The Importance of Political Economy Analysis for Strengthening Health Commodity Supply Chains: A Primer

April 2023

LOCAL HEALTH SYSTEM SUSTAINABILITY PROJECT
Local Health System Sustainability Project

The Local Health System Sustainability Project (LHSS) under the USAID Integrated Health Systems IDIQ helps low- and middle-income countries transition to sustainable, self-financed health systems as a means to support access to universal health coverage. The project works with partner countries and local stakeholders to reduce financial barriers to care and treatment, ensure equitable access to essential health services for all people, and improve the quality of health services. Led by Abt Associates, the five-year project will build local capacity to sustain strong health system performance, supporting countries on their journey to self-reliance and prosperity.

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# ACRONYMS

<table>
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<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>CMS</td>
<td>Central Medical Stores</td>
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<td>LHSS</td>
<td>Local Health System Sustainability Project</td>
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<tr>
<td>PEA</td>
<td>Political Economy Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TWP</td>
<td>Thinking and Working Politically</td>
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<td>USAID</td>
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## Definitions of Key Terminology

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<th>Definition in the PEA context</th>
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| Political economy analysis (PEA) | PEA is a framework for analysis and a set of tools to better understand the political, economic, social, and cultural context and to:  
• Help explain why things work in the way that they do  
• Identify the incentives that shape the way people behave  
• Identify what types of interventions will likely be more politically feasible than others, and why |
| Thinking and working politically (TWP) | TWP is a way of approaching development issues that seeks to mix ‘thinking politically’ with ‘working politically.’ In practice, it means that we must understand the political economy of the project, the sector, the program, and sometimes even the country of interest. This leads us to judgements about which interventions may be the most politically feasible, given the prevailing pattern of incentives and interests of key individuals and organizations. The ‘thinking’ and ‘working’ elements come together as we then track the development of an intervention in real time and make judgements about what progress is (or isn’t) being made, and why. This is likely to require us to revisit our theory of change and original assumptions. The ‘working politically’ element then takes over. To truly embed a TWP approach, first, we must have a management structure that integrates implementation, monitoring, and learning (which generates the necessary information in real time). Second, we must have a management system that is both sufficiently flexible and sufficiently adaptive to enable us to change course as needed. And third, it means technical staff must be sufficiently experienced to be able to judge what the new course of action should look like. TWP is a simple phrase that belies great challenge and complexity. |
| Foundational or structural factors | The foundations or structures are the long-term factors that shape the underlying political and institutional context. They include a country’s history, geography, natural resources, demography, and geopolitics. Typically, they are hard to influence and change only slowly over time. |
| Rules of the game (also referred to as ‘institutions’) | Institutions help us understand how ‘real’ processes work and the ways in which individuals and organizations operate within a system. This includes both the formal rules (constitutional rules and codified law) and the informal rules of the game (political, social, and cultural values and norms). They are not to be confused with organizations, which are formal entities (e.g., a government department, a private company, or a non-governmental organization). |
| Actors (also referred to as ‘agents’ or ‘stakeholders’) | Agents include those individuals and networks with power who participate in decision-making or bargaining processes. They also include those who are excluded and do not have a voice in decisions. Stakeholders may be winners or losers from a proposed change. They may have an interest in maintaining the status quo or changing it. |
| Incentives, interests, and ideas | Incentives provide a motive for a person to choose a particular course of action. They can range from the simple (money) to the complex (a desire to leave a positive legacy). Beliefs, ideas, and values can also shape and influence incentives and behavior. |
| Rent-seeking | Rent-seeking is the time and resources people spend influencing governments to make or implement policies in ways that will benefit them. Sometimes this activity can be illegal, such as when it involves giving bribes or using threats. For example, a company in the private sector could bribe government officials to get them to conduct a tendering process in a way that ensures that the company is awarded a contract. |
WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS PRIMER AND WHO IS IT FOR?

