Performance-based financing: The forest, not the tree!

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Our view

 PBF under the fire: critics (Eldridge & Palmer 2009, Oxman & Fretheim 2009, Kalk et al 2010) adopt a narrow view.

 It is about reform: PBF as a potential game changer for public health systems in low income countries.

Poor performance of health systems

- Three main objectives.
 - Health outcomes.
 - Responsiveness.
 - Social protection.
- Low performance (as efficiency).
- State of affairs is well-known.
- Standard explanation: not enough resources.
- PBF promoters point at poor accountability (WDR 2004).
 Not the first ones, but lack of clear propositions so far.

How does PBF fit in this view?

 PBF: a system by which health care facilities and their personnel are, at least partially, remunerated based on their performance.

Our reference: Rwanda, DRC, Burundi... «
 the African Great Lakes Model ».

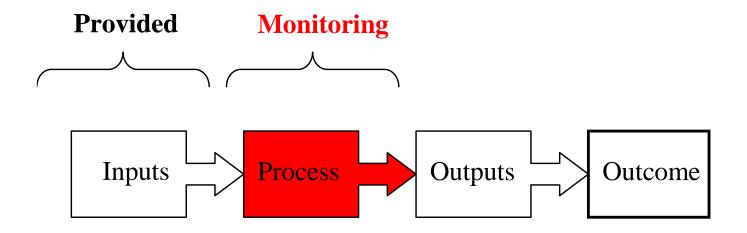
PBF and the public sector

- Cambodia (1997): first performance based contracts with a public health facility; within health districts (Pearang versus Sotnikum).
- Rwanda (2002): fee-for-service model; separation of functions; national policy; public budget; HIV/AIDS monies; quality index; ICT.
- Burundi (2006): contractual approach policy; role of community based organisations; PBF as a strategy to remunerate providers delivering free treatment to target groups; equity across provinces.

Input- and output-based contracts

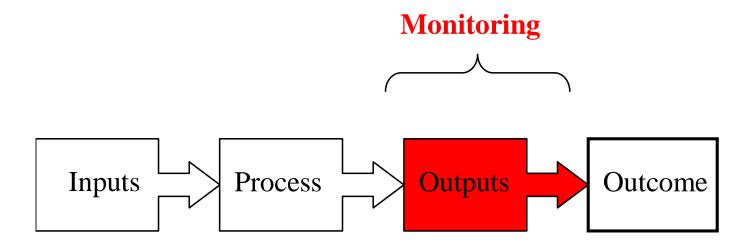
- **Pure input-based approach:** (1) the purchaser provides inputs to the provider; (2) he defines what the right production process is; (3) any income derived from selling the output belongs to the purchaser/owner.
- **Pure output-based approach:** (1) the purchaser decides which output he wants; (2) he pays a price for the output (feefor-service); (3) he relinquishes to the provider (i) some key decision rights on the input allocation and (ii) the revenue from the sale ('residual claimant'). « Fee-for-service », « Paiement à l'acte »...

Monitoring under the input-based contract



- Monitoring mainly consists in deciding ex ante what the right process is, monitors the compliance with this right process and gives regular orders on new things to do (incomplete contract).
- If the work effort is not monitored, little will be done (the staff has little incentive to work: they get their salary, regardless of the level of output produced).

