



Exploring front liners' knowledge, participation and evaluation in the implementation of a pay for performance program (PMAQ) in primary health care in Brazil

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TABLES

Table 1 - Goiania as illustrative case of critical organizational capacity in Brazil: comparison with other capitals and related states

<i>Questions</i>	<i>City of Goiânia</i>	<i>City of Fortaleza</i>	<i>City of Vitória</i>	<i>State of Goiás (1)</i>	<i>State of Ceará (2)</i>	<i>State of Espírito Santo (3)</i>	<i>Brazil</i>
% health teams that received support for planning/ organisation (a)	55,9	73,3	89	78,4	90,8	80,5	85,6
% of teams who said managers provided information to be used in the analysis of the health situation (b)	44,1	75	94,7	71,5	95,1	86,9	86,8
% of teams with monthly reports consolidated in the system (c)	44,8	82,5	88,7	70,8	90	85,1	85,9
% of teams with defined results and goals for monitoring (d)	66,2	64,4	82,2	69,4	79,7	74,5	78,4
% of health units with one procedure room (e)	47,6	41,1	57,7	47,9	52,8	36,1	45,8
% of teams that have access to the internet in health units (f)	11,9	27,5	100	43,3	14,6	31,2	35,4
% of health units with mould near the sinks, the toilets (g)	51,8	49,5	34,6	24	26	46,2	24
% of CHW who are not part of health teams with shortage of professionals (h)	25	0	15,4	11,1	6,5	12,2	15,3

Notes: Goiania is the capital of Goiás state (1), while Fortaleza and Vitoria are the capitals of Ceara (2) and Espírito Santo (3).

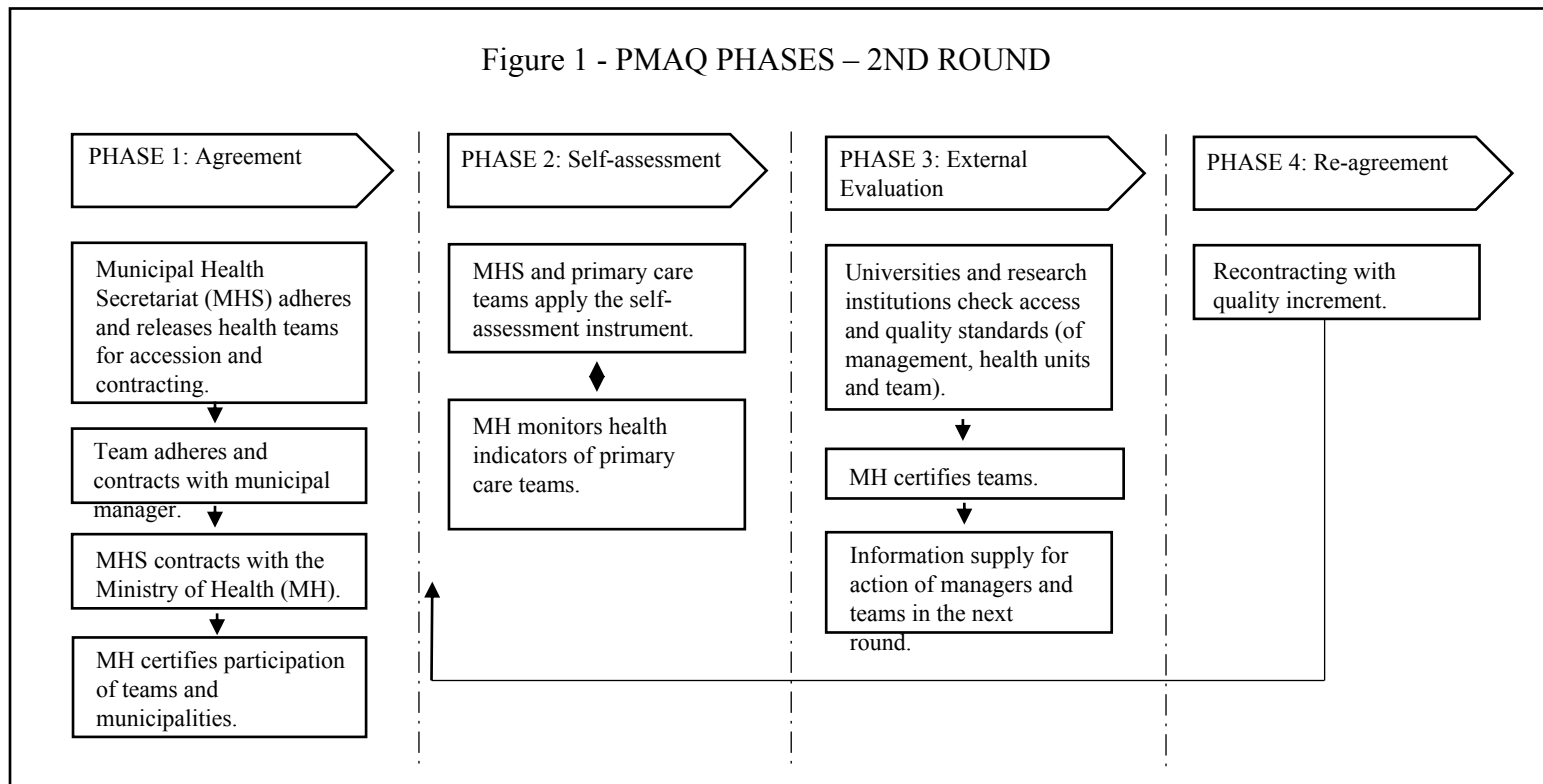
Sources: I) Ministerio da Saude (2015a): (a) pp. 57-58, (b) pp. 66-67, (c) pp. 76-77, (d) pp. 55-56. II) Ministerio da Saude (2015b): (e) pp. 228-229, (f) pp.362-363, (g) pp. 186-187, (h) pp.39-40.