This primer is designed to help supply chain practitioners in governments, the private sector, donor agencies, and implementing partners understand the value of political economy analysis (PEA) and how it can help improve outcomes when implementing supply chain interventions and reforms. PEA allows us to examine and address the underlying factors that may present barriers to positive outcomes in technical supply chain work.

While PEA has been around for decades, its application to supply chain work has been limited. Building a deeper level of understanding about politics and power can be useful to improve supply chains in any and all contexts. A key purpose of PEA is to identify practical interventions that are less likely to be circumvented by vested interests. This is particularly relevant in supply chains, which are often rife with opportunities for rent-seeking. PEA is essential in conflict-affected or fragile contexts where there are high risks of external aid ‘doing harm’ by not understanding the politics and fueling grievances by unintentionally favoring some groups over others.
The primer also discusses when and how you can apply PEA in your supply chain work, and it provides some practical tips and considerations. This primer is not a guide or framework for undertaking PEA. Instead, it is designed to help supply chain practitioners understand:

- What PEA is and why it’s important (for those unfamiliar with this approach and seeking to understand its value)
- When it can be useful in the context of supply chain, and how it can be used to drive better value for money by identifying practical interventions that are technically sound and politically feasible (for those seeking to understand how they can use PEA in their work)
- How to plan for and implement (at a high level) a PEA that results in practical and actionable interventions, using existing PEA guides and based on your available resources (for those considering how to apply PEA in their work)
- Practical tips and considerations for conducting PEA in a supply chain context (for those embarking on a PEA and looking for some additional guidance)
WHAT IS PEA – AND WHY IS IT IMPORTANT FOR SUPPLY CHAIN EFFORTS?

What exactly is PEA? PEA is a way of thinking about development that helps us systematically examine the political, social, economic, and cultural context in which we’re working – so that we can better understand why things work the way that they do, and what may work in the future (and what assuredly will not). Specifically, PEA helps us understand the interests, incentives, and behaviors of actors (individuals and organizations) in a system, and why they make particular choices or decisions. PEA tries to get ‘under the surface’ of things, to explain why things are as they are. Applied PEA (what’s being discussed in this paper) leads us to identify which types of interventions are likely to be more successful than others, and why. This helps us to develop actionable interventions that are politically feasible, organizationally possible, and socially acceptable. PEA is important, but it’s the actions that you’ll take based on the analysis that really make the difference.

Often, there are powerful people or interests that benefit from the status quo. Without PEA, we risk investing resources in technical approaches that may be agreed on paper but cannot actually be implemented because they are politically unrealistic and resisted by those who have an interest in the status quo.

A good example of where PEA can make a difference (though outside of the supply chain space) comes from Nepal (Hobley and Shields 2015). In 2015, the UK Department for International Development commissioned an independent PEA review which asked three questions: who actually decides on how resources are allocated within a village or district, how are those decisions made, and in whose interests are those decisions made? The findings were stark.
Unintentionally, donors and government agencies were undermining accountability and wasting resources by setting up multiple, overlapping projects in the same areas. Each project had its own user committee, community facilitator, and project-specific monitoring mechanism. Together, these parallel mechanisms were blurring accountability since no one knew who was responsible for what decisions. It made the risks of capture (of rents) by a few powerful interests much higher.

The study had a significant impact, including an agreement by the donor coordination group to tackle the problem using a set of agreed principles. Importantly, it was decided early on to jointly undertake the study with the Government of Nepal's Ministry of Federal Affairs and Local Development, which was invited to review the terms of reference, offer input to the draft report, and approve the findings. While this meant that the study took longer, it made all the difference, in terms of the influence and impact of the study. Rather than being seen as an internal donor product, narrowly looking at a single project, it reflected on the whole system of local government and had the endorsement of the Government of Nepal.

