citizen and stakeholder engagement as a key issue in corporate governance.

In the face of the challenges emanating from the public sector interests in terms of their rationale for using PPPs, the private sector actors perceive that managing citizen engagement could ideally become a shared responsibility when their respective interests are aligned. The alignment should involve merging public sector interests such as an enabling environment, public sector leadership (Tahir, 2017), enforcement of bye-laws and adequate governance mechanism with private sector interests in terms of efficiency characterized by innovative citizen and stakeholder engagement models frameworks (Luoma-aho, 2015; De Schepper et al., 2014) and collaboration to address the issue of inconsistent commitments of the PPP actors to improve governance frameworks for managing citizen engagement towards improving PPP outcomes in the selected MMDAs in Ghana.

6. Conclusions

This study focused on addressing a governance issue in terms of divergent interests in managing citizen engagement in PPPs in 10 selected MMDAs in Ghana and was guided by gaps in literature reviewed, theoretical frameworks and research objectives. Given that governing PPPs successfully is predicated on managing a complex network of citizens whose actions can have negative implications for PPP outcomes, the study viewed the issue of managing citizen engagement through a governance lens, drawing from the principal-agent theory and the network theory. From a governance perspective, the factors underlying the divergent interests in managing citizen engagement are premised principally on the perceptions of the PPP actors in relation to their respective rationales for using PPPs. These factors, particularly the rationale for using PPPs, inadequate regulatory framework, and weak governance arrangements from the perspectives of the public sector actors had negative implications for managing citizen engagement. This is because these elements excluded the private investors from managing citizen engagement even though performing this function enables them to achieve the efficiency required in public service delivery under the PPP arrangement. Subsequently, given the complex nature of citizens, the study suggests that in PPPs arrangements, the private- sector actors are in a better

position to manage citizen engagement than their public sector counterparts given their ability to design innovative and creative models for managing complex citizens whose actions could lead to failure of PPPs.

Based on the key findings, the study also suggests that both parties in the PPP arrangement are driven by the efficiency principle which is closely linked to their respective rationales for using PPPs. The ultimate outcome of the rationale of the private sector actors was to consider managing citizen engagement as a means of achieving efficiency and to leverage their profit margins. The rationale of the public sector actors for using PPPs however, was to consider PPPs as a funding mechanism with the private sector actors as the cheapest means of financing public infrastructure and services compared to other options. This rationale therefore had negative implications for social issues such as managing citizen engagement as unpacked in the findings. The study therefore concludes that in PPP arrangements, both the public and private actors strive to achieve efficiency in line with prescriptions of the NPM. However, the private sector actors creatively and unconsciously consider social issues such as managing citizen engagement as a means of achieving efficiency to improve their profit margins. The public sector actors on the other hand, in striving to achieve efficiency. unconsciously compromised an important governance issue namely citizen participation. The actions of the public sector actors are closely linked to a phenomenon described as unintended consequences. This is because their principal intention was to improve efficiency in service delivery but they unconsciously compromised their core mandate of citizen engagement in the process.

On the other hand, the private sector actors also achieved positive outcomes unconsciously by pursuing their core value of profit-making which was not perceived as part of social values. The study further concludes that apart from the generic governance issues such as regulatory frameworks, governance mechanisms, institutional arrangements and collaboration to mention a few, the rationale for using PPPs constitutes a latent underlying governance issue that may have serious implications for managing citizen engagement in PPPs if not addressed. This is because the findings revealed that this single underlying factor had serious implications for all the remaining factors which influenced the interests of the public and private actors either positively or negatively in managing citizen engagement. Alignment of these divergent interests was revealed as a remedy towards the design of an appropriate governance framework for effective management of citizen engagement. Alignment of public sector interests in terms of providing an enabling environment, leadership to enforce bye-laws with private sector proactive nature to manage citizen engagement as a means to achieve efficiency and profitability should to improve PPP outcomes and subsequent local economic development in the selected MMDAs in Ghana.