Table 2 - Participants

Type of frontline staff	Health Districts			Total	
	East	Northeast	Southwest	N	%
Doctors	3	3	2	8	32%
Nurses	2	2	3	7	28%
CHW	2	2	2	6	24%
Managers	1	2	1	4	16%
Total	8	9	8	25	100%

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Figure 1 - PMAQ PHASES – 2ND ROUND



Abstract

Design– This paper develops an implementation theory-driven qualitative analysis. The research is developed in the city of Goiania (Brazil): a challenging organizational context in primary care (PHC). Interviews were carried out with 25 front liners - managers, doctors, nurses and community health workers. Data was thematically and hierarchically analysed according to theoretical concepts such as policy knowledge, policy adherence, forms of accountability, alternative logics, organizational capacity and policy feedback.

Findings - Results show the need to foster organizational capacity, knowledge, participation and policy feedback at the frontline. Successful implementation would require those adaptations to counteract policy challenges/failures or the emergence of alternative logics.

Research Limitations – The study was conducted in only one setting, however, our sample includes different types of professionals working in units with different levels of organization capacity, located in distinct HDs, expressing well the implementation of PMAQ/P4P. Qualitative researches need to be developed for further exploring the same/other factors.

Social Implications: Findings can be used to improve discussions/planning and design of P4P programs in the city and State of Goias.

Originality/value - The majority of analysis of PMAQ are of a quantitative or results-based nature. This article focuses on politically significant and unanswered questions regarding the implementation of PMAQ.

1. Introduction

This paper explores the implementation of payment for performance programs in challenging organizational contexts in primary health care (PHC). Drawing on both implementation theory and realistic-political literature on performance measurement to uncover and explore front liners' perspectives and challenges regarding the implementation of a pay for performance program (P4P) in the city of Goiania (Brazil).

1.1. Overview

In both high (HICs) and low- and middle-income countries (LMICs), questions have been raised regarding if and how frontline health workers have been effectively motivated or involved in the implementation of payment-for-performance (P4P) programs, and if P4P or

performance based-financing (PBF) have positively affected health systems. In high-income countries, it is known that P4P has not contributed to generating the expected changes to the work routine, and doubts have also been raised regarding other expected outcomes (Forbers *et al.*, 2016; Roland and Guthrie, 2016). Debates are also underway regarding the feasibility of the design (Eijkenaar *et al.*, 2013). The lack of knowledge or feedback (Lee *et al.*, 2012) are considered barriers to their implementation, especially in LMICs, mainly due to, but not only, challenging and complex organizational contexts (Singh *et al.*, 2020).

The Brazilian National Program for Improving Access and Quality (PMAQ) was introduced with the aim of increasing access to, and improvement in, PHC, guaranteeing comparable national, regional and local standards of quality and providing greater transparency and effectiveness of governmental measures regarding PHC. Among the specific PMAQ objectives, the following are highlighted: to increase the impact on the health conditions of the population; to provide organizational standards for basic care units; to promote adherence to PHC principles; to foster the quality of PHC management; to institutionalize a PHC assessment culture. PMAQ also stresses that health professionals should be involved and mobilized during its implementation (Ministério da Saúde, 2013).

In Brazil new programs are usually developed and scaled by the Health Minister's Department of Basic Health Care; they entail the introduction of new agreements/contracts and fund transfers from the federal government to the municipal level. Once the Municipal Health Secretariat (MHS) adheres to the program, the program is passed on to health districts. Regarding the units' frontline services, new programs are usually introduced by the local managers or district managers to the health teams, and generally do not involve a comprehensive, communicative or educational strategy. The new program is implemented along with other demands taking place, following the timing stipulated by superiors' demands.

In this work, we will be focusing on the 2nd round of PMAQ. PMAQ's third round was completed in 2018, and rounds have an average two-year-length. In its 2nd round, the program was developed in four phases (Figure 1): agreement, self-assessment, external evaluation, re-agreement (Ministério da Saúde, 2013). Following the performance targets stated in the agreement phase, the MHS received incremental funding proportional to the scores obtained during PMAQ's assessment. The financial resources destined from the Ministry of Health (MH) to the municipal level were transferred to the Municipal Health Funds. PMAQ established that the municipal government could invest PMAQ's fund in primary care in a flexible way, with no obligation to transfer them to the health teams, although teams did expect to be rewarded for their performance (and some have been).

Figure 1 – PMAQ phases in the second cycle

1.2. Knowledge gap

In Brazil, PMAQ features in a small number of peer-reviewed qualitative analyses from 2014-2017 (N= 5, 56%), with a more significant number of publications in 2018 (January-October) (N= 4; 44%) (Saddi and Peckham, 2019). The majority of PMAQ analyses are quantitative, revealing that there is a significant knowledge gap about PMAQ's implementation process (Macinko *et al.*, 2017; Saddi and Peckham, 2018).

1.3. Aim and Objectives

The objective of this paper is to understand how frontline staff know, participate in and evaluate the PMAQ in its second round, in a challenging organizational capacity context in PHC. Our specific objectives are to verify: 1) if and in what ways frontline actors (and which of them) know the program, 2) which members of the health team effectively participated in the implementation of PMAQ and how it occurred and 3) if and how PMAQ modified the way in which the professionals assess and plan the working process. The study is developed for the city of Goiania, as an illustration of a challenging policy capacity context in PHC. Results are discussed as a showcase for Brazil and other low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) presenting critical organizational capacity issues in PHC.