PEA helps us to think and work politically (TWP) and can also help advance efforts toward localization. TWP is shorthand for being well-informed about the context in which we work, using that information to make good choices, such as setting realistic ambitions, and being flexible and adaptive as our understanding deepens or the context changes. Many of us may already have a nuanced understanding of the context that we work in and may be thinking and working politically, without labeling it as such; using applied PEA can still be useful to consider political economy more systematically and to help uncover potentially hidden nuances. Table 1 lists some key resources to learn more about TWP and PEA if you’re interested, as well as two recommended guides for implementing PEA.
There are three interconnected elements that underpin the political economy of a country, sector, or program that help us frame our political economy analysis:

- **Foundational factors** are factors that are deeply embedded and slow to change such as demographic influences, historical context, and geography.

- **Institutions** is a term frequently used in PEA. It does *not* mean organizations! Instead, examining institutions means looking at the formal and informal ‘rules of the game’ within society that influence behaviors of individuals and organizations. It includes cultural and social norms and values (the informal rules) as well as laws, rules, regulations, and policies (the formal rules). To avoid confusion, we will use the term ‘rules of the game’ rather than ‘institutions’ in this primer.
• **Actors** are individuals and organizations that behave in certain ways in response to incentives and opportunities in their environment.

These terms may feel a bit alien to you; you could think of them as concepts that can help you think more systematically about the problems and barriers that you face in your work. Applied PEA seeks to explore these elements by first defining *what* is the problem, *why* it happens, and, finally, whether and *how* it could be addressed by an external intervention. Later in this primer, we’ll give you an overview of how to go about planning a PEA. But first, here’s an example to help explain what this primer is all about – to help you understand the value of PEA in technical supply chain work, and how you could apply it in your work. The scenario described below is fictional, but typical of supply chain situations encountered in many countries.

###

Lila works as a supply chain manager at the Central Medical Stores (CMS) in a country in sub-Saharan Africa. Her work focuses on the distribution system between the national distribution center and district health teams. Lila spends much of her time planning distribution activity, making sure that deliveries are received on time, and trying to improve the flow of data in the supply chain. The CMS only has jurisdiction over the supply chain down to the district level, which means there is no direct link or flow of data between the national distribution center and the 3,000+ health facilities in the country. The CMS fills orders for each district store, after which responsibility passes to the district health team to ensure last-mile distribution.

One Monday morning, an official from the Ministry of Health visits the CMS to address its weekly management meeting. The official hands out extracts from a recent internal audit of health facility services across the country. He explains that more than half of the facilities audited complained of frequent medicine shortages. The official asks the CMS management team to provide an explanation to the minister’s office by the end of the week.

The CMS director immediately appoints a small team, including Lila, to investigate the problem. The team reviews recent ordering and delivery data for several districts. Their findings are puzzling – the order fill rates from the CMS to these district health teams are more than 80 percent for all categories of medicine, and well over 90 percent for some categories. This doesn’t quite match up with the audit report findings.

Lila and her colleagues report their initial findings to the CMS director later that morning. Lila proposes to the director that the team should visit some of the affected districts to speak with the district and health center staff and examine their records. The CMS director gives them approval to visit four districts. The director makes calls to each district director to explain the reason for the impromptu visit, and to ensure his team are given access to what they need. Each district director promises full cooperation, although two of them don’t seem particularly pleased at the prospect.

The district visits are productive. The CMS team finds that there are often shortages of medicines at health centers even when the items are available at the district health store. There is generally a shortage of vehicles for use in the district, and so district teams often...
can’t make deliveries to health centers as often as they need to. The CMS team also discovers that stock management practices at health centers are generally poor, leading to mismatches between physical stock and the records. Most health centers weren’t using a recognized method of calculating their needs, so the quantities they ordered from their district store weren’t rational.

Lila and her colleagues return from their visits and present the findings to the CMS director. The findings seem to explain the root causes of the stock-outs. The CMS director takes Lila with him to meet the minister and explain what they have found. The minister appreciates their good work and decides to set up a team to assess options for improving the distribution system between district health offices and health centers.