This study contributes to extant literature on frameworks for managing citizen engagement which are mostly based on deepening stakeholder relationships instead of exploring the government dimensions to explore factors that motivate or limit the PPP actors from managing citizen engagement given their ideological differences. Given the negative implications of the divergent interests of the PPP actors in managing citizen engagement, the study recommends that future studies should explore the costs and benefits of involving broker organizations and other third party actors in addressing governance dilemma in PPPs that limit the ability of PPP actors to address citizen opposition that threaten the success of most PPP projects.In addition, the study provides recommendations focusing on both public and private actors, to improve PPP arrangements.

The National PPP Secretariat should work closely with the local government authorities to rectify the perception held by the public sector actors that PPP is basically a financing mechanism instead of a collaborative arrangement blending the expertise and interests of both parties to achieve development outcomes. Furthermore, the public sector actors should provide the appropriate enabling environment and leadership to improve coordination and governance mechanisms to make PPPs work. Both public and private sector actors should focus more on a symbiotic relationship that aligns the interests of the two parties to improve citizen engagement frameworks given that citizens are the end-users of PPP outcomes.

The involvement of the private sector in citizen engagement is becoming more relevant in an era of a pandemic such as the Covid-19. This is because governments alone cannot provide all the solutions, given the unprecedented nature of the pandemic, not to mention the uncertain risks. The study therefore recommends that more PPPs in the health sector should be considered given that uncertainty risks require innovation, multiple strategies and collaboration especially when it comes to educating the public/citizens on preventive measures without physical contact, due to the highly infectious nature of the pandemic. The private sector is risk-averse and creative and these unique characteristics position them well to align their interests with that of public sector leadership and coordination to ensure an effective collaboration to address the pandemic in a holistic manner including crafting initiatives for an effective post-pandemic economic recovery.

Given the strategic roles that the private sector plays in partnerships and subsequent contribution to economic development, it is also recommended that Business Associations in Ghana such as the Association of Ghana Industries and the Ghana Chamber of Commerce should support their members in PPPs and come up with a code of conduct to cushion them against uncertainty risks in their relationship with the public sector. It is expected that with such a strong backing from Business Associations, the interests of the private sector actors in PPPs will be protected. In addition, this backing should enhance the profile of the private sector as legitimate providers of public service delivery in a partnership arrangement with the public sector to enable them to contribute more effectively towards the attainment of the goal of PPP as a viable tool for local economic development in Ghana.

7. Limitations

The limitations of this study were basically the absence of a comprehensive database for PPP activities at the MMDA levels to ascertain the appropriateness of the sample size used for gathering data for qualitative analysis given the large number of MMDAs. However, given that the PPP concept is new with just a few districts implementing PPP projects, the sample size was deemed appropriate for gathering the relevant in-depth data for analysis and interpretation to elucidate meaning. The LGSS is in the process of developing a comprehensive database of PPPs in the MMDAs which should enhance the rigor of future research.

Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations were prioritised in the entire data collection and reporting processes. Given that knowing factors underlying the divergent or conflicting interests of the PPP actors and their implications was a sensitive issue, the participants were assured of confidentiality of any information they have so willingly provided.

Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank Professor Lea Stadtler, University of Grenoble for her support in terms of the friendly review of the initial draft of this research article. I am also highly indebted to Prof. Samuel Adams, my Lead Supervisor for his immense support in supervising my PhD Thesis, the precursor to this research article. Special mention goes to Prof. Bertha Osei-Hwedie, Co-supervisor, for her immense support and constant encouragement.

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Dr. Anita Djoble-D'Almeida (ORCID ID: 0000-0002-4412-3745) is a highly motivated and resultsoriented international development practitioner and researcher with cross-sector competencies and experience focused on private sector development, public administration, public-private partnerships, development, public socio-economic policy, governance and leadership. Dr. Anita has over the past fifteen years designed and managed programmes in over 20 countries for development partners and international organizations including Consumers International-UK, Danida, African Development Bank, World Bank, Africa Capacity Building Foundation (ACBF) and USAID. She was awarded the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs Prize for outstanding performance.