1.4. Primary Health Care in Goiania

In Goiania, PHC and its Family Health Strategy (FHS) were created only in late 1990. This implementation took place late in relation to other capitals in Brazil, being created in the furthest areas of the city to serve the poorest population. This was the period in which the left-wing government took over the capital, elected, among other reasons, due to promises to increase access to health services. PHC services are offered to only 49% of the population of Goiania, located in areas far from the city centre. Currently, the Capital has 193 FHS teams that work in 59 Basic Health Units. The high turnover of doctors and deficits of health professionals is another characteristic of PHC services in the city.

Moreover, PHC is confronted by inadequate infrastructure, lack of professionals and equipment and poor levels of management and monitoring (Table 1). Health teams need to cope with complex demands coming from the MHS/ health districts (HD), health unit colleagues and users/community. A systematic routine assessment of work is not adopted in most of the units,

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3 though they usually meet once a week to plan their work. Frontline health workers complain of
4 not taking part in or not being consulted during the decision-making at the MHS.
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8 **Table 1 - Goiania as an illustration of a challenging organizational context in PHC**

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10 11 12 13 **2. Literature and related hypotheses**

14 *2.1. Public Policy and Implementation literature*

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16 The political literature on public policy and implementation can be used to shed new
17 light on the implementation of P4P programs. We know both from public policy and
18 implementation theory (Hupe and Hill, 2007; May and Winter, 2009; Meyers and Nielsen,
19 2012, May, 2012), as well as from health policy and system research (Gilson, 2016; Peters *et*
20 *al.*, 2009), that well designed policies involving rational choices of instruments and goals are
21 not sufficient to realize, strengthen or improve implementation on the ground. We also know
22 that implementation takes place in a complex and demanding context, depending greatly on the
23 knowledge/values, interests and actions (or decisions) of frontline actors, as well as on the
24 organizational capacity of the institution to roll it out (May and Winter, 2009; Meyers and
25 Nielsen, 2012).
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34 Peter Hupe and Michael Hill (2007) have called attention to three types of
35 competing/conflicting forms of accountability that can influence the actions/decisions of
36 frontline workers:
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41 street-level bureaucrats are held accountable in various relations: bottom-up as well as top-
42 down, but also 'sideways'. Those forms of accountability refer to actions related to the system,
43 organizational and individual scales... Within the web of these multiple accountabilities ...
44 street-level bureaucrats constantly weigh how to act (p. 296).
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49 In a complementary way, May and Winter (2009) present four sets of influences that
50 tend to influence street-level bureaucratic actions during implementation:
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54 One set is the signals from political and administrative superiors about the content and
55 importance of the policy... A second set of influences is the organizational implementation
56 machinery... A third set of considerations is the knowledge and attitudes of the street-level
57 bureaucrats concerning relevant tasks, their work situation, and clients. A fourth set is the
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3 contextual factors concerning workloads, client mix, and other external pressures... (and) the
4 role of knowledge and policy perceptions of street-level bureaucrats along with contextual
5 factors. (pp. 454-455).
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10 Those authors also emphasise that most street-level bureaucrats are more prone to
11 adhere to and implement policy goals when they understand the policy in question. It means
12 that knowledge is a factor that directly influences the level of adherence and decisions related
13 to policy goals. According to them:
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18 The signalling of policy goals ... seem to have a limited influence. More important are the
19 understanding of the national policy by street-level bureaucrats and their knowledge of the rules
20 under the reform (May and Winter, 2009, p. 470).
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25 Therefore, although the translation of policy goals into street-level measures depends
26 on diverse factors, from the perspective of public policy theoretical literature, they can be
27 understood according to issues such as the organizational capacity of the bureaucracy, the
28 conflicting forms of accountability (administrative, professional and participatory) which take
29 place at the front line, front liners knowledge about the program, the perspectives and
30 participation (involvement/reactions) of frontline workers, as well as the pressures and other
31 issues stemming from work processes at the front line.
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37 These concerns have also been emphasized by the public health policy and system
38 research literature in LMICs. A group of systematic reviews edited by David H. Peters and
39 colleagues (Peters *et al.*, 2009) has brought new knowledge to the field. One of these reviews
40 has shown that involvement and engagement of stakeholders including frontline actors is
41 necessary for effective implementation (Ovretveit *et al.*, 2009). Another review has also
42 stressed certain institutional factors to explain health policy delivery in LMICs:
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49 The degree and breadth of commitment to the stated objectives of the strategy or intervention,
50 rules about how critical stakeholders are involved, and the incentives to make them work,
51 incentives and disincentives for health workers (and ultimately organizations) to perform well
52 (Bloom *et al.*, 2009, p. 203).
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57 A further two inter-related concepts enable us to identify causes of and effective changes
58 in actors' relations during implementation. Policy feedback enables us to analyse the need for
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3 either incremental or drastic policy changes, while feedback effects is employed to reveal
4 changes driven by feedback. Patashnik and Zelizer assert that weak policy feedback can be
5 caused by: “weak policy design, inadequate or conflicting institutional support, and poor
6 timing” (2009, p.33). Weak policy design can be caused by low per-capita resources,
7 information problems and negative social construction. Conflicting institutional support is
8 associated with absent state functions, multiple conflicting networks and conflicting
9 governance structures. Poor timing can be explained by: “incompatibility of policy with the
10 governing norms of the day” (Patashnik and Zelizer, 2009). Attention has also been given to
11 the fact that feedback, though in diverse ways, can also exert a positive effect on dimensions
12 such as motivations, organizational capacity and routines (Moynihan and Soss, 2014).
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22 *2.2. The political literature in performance measurement*