Lila is chosen as the CMS representative on this team, in recognition of her excellent work over the last few days. The minister also invites some donor and implementing partner representatives to join the team, in recognition of their support to the country’s supply chain over many years and in anticipation of extra funding being required to implement change. A handful of district-level representatives are also invited.

The team spends 3 months together, collecting data, looking at successful models from other countries, and developing options. The team eventually settles on a new supply chain design with the following features:

The CMS national distribution center will now process orders for each individual health center, rather than one aggregate order per district.

Stockholding at district stores will be abolished. Some district stores will be converted to ‘cross-docking’ points, which hold the pre-packed orders from CMS for a short time before onward distribution to health centers. The team decided, after a lot of data analysis, that only about half of the district stores needed to be converted to cross docks in this model.

CMS will provide drivers to be stationed at each cross dock, with dedicated vehicles, to manage the onward distribution.

A uniform system of capturing data and calculating order quantities will be rolled out across the country to improve the data management and stock management practices.

These proposals were met with enthusiasm by the Ministry of Health and its partners. The new design was based on sound supply chain theory and was in line with some general principles known to be favored by several of the donors supporting supply chain work. The design was approved, and funds quickly pledged by the Ministry of Health and three donor partners. Lila was incredibly proud of the work she’d done with the team and couldn’t wait to be part of the implementation.

*Pause here momentarily to think about the solution being proposed. Does it seem sound? How would you assess its chances of success?*
Back to the story….  

Twelve months later, the momentum has been lost. Shortly after the design is approved and an implementation plan created, a large group of district directors raise a major objection. This group is well coordinated. Their objection is based on a loss of control over service delivery in their respective jurisdictions. They agree that the current distribution arrangements need to be improved but argue that taking the responsibility out of the districts directors’ hands effectively leaves each director with full responsibility for providing services without the corresponding level of authority. They refuse to allow the implementation to continue. Most district directors appear to have the full backing of their staff. After months of argument, the Ministry of Health concedes that the design will have to be changed. The Ministry of Finance has just announced that all public sector salaries will be subject to a pay freeze for the third consecutive year, and the minister of health believes that he cannot force through this measure as well as the new supply chain design without running the risk of strikes at district level. The minister agrees to work with the districts and create a new design which takes account of their concerns. Lila and the rest of the team that worked so hard on the new design are all despondent. They realize that there must have been a bit more to the problem of stock-outs than met the eye…

Pause here momentarily to think about what has happened. 

What went wrong? Why were these objections so strong? Surely the districts were part of the design process…?

Some critically important underlying causes for the frequent stock-outs were missed during the process described above. The analysis performed by the teams didn't look deeply enough into the reasons for some of the system failures. Erratic distribution activity wasn’t caused only by vehicle shortages; it was often caused by diversion of vehicles to personal business for the district director and other senior staff. There was also fairly widespread use of government fuel accounts for personal business. Placing delivery vehicles under CMS control would reduce these opportunities for district staff in the future. Lila and her colleagues from CMS also didn’t realize that one important underlying reason for the poor stock management practice and record keeping at the health facilities was theft of stock for onward private sale by some facility staff. In some cases, this revenue was used to pay off officials and politicians in the capital in the hopes of securing a future promotion that would bring it more prestige, a higher salary, and access to more lucrative opportunities for rent-seeking. Interestingly, some of this revenue was also used to pay for important items that were underfunded by the Ministry of Health, such as basic facility maintenance and some travel allowances for health workers. So, we can now see that many district staff – from the director down to health facility workers – had reasons to keep the status quo.

Why did the districts not raise objections during the design process? Well, on some occasions the districts sent middle-ranking officials who didn’t report back the discussions accurately to their directors. Different representatives were often sent from one meeting to the next, which meant that it was hard for the district representatives to
understand the full extent of what was being proposed. And, crucially, at the final sign-off meeting, there was not a single district representative present. In all the excitement, this went undetected.