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ANNEX

Table 3. 1: Distribution of the 10 MMDAs

Table 5. 1. Distribution of the 10 MMDAS	
Selected Regions in Ghana	No. of MMDAs selected
Greater Accra region	Accra Metropolitan Assembly
	Tema Metropolitan Assembly
	Ashaiman Municipal Assembly
	Kpong Akatamanso Municipal Assembly
Ashanti region	Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly
	Ejisu Juaben Municipal Assembly
Central Region	Cape Coast Metropolitan Assembly
-	Awutu Senya East Municipal Assembly
Eastern Region	Kwahu West Municipal Assembly
	New Juaben Municipal Assembly

Source: Field Data 2018

Table 3. 2: Public Officials Interviewed at the MMDAs

MMDAS	KEY INFORMANTS
Accra Metropolitan Assembly	Asst. Economic Planning Officer
	Public Relations Officer
Tema Metropolitian Assembly	Economic Planning Officer
Kumasi Metropolitan Assembly	Municipal Procurement Officer
Cape Coast Metropolitan Assembly	Municipal Coordinating Director
Awutu Senya East Assembly	Economic Planning Officer
Kpong Akatamanso Municipal Assembly	Economic Planning Officer
	Public Relations Officer
Ashaiman Municipal Assembly	Economic Planning Officer
	Environmental Health Officer
Kwahu West Municipal Assembly	Municipal Chief Executive
	Municipal Coordinating Director
	Economic Planning Officer
	Finance Officer
	Budget Officer
	Head of Business Advisory Centre
Ejisu Juabeng Municipal Assembly:	Municipal Procurement Officer
	Head of Business Advisory Centre
New Juabeng Municipal	Economic Planning Officer
	Assistant Economic Planning Officer
TOTAL NO. ON MMDA INFORMANTS	20

Source: Field Data 2018

Table 3. 3: Other Relevant Public Institutions

Table 5. 5. Other Relevant Fublic Institutions	
PUBLIC INSTITUTION	NO. OF KEY INFORMANTS
Ministry of Finance-PIU	Finance Coordinator
Local Government Service Secretariat	Ag. Chief Director
	Asst. Director
	Asst. Director
	Asst. Director
TOTAL	5

Source: Field Data 2018

Table 3. 4: Private sector investors at the MMDAs

PRIVATE INVESTOR	MMDA	TYPE OF PPPS	SCOPE OF CITIZEN ENGAGEMENT
Jekora Ventures Ltd.	Accra Metropolitan	Waste Management and Sanitation	Very High
Solid Home Appliances	Cape Coast Metropolitan	One District One Factory	Average
Agyekum Ventures (BIOGAS)	Awutu Senya East Municipal	Public Toilet and Bathrooms	Very High
IKBOA Ventures	Kwahu West Municipal	Market Construction	High
Zoomlion	Kpong Akatamanso Municipal	Waste Management and Sanitation	Very High
Zoomlion	Ashaiman Municipal	Waste Management and Sanitation	Very High
Parking Services Ghana Ltd.	Tema Metropolitan	On Street Parking	Average
Zoomlion	Tema Metropolitan	Waste Management and Sanitation	HIgh
Agnes Acheampong Training Services	Ejisu Juaben Municipal	Training Consultancy	Average
Kofi Amparbeng Training Consultant	New Juabeng Municipal	Training Consultancy	Average

Sanitation	Zoomlion	Kumasi Metropolitan	Waste Management and Sanitation	Very High
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Source: Field Data, 2018

Table 3. 5: Focus groups				
MMDA/	PPP Focus Area	Gender of Participant	Category of Group Members	No. of Participants
Organization				
Accra Metropolitan Assembly	Waste Management and	Male: 7	Traders, Artisans Fishermen	12
	Sanitation	Female: 5		
Kwahu West Municipal Assembly	Market Constructions	Male: 2	Shop Owners	5
		Female: 3		
Environmental Service Providers	Association of Waste	Male: 2	Waste Management Service Providers	
Association	Management Service Providers	Female:1		3

Source: Field Data: 2018

Table 4. 1: The descriptive codes with the verbatim texts from the participants Descriptive coding for Theme 1: Rationale for using Public-Private Partnership