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24 The political literature in performance measurement have recently contributed to enhancing the
25 importance of taking the politics (Lewis, 2015), the cognitive/subjective (“alternative logics”)
26 (Pollitt, 2013) and work task and organizational aspects of performance measurement programs
27 into account.
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31 Christopher Pollitt (2013) has highlighted some factors which encourage or deter
32 gaming and/or cheating in performance management systems (PMS), and classified them in
33 terms of background factors, task factors and features of PMS. They refer to themes/factors
34 such as organizational culture (background factor); observability of outputs & outcomes (task
35 factor), participation in policy design, data collection and validation (features of PMS). With
36 regards to observability of outputs & outcomes, the author says that:
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43 Gaming and cheating may become more prevalent the less appropriate a PMS design is for the
44 task, e.g. a hard, tightly coupled PMS imposed on a coping organization (Pollitt, 2013, p. 359).
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48 From the perspective of staff participating in PM design, “PMS is more likely to be seen
49 as ‘fair’ if staff are involved – therefore less gaming”. Concerning the collection and validation
50 of data: “If those being assessed collect the data there is a temptation to game or cheat, and
51 especially if there is no independent validation” (Pollitt, 2013, p. 359). The author also stresses
52 that: “alternative logics are closely related to the basic features of PMSs, and deserve to be
53 considered more openly and extensively” (Pollitt, 2013, p. 360).
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59 Among the more distinctive features of the literature on performance measurement, in
60 relation to public policy, are perhaps: 1) the focus on alternative political (contradictory) logics

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3 surrounding the implementation and 2) the study of PM as a chain related to its policy process,
4 attached to the analyses or characterization of possible unintended results or unintended
5 consequences of rational based programs that aim to strengthen/create a culture of evaluation
6 at the frontline – especially in LMICs.
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10 Taking into account the above literature, our hypotheses are:

- 11 • Hypothesis 1 [Question 1] - Front liners' knowledge and levels of understanding
12 about the PMAQ, in a challenging organizational context, influences their adherence
13 to the program and the way they commit to the program during the implementation.
14
- 15 • Hypothesis 2 [Question 2] - Front liners' participation in the PMAQ, in challenging
16 organizational contexts with low understanding, are characterised by effectively low
17 levels of engagement and changes in the work process during the implementation.
18 This process tends to favour the development of gaming/cheating.
19
- 20 • Hypothesis 3 [Question 3] - Front liners' evaluation and perceived impact of PMAQ
21 is influenced by the whole policy process of implementation, including their levels
22 of knowledge/understanding, participation and perceived policy feedback/feedback
23 effects of a challenging organizational context.
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33 3. Methods

34 We develop a thematic exploratory qualitative analysis to delve into the implementation process
35 of the PMAQ 2nd round in the city of Goiania. We have followed a purposive strategy in the
36 selection of interviewers. They were chosen from three health districts (HD) in the city –
37 Northeast, Southwest and East –where we had previously applied the semi-structured
38 questionnaires (Table 2) (Saddi *et al.*, 2018). When selecting informants to take part in the
39 interviews, attention was given to ensure that we had a representation of interviewees from
40 those health districts, as well as a representation from health team members – doctors, nurses
41 and community health workers – and local managers. We also selected informants who were
42 not on vacation, and who were still working in PHC units. We interviewed 25 informants (Table
43 2) until achieving saturation.
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51 During the interviews, we adopted an open-ended approach. Interviews were recorded
52 on audio and lasted around 30-40 minutes. They were undertaken in September and October of
53 2016 in the PHC units. The same researcher (FS) conducted all of the interviews. All informants
54 signed a consent form and had the right to withdraw their consent at any time if they wished.
55 The audio recordings were listened to and transcribed by two researchers (FS and FP). We
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3 gave a code to each informant to guarantee information confidentiality. The research was
4 approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the Federal University of Goiás, authorization
5 number 26584514.3.0000.5083.
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10 **Table 2 - Participants: frontline staff by health districts**

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13 We have adopted a thematic analysis, which is one of the traditional approaches in qualitative
14 analysis and “in which themes are identified, with the researcher focusing on the way the theme
15 is treated or presented and the frequency of its occurrence” (Spencer and Ritchie, 2003). We
16 have also constructed an analytic hierarchy attached to themes and participants to explore the
17 relations between them as “the analytic hierarchy refers to the process through which qualitative
18 'findings' are built from the original raw data. It is described as a form of conceptual scaffolding
19 within which the structure of the analysis is formed” (Spencer and Ritchie, 2003). The analysis
20 involved three main related activities: data management, descriptive accounts and explanatory
21 accounts.
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29 Our three main questions - concerning frontline staff's knowledge, participation and
30 evaluation regarding the implementation of PMAQ - were coded and associated with specific
31 themes highlighted by the implementation literature and the political approach of performance
32 studies, presented above. The coding process was first done manually with half of the texts as
33 we read and reread them searching for patterns, narrative threads, tensions, themes and sub-
34 themes that shape qualitative texts into research texts. The codes, as well as new sub-themes
35 were added line-by-line by two researchers (FS and FP), who compared results between both
36 of them. Results were afterwards shared with other two researchers (MH, RP). Afterwards all
37 interview texts were imported into Atlas.ti, and analysis was firstly performed by one researcher
38 (FS) and then analysed and discussed with all other researchers. We began to search for themes
39 and sub-themes, linking selected texts to the codes and their sub-themes. No new themes or
40 sub-themes appeared in the analysis performed with all texts in the software. A more
41 comprehensive analytical process occurred by means of using reports generated by Atlas.ti, as
42 well as annotations registered during the process. It was at this point that we tried to detect how
43 diverse themes were expressed in a priority-oriented and recurrent manner.
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55 Themes were classified as first order/priority-oriented themes and as
56 recurrent/background or second order themes. First order/priority-oriented themes are those
57 revealed at the beginning of the narrative and more emphasized by respondents.
58 Recurrent/background or second order themes refer to factors that characterize the
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3 background/context of the narrative or that aggregate subsequent inter-related information that
4 explains the first order/priority-oriented themes.
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6 We explored what/how themes appeared in the informant's narrative regarding each
7 dimension of implementation and in the implementation process as a whole. In the analysis of
8 each dimension, we tried to detect how informants construct their prioritization of
9 themes/factors in the narrative, by means of establishing relations or referring to other inter-
10 related theme(s). We paid specific attention to how the repetition of similar themes/factors
11 shaped and gave meaning to the policy implementation process.
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19 **4. Results**