Monitoring under the output-based contract

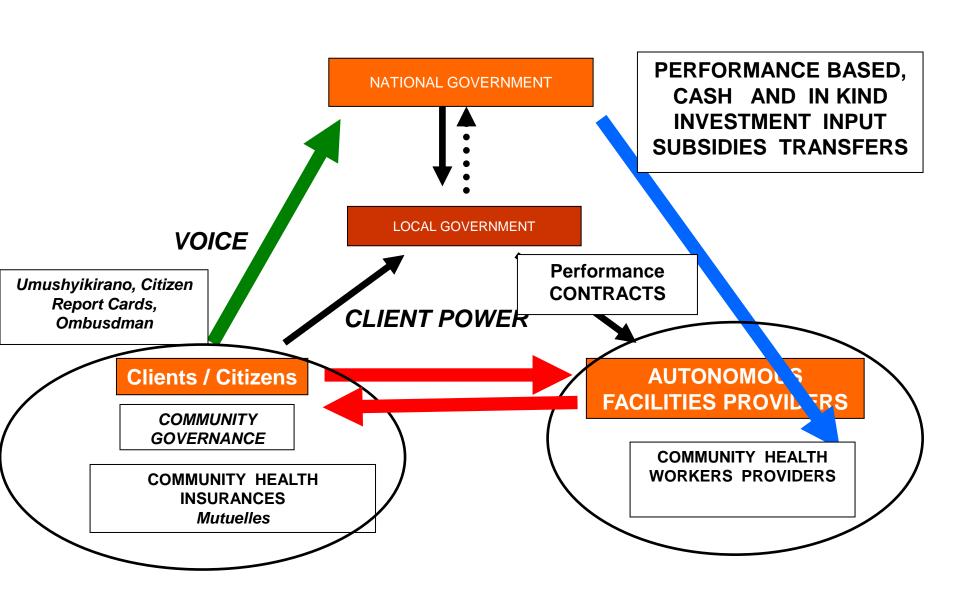


- Monitoring mainly consists in observing whether the provider delivers the service (quality and quantity) agreed in the contract (complete contract).
- If monitoring is not done, the provider will declare more outputs than what he actually produced, induce demand that is not necessary, deliver service of lower quality.

An illustration

Rubona	Fee (rwf)	August 2002	Total (rwf)
N.C	40	839	33.560
Delivery	2500	13	32.500
Ref. deliv.	2500	6	15.000
Tet T 2-5	250	27	729
Family Pl.	1000	9	9.000
DTP 3	250	58	14.500
Measles	250	33	8.250
Total			119.560

Strengthening accountability in the health sector in Rwanda



PBF: the reform package

NHS:

- the State fulfills all the functions.
- High centralisation.
- Input based funding.

PBF:

- Health system = linking quite autonomous organisational units. Contractual and regulatory relationships instead of hierarchical ones only.
- Output based funding (on top of other existing arrangements).

Implications

- Performance must be defined for each unit.
- A payment formula.
- Reconsideration of who should do what.
- How functions should be bundled. Packages must be coherent: economies of scale, of scope and limitation of conflict of interest.
- ⇒Separation of functions.
- ⇒Creation of new organisational bodies (purchasing agency, verification agent...).

PBF as a means for greater accountability and responsiveness

- Performance can include quality of services. More fundamentally, output-based payment sets strong incentive to satisfy users.
- PBF will push providers to put pressure on their own suppliers and ancillary services.
- PBF leads providers to better report their activities (HIS).
- PBF empowers consumers: (1) vote with their feet: their health seeking behaviour decisions affect resources received by health facilities (exit versus voice); (2) community actors can be contracted to verify the reality of remunerated outputs.

PBF as a means for health outcomes / technical efficiency

- Performance can include quantity of services and quality of care (Basinga et al 2010).
- Higher productivity (Meessen et al. 2007): interesting if HRH crisis.
- Together they should lead to better health outcomes.

PBF as a means to more allocative efficiency

- Implementing PBF requires the steward to identify key health priorities to be « purchased ». Preference for high impact interventions.
- Possibility to tap the three big diseases funding.
- Staff will follow the money (better HRH allocation).
- Money will follow the outputs and reach the facilities (no capture by intermediary levels).

PBF as a means to health equity

- PBF can incorporate different prices to account for remoteness.
- Complementary to CBHI.
- Probably the right approach to compensate health care facilities when services are to be provided for free to the users (Meessen et al. 2009).

PBF as a means to resource mobilisation for health

 PBF can win the commitment of Ministry of Finance and donors.

 Institutional arrangements are there to create trust to favour transactions.

PBF as a means to public sector reform

- PBF is part of the New Public Management agenda. Reforming the health sector can lead to broader developments.
- PBF sheds new light on decentralisation in health. Very consistent with previous reforms (e.g. Bamako Initiative).
- PBF may allow better involvement of the private sector. Reduction of health system fragmentation.

PBF in public health systems: challenges

- Ownership: donors AND government.
- Translation to country context requires local experience: pilot experiences crucial?
- Public finance.
- Window of opportunity for a privileged health sector: 2-3 years, before other sectors to oppose?
- The health administration.

Conclusions

- PBF is much more than a provider payment mechanism. It offers an
 opportunity for wider reforms. It can address several structural problems.
 This will be the right metric to assess the success of the experiences,
 much more than the few remunerated indicators.
- Yet, it is not a panacea. Performance is multidimensional and some are different to contract (not verifiable). Classical support and other payment mechanisms remains crucial.
- There are technical and political economy challenges. There is a role for external actors.
- There are risks and possible perverse effects. At short term and at long term.
- But experience in Central Africa seems to indicate that this is manageable.