Descriptive coding for Theme 1: Rational		
Speaker/Location	Quotation	Relevance to Research Questions
PO/TMA.GA/Nov./18	"To be honest, the discussion on managing citizen engagement should focus on	Research Question One
	why we at the Assemblies use the private sector in the first place we as Assembly	
	are looking for cost-effective way to provide service to the citizen. If we get money	
	from common fund we don't need the private sector for anything they are profit-	
	minded I hope you understand what I mean	
MCEMCDPO/KWMA.ER/Dec/10	"We are public and government. PPPs are public goods provided by private	
	people but we own the public goods you know Markets, public sanitations	Research Question One and
	facilities are all public goods do you know that? How can we leave our citizens at	Two
	the mercy of private people ? even we the big people here cannot handle them	
	can you imagine what they will do to the citizens? Tell me you know it they	
	will find a way to increase the tolls"	
MCDCMA.CR/Nov./18	"We engage citizens whether PPP or not. Private sector comes in for	Research Question One
	funding"	
PLOPRO/AMA.GA/Nov./18	" we have so many projects in the pipeline for PPPs and identified private	Research Question One
	investors to help us develop Accra the private sector is profit oriented you	
	knowAs for citizen engagement they don't have the right to engage citizens. In	
	fact the citizens don't know their voice We are close to our citizens"	
ASE.CR/Nov/18	"partnering with private sector is now becoming a necessity for us to develop	Research Question One
	the municipality one thing we are careful about is that the private sector is too	Research Question Two
	profit-minded nothing can change them. If they engage citizens it means they have seen some profit in itwe manage our own citizens. You know citizens are	
	. ,	
PLO/EJM.ER/DEC/18	complex they always clash with the private sector" "the Assembly needs the private sector money you know the Common Fund	Research Question One
FLO/EJM.EK/DEC/10	from government is no longer "common". Our only hope is PPP with private sector	Research Question One
	money by the way they are very crafty and we don't have capacity to match them.	
	I don't know how they can engage citizens"	
	i don't know now diey cullengage chizens	

Descriptive coding for Theme 2: Regulatory Framework for PPPs Speakers/Location Quotations

Speakers/Location	Quotations	Relevance to Research Questions
PRO/PLO/AMA/Nov.18	"we are mandated by Law (Act 936, 10 and 12) which enjoins us to ensure	Research Question One
	participation of citizens in service delivery to ensure accountability and	
	transparency in service delivery" we have so many Bye-LawsSometimes the	
	private sector can also engage if we don't have the resources like time and staff but	
	we are ultimately responsible!"	
	"No, no, no the private sector has no right to engage! They don't have the	
ASST.PL/AMA/Nov.18	legitimacy to enforce Bye-Laws The citizens don't know their voice they are too	
	profit-minded nothing can change them"	
KAMA/PS/GA/Nov.18	"We are closer to the people and can engage them if the Assembly create a	Research Question Three
	platform for us we can't enforce the Bye-laws we are limited in so many ways	
	because we are private"	
PCO/KMA/ASH/Dec.18	" We use the Public Procurement Law as the legal framework for PPPs in the	Research Question Three
	absence of a PPP LawCitizens are complex and we don't have all the resources to	
	engage them. There are a whole lot of implications for me I think managing	
	citizen engagement should be a shared responsibility We can't do it all"	

Descriptive coding for Theme 3: PPP Governance Framework

Speaker/Location	Quotations	Relevance to Research Questions
PCO/KMA/ASH/Dec.18	"We have put in place a steering committee comprising public, private, civil	Research Question Three
	society to govern PPPs over here because we want a holistic approach. We want to	
	attract big international investors	Research Question Three
	We are in charge of managing citizen engagement but we are thinking about	
	how to improve on it because we don't have the capacity"	
PLO/TMA/GA/Nov.18	"We have a PPP Unit but we don't need the private sector to manage citizen	Research Question Two
	engagement"	
PLO/ASE/CR/Dec.18	"Our five-member PPP Committee includes two private sector representatives	Research Question Two
	but they are difficult! They are profit-minded Nothing can change them! The	