20 *4.1. Result 1 - Predominance of Basic-Low Knowledge/ Valorisation and Conflicting Forms of* 21 *adherence in a Challenging Organizational Context* 22 23

24 In the analysis, front liners' knowledge of PMAQ were associated with partial
25 adherence, diverse and predominant levels of basic/low knowledge and low organizational
26 capacity. Alternative logics and gaming, as well as lack of feedback appeared as
27 recurrent/background themes. Among those themes, adherence and low organizational capacity
28 were emphasised more than the others.
29

30 Front liners hold three types of knowledge about the program. They were classified as high
31 level in the case of local managers who used to hold positions in the HD or Municipal Health
32 Secretariat (MHS), and were responsible for the program's presentation stage together with
33 HD's managers. Other managers and nurses hold a basic level of knowledge about the program.
34 Nurses work more closely to HD and local managers, as they develop the role of coordinators
35 of the health team/CHW. Doctors and CHW hold either a low or a null level of knowledge,
36 which is generally developed in presentations given by the HD. As stressed by the literature
37 (May and Winter, 2009; Pollitt, 2013) the "signalling of programs goals" and closer contact
38 with HD managers were not sufficient conditions to increase their understanding about and
39 valorisation of the program.
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50 Front liners' adhesion is particularly influenced by conflicting logics experienced in the
51 presentation or introductory phase of PMAQ, as well as derived from the previous rounds.
52 Adhesion were characterized in two ways: 1) as both an obligation and will to improve the
53 quality of PHC and 2) by HD's pressures due to the Municipal Government's need to obtain
54 funds, leading, for instance, to situations of refusal to adherence that were followed by pressure
55 and gaming.
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3 I put down that I was signing because I was obliged. The Health District at the time said “If you
4 don’t sign, because you don’t want to, you can leave. (Nurse, HD East)
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8 Adherence was mandatory. City Hall adhered to everything because of the funds that were
9 coming. (Doctor, HD Southwest)
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13 As a second order theme, low organizational capacity of the unit was a recurrent and
14 strongly emphasised theme, involving deficits of health professionals (mainly CHW and
15 doctors), low availability of medications and supplies availability, insufficient computers to fill
16 in required data, and diversion of the CHWs’ primordial function, in order to carry out other
17 tasks due to reduced staff and workload. This poor organizational capacity coincided with the
18 introduction of a new culture of “pressure for numbers (for production)”, and helped to
19 understand frontline professionals’ dissatisfaction regarding working conditions and the future
20 of PHC.
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28 We didn’t have a receptionist for a year. We work a lot at the front desk. We also substitute the
29 technician. We cover holes. If there’s PMAQ, we also participate. This way, it took us three
30 months to go back to the same house. (CHW, HD East).
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35 In sum, PMAQ’s low level of knowledge and valorisation at the frontline is associated
36 with low organizational capacity, in terms of the availability of professionals and lack of
37 resources for the accomplishment of these actions. These issues, due to the environment of
38 pressures and instability, contribute to professionals’ scepticism or demotivation concerning
39 PMAQ.
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45 But we need to check how to do it, if it will be the full staff or not with PMAQ. Because in this
46 logic, doctors don’t have time for other things. (Doctor, HD Southwest).
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49 I have no sheets, no coat. I use paper instead of sheets. And then a robber comes and breaks in
50 and steals all the materials from my locker. There’s no security guard. (Nurse, HD Northeast)
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55 Our first result indicates that most frontline health workers have a basic or low-level
56 understanding of the PMAQ and tend not to value the program. It is seen as another top-down
57 policy with absence of feedback, in a context where reluctance in terms of adherence can
58 generate gaming and cheating between superiors and front liners. Everyday constraints, which
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3 also attributed to low levels of organizational capacity, contribute to undermining frontline
4 health workers perceptions/valorisation regarding the PMAQ. Local managers who held
5 previous positions at the HD/HMS are an exception.
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10 *4.2. Result 2 - Partial Participation with Low Effective Engagement Followed by Alternative* 11 *Logics*