PEA helps to avoid exactly these kinds of problems. When we use PEA, we look at the politics, incentives, and power dynamics that cause a system to function in a certain way, and then use that knowledge to work out how to effect change. In the example above, we see that many of the actors involved have clear incentives to maintain the status quo. Knowing about the use of vehicles for personal business and the diversion of products for private sale wouldn’t have helped the team solve those specific problems. But that knowledge could have prompted Lila and her colleagues to choose a modified version of the design with a greater chance of being implemented. One approach worthy of consideration would have been to test out some different variations of the supply chain design in a few districts as a first step. Presentation of these ideas as part of a learning process, with trial and error, may have at least reduced the initial levels of resistance and allowed all stakeholders to learn about these different models through practical experimentation. Not all district directors were involved in the protest we described above, which suggests that there was some chance of building support for meaningful reforms. Those working on the design of reforms would need to consider that these pockets of support may be due to either a genuine desire to fix an important problem, or an understanding that supporting a successful reform would provide opportunities for personal gain such as further career advancement, or an improved salary. In reality, many reform supporters may be driven by multiple motives.

###
FOR WHAT TYPES OF SUPPLY CHAIN PROBLEMS IS PEA USEFUL?

We’ve seen in the above example what can happen when we don’t think and work politically as part of our supply chain work. A reform was well analyzed and planned from a technical point of view, but many critical political economy factors were missed. Drugs are a huge source of illicit profit, and we should expect this territory to be fiercely defended. For practitioners working in the supply chain technical area, political economy analysis will help unpack political, social, cultural, and economic root causes of a persistent supply chain challenge. For example, a PEA might examine why a national medicine supply system needs regular recapitalization despite the fact that it’s designed to be financially self-sustaining. A PEA can also be used in cases where there is a planned reform or intervention, to assess just how politically feasible it is, how stakeholders may react, and how it might need to be implemented and adapted for a more successful outcome. This latter form of PEA would have been helpful in the example scenario that you just read.

ROOT CAUSES OF SUPPLY CHAIN CHALLENGES

When conducting a PEA focused on a specific problem or planned reform, understanding how power is organized and reproduced at a macro level in a country can help illuminate the root causes of a problem – which are often political – at the sector level. It can also help identify what can realistically be changed, given the interests and incentives of the relevant actors. Along the same lines, it’s important to understand the more micro political economy within the health sector itself to understand and identify root causes of supply chain failures and to understand the links to the macro political economy. This can aid in identifying options for more politically feasible reforms. Information at both of these levels can also help inform overall strategy in the country.
(useful for stakeholders, to identify where to target investments and interventions) and to inform specific programs.

Let’s think in a bit more detail about using PEA to address a specific supply chain issue – be it a narrow problem or an opportunity for reform. Can PEA be used to help examine any supply chain problem? Are some types of supply chain problems more prone to political economy factors than others? We believe that most problems related to supply chains at the country level are likely to be caused by a combination of technical and political economy factors. Because the technical and political causes of a problem are often deeply entwined, it is important to consider both sets of factors together. So – PEA does not replace the need for strong technical know-how; rather, it helps us to apply our technical skills in the most effective direction. A nuanced understanding of local context should be valued in the same way that technical expertise is valued. Both are key to designing effective and feasible supply chain interventions.

Clearly defining the problem or situation that you want to address is a critical first step of a PEA. Section 4 of this primer contains some useful guidance on how to get that right. And as a general rule, problems closely connected to the allocation and flow of resources (be it people or finance) are likely to have important political economy issues at play. So, a good shorthand is to follow the money! Always seek to understand the relationships among politicians, bureaucrats, and businesspeople and maintain a healthy skepticism – particularly where money can be made (drug procurement, construction contracts, diversion of product for private sale, etc.). But do keep in mind that while following the money can often be useful, not all political economy issues are related to money.