	citizens don't know their voice so we don't allow them to get close to them,,,"	
MCE/KWMA/ER/Dec.18	"We don't involve the private sector in anything apart from the money they give us"	Research Question One
PLO/ASHMA/GA/Nov.18	We have the agreement alright But the private actors are not fit to be managing our citizens. We are mandated to protect the public interest not the private sector. They are to provide the money and that is all. We can choose to get the money from elsewhere anyway "The private partners work with us on project basis at departmental levels. They are useful to us but unfortunately we cannot explain the arrangement we have with them"	Research Question One
JEK/AMA/GA/Jan.19	"our relationship with the Assembly is based on Franchise Agreementroles and responsibilities of each partner is specified We educate citizens so that our services will be effective And to protect our investment. We don't depend on the Assembly to tell us what to do. We are creative and innovative. We want to change attitudes in sanitation we cant wait for agreements for this we call this CSR.	Research Question One
OSP/TMA/GA/Jan.19	We have the agreement alright But the Assembly is not there to do anything to advise the end-users Now we pay the Assembly to hire people to manage issues concerning the drivers Managing citizens is the only incentive we expect from the Assembly but they won't do it they don't pay us too The whole arrangement is basaaa!!!	Research Question One Research Question Two Research Question Three
BG/ASE/CR/Dec.18	" We are part of the PPP Committee but there is nothing in it for us nothing is working no direction for citizen engagement"	Research Question One
KAM/GA/Dec.18	"Zoomlion has national level Agreement for waste management and sanitation. Engaging citizens is solely based on our commitment to CSR. This cost is not in the Agreement its purely driven by passion "	Research Question One Research Question Two

Descriptive coding for Theme 4: Eff		
Speakers/Location	Quotations	Relevance to Research Questions
	(Private Investors)	
BG-ASE/CR/Jan.	We are interested in engagement but sometimes it is difficult. The assembly	Research Question One
	people are only interested in our money for investment. The people who use the	Research Question Two
	public washrooms just use the place anyhowif we don't educate them we will lose,	
	the facility will deteriorate very fast but we suffer to gain and to operate	
	efficiently	
OSP-TMA/GA/Jan.	We want the work to go on but the car owners who park in our place don't	
	think we have to tell them what to do What can we do to be in business to make	Research Question One
	money? We are interested in managing engagement and wish the government	Research Question Two
	could take this burden from us It is the only incentive for this partnership but they	
	don't do it so what we do is pay the Assembly to get people to manage the citizens as if they are assembly staffAt least, it works and we are still in business because	
	the citizens don't harass us to stop our business.	
IKBOAT-KWM/ER/Jan.	We are interested in citizen engagement If we don't engage, we will lose	Research Question One
IKDOAT-KWM/EK/Jan.	the assembly didn't put in any money. If the citizens have problem they come to us	Research Question Two
	because the assembly doesn't help themWe have to try to meet them to listen to	nescuren question 100
	their needs so they can continue their business and pay the rent to us otherwise we	
	will lose.	
JK/AMA-GA/	We have made citizen engagement part of our business because we are in	
	contact with them all the time. If we are not interested in this activity then our	Research Question One
	business will not prosper. We have invested heavily because this is what will bring	Research Question Two
	the money. If people maintain good sanitation our work will be easy and reduce	
	costs of cleaning Heavy equipment to remove choked drains is expensive you	
	know but simple engagement on TV and radio does the trick but face to face	
	engagement is difficult because the unit committee in the assemblies should help us	
	because the citizens are difficult sometimes. It is not easy ooo hmmm.	
ZL/KAM-GA/Jan.	"we want to protect our investment through positive interaction with users	
	of our services. The Assembly can open the door for us to do this. We are interested	Research Question One
	in engagement because we know waste management is a social service so we have	Research Question Two
	to talk to the citizens all the time. The assembly doesn't pay us for this activity even though we know it is their duty. We do it as CSP so that our business will go on	
	though we know it is their duty. We do it as CSR so that our business will go on	
	smoothly and we can see good results.	

Descriptive coding for Theme 5: Collaboration for Managing Citizen Engagement		
Speaker/Location	Quotations	Relevance to Research Questions
FGD1-PS/GAR/Jan.19	"we are conscious of social values in delivering public goods under PPPs. For	Research Question Three
	us, we are interested in citizen engagement because it is our corporate social	
	responsibility which we do in our normal operations. The Assembly has the	
	mandate to talk to the peoplewe can work together.	
1D1F/CMA-CR/Jan.19	"The Assembly engages citizens and we also do it. The cooperation is there and	Research Question Three
	we will continue to manage citizen engagement together because it is working.	
	People ask questions and we answer together on the new solar bulbs"	
ZL/ASHMA-GA/Jan. 19	"we meet opposition every time we talk to the people despite our good	
	intentions. We don't have the official voice they know at town hall meetings etc. If	Research Question Two
	the Assembly can make us talk at the Town Hall meetings it will be a good idea so	Research Question Three
	we can work together to correct what the people are doing to spoil the projects "	
JEK/GAR/Jan.19	"We learn a lot when we interact with end-users of our services it helps to	
	sustain our projects Of course we like profit and this is part of the profit making	Research Question Two