12 Frontline staff participation in the implementation of the PMAQ was influenced by the way
13 they responded to contradictory demands and accountability, as well as by alternative logics
14 and ambiguities embedded in PMAQ. Organizational capacity, feedback, adherence
15 (knowledge), perceived impact, and difficulties in adopting an assessment culture appeared as
16 recurrent/background themes.
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22 Nurses (and local managers) had higher participation rates in the PMAQ, followed by
23 CHWs and then doctors. In general, doctors that participated did so sporadically (generally
24 more in the beginning). The exception was in units in HD East, where participants said
25 everybody participated in PMAQ's discussions and planning. However, even then, some
26 doctors claimed they only participated when required. This is because nurses were more
27 accountable to the administration whereas most doctors are much less accountable to the public
28 administration, as they hold provisory positions in PHC.
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36 Our staff's interest was absent. It needed to include the CHW and the doctor. (Manager, HD
37 Southwest)
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41 Low organizational capacity, absence of feedback from the previous round, low levels
42 of adhesion and of understanding were the main recurrent background factors discussed by
43 frontline staff when talking about their participation during the PMAQ 2nd round.
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48 Look, we didn't have doctors at the time, it was me and the CHW who discussed the questions
49 and filled out the data. They came, presented and went away. We sent everything. We didn't
50 hear about it after that. It was also like that in the other PMAQ. (Nurse, HD Southwest)
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54 PMAQ is also considered as an ambiguous policy in terms of the uses of funding and
55 transference of its financial benefit/reward. Frontline health workers were told that PMAQ's
56 fund would be invested in infrastructure and used to increment the organizational capacity of
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3 PHC. The fact that the fund has neither been invested nor transferred to them in the form of
4 reward, make them see PMAQ as an ambiguous policy and attached to gaming.
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8 I still didn't get the result. They didn't use the incentive to bring improvement. (Nurse, HD
9 Northeast).
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13 It was said that there would be a transfer to the doctor, the CHW. But here in Goiás we didn't
14 even hear about this fund. (CHW, HD Southwest)
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18 The program is also understood as a top-down policy. HD managers' participation were
19 constituted as unexpected visits to collect the results, as well as pressure for information and
20 data without taking into account front liners everyday/other work pressures, nor offering
21 alternative planned strategy. Frontlines believe that their superiors/policymakers do not fully
22 understand the unit's context. Complaints are made with respect to the type of goals/indicators
23 targeted by the program and to the pressure/rushed way in which the PMAQ has been
24 implemented. In a context of basic and low understanding about the program, this perspective
25 on low political responsiveness tend to be followed by unintended consequences and gaming,
26 such as duplication of the same information given in the previous round and other sorts of
27 gaming.
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37 [...] they step inside to visit, where they will visit, they clean, paint and it's all beautiful. They
38 put some makeup on PMAQ, because it needs to respond well. Otherwise the City Hall doesn't
39 get the money. (Nurse, HD East)
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43 We did the discussion part, but I filled out the same way the other nurse did in the other
44 PMAQ, I'm not too good at filling out. (Nurse, HD East)
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48 The way they did it, pressuring us to do it quickly, it was a mask. (Doctor, HD Southwest)
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51 PMAQ is also seen as another program full of political rhetoric due to the existing gap
52 existent between HD/MHS policy managers and front liner actors, because front liners did not
53 receive the award, or due to the fact that some of the goals/tools that comprise the program were
54 actually not implemented in Goiania, such as the Tele Medicine.
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58 This work's second result reveals that frontline health workers' participation was
59 characterized by basic and critical levels of engagement with the program, influenced by
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3 management pressures and contradictory demands, followed by certain sorts of gaming and
4 cheating. Factors such as a low level of organizational capacity and knowledge and absence of
5 feedback explain their partial participation in the implementation of the PMAQ. Evidence from
6 LMICs (Ovretveit *et al.*, 2009) show that engaged participation would be necessary for effective
7 implementation.
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13 *4.3. Result 3 - Lack of Policy Feedback with Diverse Perceived Impact (Positive-Null) and Non-* 14 *Sustainable Development of a Culture of Assessment*

15 *4.3.a. Changes in the work process?*

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17 Priority-oriented themes explaining how frontline staff evaluate policy changes due to
18 PMAQ are associated with themes/factors such as lack of policy feedback, diverse positive-null
19 perceived impact and non-adoption of an assessment culture. In general, interviewees
20 complained about the lack of feedback on the work accomplished with PMAQ, and their
21 unawareness of the results. Absence of feedback was expressed in terms of effects such as non-
22 continuation of the activities, inadequate or lack of support and weak policy design. The
23 analysis also shows that absence of feedback was possibly a result of the program's design, as
24 lack of feedback and non-continuation also occurred in round one of PMAQ. The absence/ lack
25 of feedback resulted in demotivation and did not foster sustainable increases in or maintenance
26 of organizational procedures developed during the PMAQ.
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36 The impact of PMAQ was classified in three ways by front liners: Absence of impact
37 or null impact, positive perceptions associated to questionings about PMAQ and uncertainties
38 regarded the impact of PMAQ.
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41 Three reasons were given for considering that PMAQ did not actually impact PHC: 1) lack of
42 organizational capacity remained during the implementation of PMAQ, and no complementary
43 strategy/support was offered, 2) lack of support and absence of feedback, 3) planning remained
44 on paper and was not implemented nor monitored afterwards. Among them, lack of support and
45 absence of feedback were the themes more strongly emphasised.
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51 PMAQ brought a lot more work to us. And it remains there, with no support, with no answer.
52 (Manager, HD Northeast).
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56 Positive impacts reported concern over adoption of groups for hypertensive, diabetic and
57 pregnant women, as well as the organization of the area map locating morbidities of patients
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3 with coloured pins, and recording of data. However, those positive aspects were also associated
4 with conflicting issues or negative impacts.
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8 Planning for the PMAQ was good for us, but there's no continuation. We didn't get a fund. I'd
9 like to have access to the data, to know my grade. We never had access to the publication or the
10 data. (Doctor, HD East).
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15 Those who mentioned the adoption of groups also made references to negative impacts
16 related to organizational capacity and alternative logics. Though the planning required by
17 PMAQ helped them to organize and visualize their work better, the timing was very strict.
18 Planning and organization of work remained in paper and were associated to the fact that the
19 incentive has not been delivered. This means that health workers consider the positive impact
20 of PMAQ in a more integrated form, observing how its impact did not include planning and
21 changes made in their routine of work, low organizational capacity, low level of knowledge and
22 ambiguities inherent the program were associated to its impact.
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29 Informants who hold low levels of participation in the program do not know exactly in
30 which aspects PMAQ impacted PHC. Their narratives are strongly associated with alternative
31 logics. They associate it to the lack of continuation or even relate it to the absence of feedback
32 or advertisement of the program's results within the professional of the unit. This means that
33 those informants hold low level of knowledge regarding the PMAQ, and more specifically
34 regarding the demands/problems that the program aimed to target, therefore they were unable
35 to talk about changes caused by PMAQ.
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43 To be honest I don't know much about the program. I know it's an assessment program. The
44 nurse can talk more about it. My work is focused on attending. (Doctor, HD Northeast)
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48 *4.3.b. Establishing a new assessment and monitoring culture?* 49 50