In Table 2, we’ve chosen some typical supply chain problems and have suggested a likely set of contributing factors for each one. These examples are illustrative only but should feel familiar to many readers.
Table 2: Supply Chain Problems and Typical Contributing Factors

<table>
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<th>Supply chain problem</th>
<th>Typical contributing factors</th>
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| Regular national-level medicine stock-out                 | • Insufficient funding allocated to medicine procurement  
• Lengthy procurement procedures  
• Corrupt contracting processes  
• Poor supplier performance  
• Diversion of products, funds, or both  
• Limited registered sources, restricting sources of supply  
• Weak understanding of demand                                                                 |
| Poor data quality in the supply chain                      | • Data capture tools that are cumbersome to use  
• Data tasks assigned to staff who are already overburdened  
• Lack of oversight of data reporting, and absence of consequences for not reporting data                                                                 |
| Last-mile distribution performance uneven across the country| • Staff absenteeism  
• Localized problems with vehicle / driver / fuel availability  
• Localized problems with order placement  
• Localized geographical challenges (road conditions, weather problems, etc.) |

It is also notable that when we think a little more about each of the seemingly operational factors, we can see that they often have political dimensions. For example, factors listed opposite “Regular national-level medicine stockouts” in the table may be related to deeply entrenched corrupt activity driven by those in power. Similarly, issues listed opposite “Poor data quality in the supply chain” may be related to a weak data use culture and a fear of attracting criticism based on data reports. Some factors listed against “Last-mile distribution performance uneven across the country” may be symptoms of a power imbalance between central and peripheral levels of government, in which staff movement to remote, rural areas are not incentivized. Also, factors within each of the three sections of the table are often closely related to each other. Part of the value of a PEA lies in working out exactly how these relationships work and using this understanding to identify practical interventions that are technically sound and politically feasible.

A recent supply chain PEA reveals some of the political economy factors that contribute to supply chain problems and provides recommendations for action:

- In Uganda, a PEA was conducted to understand the factors that influence funding for family planning commodities and supply chain costs in the public sector. The PEA identified several factors that prevented allocation of funds, including those related to leadership/political will and religious/cultural issues. The PEA made proposals for strategies that could, over time, change the attitudes of some actors toward funding for family planning commodities (MTaPS Program 2022).
We have included links to published supply chain-related PEAs in Annex C. These reports will give you a sense of the possible learnings and outcomes of conducting PEA in a supply chain context.

**WHAT ARE THE LIMITATIONS OF PEA?**

PEA helps to unpack what is happening at a given point in time. While this analysis can give you some clues for what feasible pathways of change for an intervention might be, PEA is not *forecasting*, and cannot predict the future. Furthermore, given the subjective nature of this type of analysis, it’s important to triangulate one’s findings by comparing information from different data sources. Even then, the risk remains that you won’t fully uncover all of the complex root causes of a problem if your respondents do not share information openly.

Getting to the bottom of what really drives decisions can be very difficult. That’s why it’s important to interview a range of stakeholders, triangulate findings, and vet your findings by sharing them with someone who understands the system but is not part of it (a local journalist, academic, etc.). And remember – a PEA may reveal entrenched political realities that may be impossible for your team to change or influence. It’s important that you find these out ahead of time and adapt what you do as needed, perhaps going the route of a second-best technical solution rather than heading down the path of the ‘best’ technical solution that’s doomed to failure for reasons related to political economy. It’s also important to avoid ‘burying your head in the sand’ and continuing activities that look good on paper but are not changing outcomes because they are being gamed by those who benefit from the status quo. We know that incentives are stacked against being open about failure, so this may well be challenging. It is nevertheless important if we are going to avoid unintentionally doing harm or wasting taxpayers’ money.
HOW AND WHEN DO I APPLY PEA IN MY WORK?