	process If we get the Assembly's support we can do it together. Engaging people in PPP should be a different game altogetherit goes beyond normal town-hall meetings it should be completely different because it concerns two different people working together the users of our services should know our collective voices otherwise it won't work !!!!	Research Question Three
BG/ASEMA/CR/Jan.	"when we talk to the people they don't mind us they think we are using taxpayers money for the projects. The Assembly must tell them what we are doing so they will listen to us Otherwise when they destroy the project we will lose we provided the money" The only incentive for the private provider in this PPP is government providing the enabling environment, especially take up the responsibility of citizen engagement.	Research Question Two Research Question Three
ZL/KAM-GAR/Jan.19	"we are interested in managing citizen engagement because it helps our business. The Assembly can open the door for us to do this. At least they can join us meet the people together so the people will know that we are one with them and accept what we tell them. We can't enforce the Bye-Laws when things go wrong but the Assembly can do this to prevent people from doing the wrong thing and think we don't have power to stop them I think it will be good if we work together on the citizen issues"	Research Question Three
SP/TMA-GAR/Jan.19	We have invested so much money to support Assembly but we don't own the PPP project in the long run. Assembly should engage the citizens. We are only helping because they have no money. Engaging the people is none of our business They have our money is that not enough? What are they doing? we can't do everything, they have to help.	Research Question One Research Question Three
ZL/KAM/GAR/Jan.19	"we don't have legitimacy to enforce Bye-Laws we need the Assembly to lead so that we can have a platform to interact with the people effectively because we are on the ground but we have no power"	Research Question Three

Table 4. 1: The descriptive codes with the verbatim texts from the participants Descriptive coding for Theme 1: Rationale for using Public-Private Partnership

Speaker/Location	Quotation	Relevance to Research Questions
PO/TMA.GA/Nov./18	"To be honest, the discussion on managing citizen engagement should focus on	Research Question One
	why we at the Assemblies use the private sector in the first place we as Assembly	
	are looking for cost-effective way to provide service to the citizen. If we get money	
	from common fund we don't need the private sector for anything they are profit-	
	minded I hope you understand what I mean	
MCEMCDPO/KWMA.ER/Dec/10	"We are public and government. PPPs are public goods provided by private	
	people but we own the public goods you know Markets, public sanitations	Research Question One and
	facilities are all public goods do you know that ? How can we leave our citizens at	Two
	the mercy of private people ? even we the big people here cannot handle them	
	can you imagine what they will do to the citizens? Tell me you know it they	
MCDCMA CD /New (10	will find a way to increase the tolls"	Research Question Que
MCDCMA.CR/Nov./18	" We engage citizens whether PPP or not. Private sector comes in for funding"	Research Question One
PLOPRO/AMA.GA/Nov./18	" we have so many projects in the pipeline for PPPs and identified private	Research Question One
I LOI KO/AMA.dA/NOV./10	investors to help us develop Accra the private sector is profit oriented you	Research Question one
	knowAs for citizen engagement they don't have the right to engage citizens. In	
	fact the citizens don't know their voice We are close to our citizens"	
ASE.CR/Nov/18	"partnering with private sector is now becoming a necessity for us to develop	Research Question One
, ,	the municipality one thing we are careful about is that the private sector is too	Research Question Two
	profit-minded nothing can change them. If they engage citizens it means they	-
	have seen some profit in itwe manage our own citizens. You know citizens are	
	complex they always clash with the private sector"	
PLO/EJM.ER/DEC/18	"the Assembly needs the private sector money you know the Common Fund	Research Question One
	from government is no longer "common". Our only hope is PPP with private sector	
	money by the way they are very crafty and we don't have capacity to match	
	them. I don't know how they can engage citizens"	