51 According to front liners, three facts explain why the implementation of PMAQ did not
52 contribute to the generation of a practice of routine assessment in the units. 1) PMAQ was not
53 a continuous assessment initiative, 2) all aspects of PMAQ were not completely implemented,
54 as intended in the program guidance, and 3) the type of assessment provided by PMAQ was
55 focused on result collection/presentation rather than the achievement of changes in practice.
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3 I believe it's important to assess. But afterwards we weren't able to go on, there's too much
4 work. (Nurse, HD Southwest)
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8 We had that meeting, discussed, read, we need to go back and rescue what was left behind. It
9 was so in the beginning, but there was no continuation. (CHW, HD East)
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13 PMAQ's implementation was characterised as incomplete or partial, as described in the
14 documents, once it did not manage to go beyond data collection and required registers. For
15 instance, though telemedicine was constituted as a tool to support the implementation of
16 PMAQ, it was not possible to use it because internet was not available in health units in Goiania.
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20 The analysis also shows that front liners recognize the need to adopt a continuous evaluation
21 strategy in PHC, and understand that PMAQ could be used to improve the work process in
22 health units.
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27 Because of PMAQ we started to do research with patients identifying them as asthmatic and
28 overweight. I think the impact was good, but it could be better, but the staff was incomplete.
29 (Manager, HD Northeast)
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33 At the beginning I had no comprehension of PMAQ's importance. But it caused my staff to self-
34 reflect at that time, towards improving quality. (Nurse, HD Southeast)
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39 Our third result highlights that frontline health professionals' diverse positive-null and
40 contradictory perspectives regarding how PMAQ has impacted their working process is mainly
41 explained by the lack of policy feedback and support, low levels of perceived impact and non-
42 adoption of an assessment culture. They also explain it in terms of other recurrent and
43 background factors such as organizational capacity, adhesion, participation, alternative logics.
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47 48 *4.4. Complementary result - Dimensions of the implementation process are put together when* 49 *evaluating the program* 50 51

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53 Regarding the existing relations between knowledge, participation and evaluation, this
54 work reveals that frontline health workers evaluate PMAQ implementation in a comprehensive
55 form and as part of a policy process, aggregating more themes to the discussion as the
56 interviews went on, using recurrent/background themes to establish connections between policy
57 dimensions regarding implementation (knowledge, participation and evaluation). When
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3 discussing the knowledge/valorisation dimension, for instance, recurrent themes were less
4 prominent than when discussing the dimensions of participation and evaluation. The number of
5 and inter connections between recurrent themes was higher when talking about evaluation. As
6 the interview process developed, certain themes either gained or regained significance in a
7 comprehensive and integrative fashion, being used and reaffirmed/confirmed to evaluate the
8 policy implementation process. As a whole, more recurrent and strongly emphasised themes
9 referred to organizational capacity, adhesion, participation, feedback, alternative logics.
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18 **5. Discussion**