Descriptive coding for Theme 2: Regulatory Framework for PPPs

Speakers/Location	Quotations	Relevance to Research Questions
PRO/PLO/AMA/Nov.18	"we are mandated by Law (Act 936, 10 and 12) which enjoins us to ensure	Research Question One
	participation of citizens in service delivery to ensure accountability and	
	transparency in service delivery" we have so many Bye-LawsSometimes the	
	private sector can also engage if we don't have the resources like time and staff but we are ultimately responsible!"	
	"No, no, no the private sector has no right to engage! They don't have the	
ASST.PL/AMA/Nov.18	legitimacy to enforce Bye-Laws The citizens don't know their voice they are too	
	profit-minded nothing can change them"	
KAMA/PS/GA/Nov.18	"We are closer to the people and can engage them if the Assembly create a	Research Question Three
	platform for us we can't enforce the Bye-laws we are limited in so many ways	
	because we are private"	
PCO/KMA/ASH/Dec.18	" We use the Public Procurement Law as the legal framework for PPPs in the	Research Question Three
	absence of a PPP LawCitizens are complex and we don't have all the resources to	
	engage them. There are a whole lot of implications for me I think managing	
	citizen engagement should be a shared responsibility We can't do it all"	

Descriptive coding for Theme 3: PPP Governance Framework

Speaker/Location	Quotations	Relevance to Research Questions
PCO/KMA/ASH/Dec.18	"We have put in place a steering committee comprising public, private, civil society to govern PPPs over here because we want a holistic approach. We want to	Research Question Three
	attract big international investors	Research Question Three
	We are in charge of managing citizen engagement but we are thinking about how to improve on it because we don't have the capacity"	
PLO/TMA/GA/Nov.18	"We have a PPP Unit but we don't need the private sector to manage citizen engagement"	Research Question Two
PLO/ASE/CR/Dec.18	"Our five-member PPP Committee includes two private sector representatives but they are difficult! They are profit-minded Nothing can change them! The citizens don't know their voice so we don't allow them to get close to them,,,"	Research Question Two
MCE/KWMA/ER/Dec.18	"We don't involve the private sector in anything apart from the money they give us"	Research Question One
PLO/ASHMA/GA/Nov.18	We have the agreement alright But the private actors are not fit to be managing our citizens. We are mandated to protect the public interest not the private sector. They are to provide the money and that is all. We can choose to get the money from elsewhere anyway " The private partners work with us on project basis at departmental levels. They are useful to us but unfortunately we cannot explain the arrangement we have with them"	Research Question One
JEK/AMA/GA/Jan.19	"our relationship with the Assembly is based on Franchise Agreementroles and responsibilities of each partner is specified We educate citizens so that our services will be effective And to protect our investment. We don't depend on the Assembly to tell us what to do. We are creative and innovative. We want to change attitudes in sanitation we cant wait for agreements for this we call this CSR.	Research Question One
OSP/TMA/GA/Jan.19	We have the agreement alright But the Assembly is not there to do anything to advise the end-users Now we pay the Assembly to hire people to manage issues concerning the drivers Managing citizens is the only incentive we expect from the Assembly but they won't do it they don't pay us too The whole arrangement is basaaa!!!	Research Question One Research Question Two Research Question Three
BG/ASE/CR/Dec.18	" We are part of the PPP Committee but there is nothing in it for us nothing is working no direction for citizen engagement"	Research Question One
KAM/GA/Dec.18	"Zoomlion has national level Agreement for waste management and sanitation. Engaging citizens is solely based on our commitment to CSR. This cost is not in the Agreement its purely driven by passion "	Research Question One Research Question Two

Descriptive coding for Theme 4: Efficiency in PPPs

Descriptive coding for Theme 4: Efficie		
Speakers/Location	Quotations (Private Investors)	Relevance to Research Questions
BG-ASE/CR/Jan.	We are interested in engagement but sometimes it is difficult. The assembly people are only interested in our money for investment. The people who use the public washrooms just use the place anyhowif we don't educate them we will lose, the facility will deteriorate very fast but we suffer to gain and to operate efficiently	Research Question One Research Question Two
OSP-TMA/GA/Jan.	We want the work to go on but the car owners who park in our place don't think we have to tell them what to do What can we do to be in business to make money? We are interested in managing engagement and wish the government could take this burden from us It is the only incentive for this partnership but they don't do it so what we do is pay the Assembly to get people to manage the citizens as if they are assembly staffAt least, it works and we are still in business because the citizens don't harass us to stop our business.	Research Question One Research Question Two
IKBOAT-KWM/ER/Jan.	We are interested in citizen engagement If we don't engage, we will lose the assembly didn't put in any money. If the citizens have problem they come to us because the assembly doesn't help themWe have to try to meet them to listen to their needs so they can continue their business and pay the rent to us otherwise we will lose.	Research Question One Research Question Two
JK/AMA-GA/	We have made citizen engagement part of our business because we are in contact with them all the time. If we are not interested in this activity then our business will not prosper. We have invested heavily because this is what will bring the money. If people maintain good sanitation our work will be easy and reduce costs of cleaning Heavy equipment to remove choked drains is expensive you know but simple engagement on TV and radio does the trick but face to face engagement is difficult because the unit committee in the assemblies should help us because the citizens are difficult sometimes. It is not easy ooo hmmm.	Research Question One Research Question Two
ZL/KAM-GA/Jan.	"we want to protect our investment through positive interaction with users of our services. The Assembly can open the door for us to do this. We are interested in engagement because we know waste management is a social service so we have to talk to the citizens all the time. The assembly doesn't pay us for this activity even though we know it is their duty. We do it as CSR so that our business will go on smoothly and we can see good results.	Research Question One Research Question Two

Descriptive coding for Theme 5: Collaboration for Managing Citizen Engagement

Speaker/Location	Quotations	Relevance to Research Question
FGD1-PS/GAR/Jan.19	"we are conscious of social values in delivering public goods under PPPs. For us, we are interested in citizen engagement because it is our corporate social responsibility which we do in our normal operations. The Assembly has the mandate to talk to the peoplewe can work together.	Research Question Three
1D1F/CMA-CR/Jan.19	"The Assembly engages citizens and we also do it. The cooperation is there and we will continue to manage citizen engagement together because it is working. People ask questions and we answer together on the new solar bulbs"	Research Question Three
ZL/ASHMA-GA/Jan. 19	"we meet opposition every time we talk to the people despite our good intentions. We don't have the official voice they know at town hall meetings etc. If the Assembly can make us talk at the Town Hall meetings it will be a good idea so we can work together to correct what the people are doing to spoil the projects "	Research Question Two Research Question Three
JEK/GAR/Jan.19	"We learn a lot when we interact with end-users of our services it helps to sustain our projects Of course we like profit and this is part of the profit making process If we get the Assembly's support we can do it together. Engaging people in PPP should be a different game altogetherit goes beyond normal town-hall meetings it should be completely different because it concerns two different people working together the users of our services should know our collective voices otherwise it won't work !!!!	Research Question Two Research Question Three
BG/ASEMA/CR/Jan.	"when we talk to the people they don't mind us they think we are using taxpayers money for the projects. The Assembly must tell them what we are doing so they will listen to us Otherwise when they destroy the project we will lose we provided the money" The only incentive for the private provider in this PPP is government providing the enabling environment, especially take up the responsibility of citizen engagement.	Research Question Two Research Question Three
ZL/KAM-GAR/Jan.19	"we are interested in managing citizen engagement because it helps our business. The Assembly can open the door for us to do this. At least they can join us meet the people together so the people will know that we are one with them and accept what we tell them. We can't enforce the Bye-Laws when things go wrong but the Assembly can do this to prevent people from doing the wrong thing and think we don't have power to stop them I think it will be good if we work together on the citizen issues"	Research Question Three
SP/TMA-GAR/Jan.19	We have invested so much money to support Assembly but we don't own the PPP project in the long run. Assembly should engage the citizens. We are only helping because they have no money. Engaging the people is none of our business They have our money is that not enough ? What are they doing ? we can't do everything, they have to help.	Research Question One Research Question Three
ZL/KAM/GAR/Jan.19	"we don't have legitimacy to enforce Bye-Laws we need the Assembly to lead so that we can have a platform to interact with the people effectively because we are on the ground but we have no power"	Research Question Three