19 Relevant policy issues arise when the implementation of P4P programs is studied from
20 the perspective of frontline staff perceptions and attitudes in challenging organizational
21 contexts – where frontline staff face contradictory forms of accountability, needing to make
22 choices between them.
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26 In a similar though distinctive way to our analysis, organizational capacity has also been
27 identified as one of the main key factors in the implementation of P4P in LMICs. In those
28 countries challenging organizational contexts either caused the failure of programs - as
29 happened in Uganda (Ssenkooba *et al.*, 2012) - or led to partial effects (Bhatnagar and George,
30 2016). In addition, lack of organisational capacity has acted as a main constraint on
31 implementation (Singh *et al.*, 2020) and leads to low levels of adherence at the frontline by
32 some members of the health team. Therefore, our present research, as well as research
33 undertaken in LMICs, has shown that, though in diverse ways, programs need to be
34 accompanied by capacity building strategies and human resource reforms.
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41 Moreover, evidence has shown that the undesired effects of P4P in health policy are
42 usually a result of low knowledge and motivation levels of frontline staff (Lee *et al.*, 2012;
43 Eijkenaar *et al.*, 2013). A systematic review that explores front liners staff's perceptions on P4P
44 in diverse countries revealed that efforts should be made to generate “increasing levels of
45 provider awareness” about P4P, “providing technical and educational support, reducing their
46 burden, developing cooperative relationships with providers [...] and minimizing the
47 unintended consequences” (Lee *et al.*, 2012)..
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54 The literature also shows how it is important to actively involve actors in the
55 formulation/design of the program (Lee *et al.*, 2012; Eijkenaar *et al.*, 2013), as “this increases
56 the likelihood of provider support and alignment with their professional norms and values”¹⁵.
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3 In Brazil, analysis of the PMAQ carried out for the 1st and 2nd rounds tend either to
4 overemphasize the results of performance indicators, or to use those results in a descriptive way
5 to develop further studies (Brazilian Centre for Health Studies, 2014; Macinko *et al.*, 2017;
6 Saddi and Peckham, 2018). In a similar way to our analysis, few recent studies have shown that
7 the program is mostly perceived as another top-down policy, in which health workers in diverse
8 ways consider (or do not consider) it valuable to improve quality of care, given the
9 political/rhetorical and organizational questions that arise in a complex implementation context
10 (Sossai *et al.*, 2016; Telles *et al.*, 2016). Studies also highlight some improvements in the work
11 process and the need for sustainable changes (Feitosa *et al.*, 2016; Flores *et al.*, 2018), similar
12 to those presented in this study.
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21 In Goiania, the main factors driving the implementation of PMAQ/P4P at the frontline
22 are the low organizational capacity of the bureaucracy, low levels of understanding and
23 participation/engagement by frontline staff and absence of feedback received from
24 policymakers. Poor knowledge/understanding regarding the policy, as well as an absence of
25 feedback, did not encourage the participation of frontline workers. These policy issues occurred
26 in a context of a challenging organizational capacity without the adoption of
27 additional/complementary support during the PMAQ. However, the potential of positively
28 transforming the work processes in the health units propelled by PMAQ is also recognized by
29 health professionals, indicating the need to assist the continuity of these changes.
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36 It is possible the themes that characterized our analysis of PMAQ in Goiania, which are
37 factors driving the implementation of PMAQ, might have happened (and are possibly
38 happening) in other parts of the state of Goias and Brazil. This might be occurring in PHC units
39 experiencing similar organizational constraints, in cities where MHS/HD managers adopt a more
40 top-down and less communicative/integrative style of relation with frontline staff. Analyses
41 have shown the importance of taking managers' activities and perspectives into account in the
42 evaluation of PMAQ. Among them, an analysis applied to a small city showed that managers
43 were committed with PMAQ (Feitosa *et al.*, 2016), and another focusing on the case of a Health
44 Region revealed both positive and negative aspects regarding managers involvement (Flores *et*
45 *al.*, 2018).
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53 Moreover, the analysis of the case of the PMAQ in Goiania uncovers and brings to light
54 some relevant political regularities/challenges regarding the implementation of a P4P program
55 that could be seen as policy assumptions to be explored in other cities/units in Goiania and at
56 the state of Goias. It offers a policy perspective that calls attention to main recurrent themes
57 and sub-themes shaping implementation namely: organizational capacity (in a more
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3 anchored/structural/supportive aspect of the policy process), adherence/knowledge,
4 participation, feedback (as social construction issues anchored in distinct organizational
5 settings) and alternative logics (as misunderstandings/lack of communication between levels,
6 unintended consequences/factors attributed to P4P).
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10 The main policy implications arising from this work are: 1) The greater the level of
11 knowledge and understanding of frontline staff regarding the policy, and the more
12 institutionalized or dynamic the feedback received from the top/(MH or MHS) are, the greater
13 the likelihood of frontline staff effectively adhering and acting in accordance with the policy.
14 2) Poor interaction during the dissemination (and formulation) of the policy and increasing or
15 contradictory demands/accountabilities, in a context of low organizational support, can be
16 considered factors prone to limiting participation and effective engagement during
17 implementation. 3) In an integrative manner, low levels of knowledge, low levels of
18 participation and engagement, absence of policy feedback, and absence of alternatives to foster
19 organizational capacity, do not favour the creation of an assessment culture or sustainable
20 changes in the working process.
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33 **6. Conclusion**

34 According to our research findings, in the challenging organizational context of PHC in
35 Goiania, the implementation of a P4P program (and of PMAQ more specifically) focusing
36 mainly or solely on the production of performance indicators/numbers, have not contributed to
37 strengthen the public policy. From the viewpoint of Public Policy – and aligned with system
38 strengthening and quality improvement perspectives -, successful implementation requires the
39 adoption of additional/complementary strategies/tools at the frontline, to counteract policy
40 failure or the emergence of alternative logics (and gaming/cheating). Organizational capacity,
41 knowledge/motivation, participation and policy feedback are the types of strategies to be
42 targeted. Organizational capacity could play a more definite background supportive role,
43 providing the structure needed for the construction of understanding, participation and
44 feedback/feedback effects. All those factors together can contribute to counteracting the
45 emergence of alternative logics.
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55 Fundamental lessons to be extracted from the analysis are directly associated to the case
56 of Goiania. Those lessons can be broadly extended to other cities at the state of Goias. They
57 bring new policy lessons and assumptions on how it would be possible to strengthen the
58 implementation process of rational-based programs in complex and changing organizational
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3 contexts. They refer to the need of 1) creating a new organizational culture and capacity. This
4 is allied to the need of 2) developing new politics of adhesion, 3) fostering a participative
5 culture in PHC and 4) adopting strategies that would foster more feedback from PMAQ/P4P
6 and uses of PMAQ's/P4P's results. This would enable the construction of identifications with
7 PMAQ/P4P at the frontline, as well as favour the development of a new culture of
8 assessment/monitoring. There is the need to improve infrastructure, hire more frontline staff
9 and increase materials supply in the units, which would depend on available resources. It is also
10 about challenging lessons that can be adopted through strategies/tools of dialogue, and that, by
11 being faced routinely in PHC, and not only related to a single program, would be constructing
12 the necessary participative fundamentals and involvement for a perception and understanding
13 change of the frontline about the program.
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22 In fact, the improvement of a P4P program – and of PMAQ - at the frontline in Goiania,
23 would mean the initiation (or revision) of a new organizational culture in the implementation
24 of PHC, privileging the frontline staff, with higher possibility of creating a (new) assessment
25 culture and, consequently, guided by new adhesion, more feedback and uses of P4P results.
26 This would make it possible the construction of a new way of valuing P4P programs and the
27 policy process related to them.
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