So – perhaps now you’re thinking that PEA could be a useful approach in your work. How do you begin to plan for when and how to apply it? Here are some steps that can guide you on how and when to apply PEA in your work, and how to start planning for your PEA:

1. **Consider how PEA may be useful.** Do you have a persistent challenge that has hampered progress in the supply chain, that you suspect has to do with political, economic, and social factors? Are you planning an intervention or reform and you’d like to know how to design it and who to engage for a successful outcome? Can you obtain buy-in from the necessary stakeholders (be it government counterparts, implementing partners, donors, etc.) so that they will support the use of PEA in this way?

2. **Consider the time, resources, and level of formality of your PEA** (Table 3). Using PEA is a way of thinking that can be adapted in everyday work and does not necessitate a full-fledged analytical report. By having systematic and structured but informal discussions with your team and setting aside time to explicitly consider how to understand and address the political economy context and how things really work, you can easily and more informally build PEA into the way in which you and your teamwork. This may take the form of conducting a stakeholder analysis in which you assess actors’ interest in and influence on your program or could simply be a structured conversation (which includes those who understand the local context) that considers the behaviors of all stakeholders, the interests and incentives that drive their behavior, and how they should be engaged.

There are times when it may be useful to allocate more resources to conduct a more formal PEA. These might include when you are deciding whether to make an investment (e.g., ahead of the next budget cycle), when an opportunity strikes that may help spark changes to the
status quo (such as the writing of the country’s national health strategy, or a change in leadership at an influential organization), or when trying to tackle a particularly persistent supply chain problem. You can tailor your PEA approach to your needs and to the available time and resources.

Table 3. PEA can be conducted with varying levels of formality and resources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Least formal, minimal resources</th>
<th>‘Mid-range’ formal</th>
<th>Most formal, highest level of resources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Internal team discussions assessing foundations, rules of the game, and actors that keep the team thinking and working politically and adapting on a regular basis.</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
  • Can take as little as a month and requires just 2–3 team members |
  • The Developmental Leadership Program’s *Everyday Political Analysis* (Hudson, Marquette, and Waldock 2016) has some simple questions that can guide your informal PEA |
  • Keep PEA in mind in your daily work...without any formal writing. Think politically! |
| Structured exercises including a stakeholder analysis, diagnosis of problem, and/or mapping pathways of change that inform work planning and project activities. |
  • Can take 3–5 months with a few team members, and would require guidance and involvement from someone with PEA experience |
  • *The Beginner’s Guide to PEA* from the UK National School of Governance (Whaites 2017) is a useful guide for a mid-range PEA |
| Structured desk review and interviews conducted by external member that, combined with the other discussions and exercises, culminate in a formal report |
  • Can take over 6 months and requires several team members, including an experienced PEA expert |
  • USAID’s *Thinking and Working Politically through Applied Political Economy Analysis* (Menocal et al. 2018) is a good resource for those wishing to undertake a comprehensive PEA |

3. **Build your team.** Once you have a sense of the focus of your PEA, and the time and resources you have available to you, you can build your team to implement the PEA. Regardless of how formal your PEA is, your team will need someone local who understands the political context, someone who understands how the supply chain works, and someone who also has strong local networks — as well as the soft skills needed to conduct the interviews – to have open and comfortable conversations about potentially sensitive subjects. No single individual may possess both the technical and political understanding you need so you may need to create a small team and focus on collaborative thinking. Some teams may also bring in an ‘informed outsider’ who understands the politics of the sector but who is not part of the system, to play a ‘challenge function’ and validating your assumptions and analysis. This can help avoid confirmation bias, taking too much at face value, or tiptoeing around politically sensitive issues. If possible, even for an informal PEA, you might want to find someone with PEA experience to at least provide some guidance to your team (though you can also learn by doing). If you’re doing a more formal PEA, you might want to hire an experienced PEA consultant to work with your technical team.
4. **Choose a PEA guide to follow.** Organizations ranging from the World Bank and United Nations Development Program to UK Aid (Fritz, Levy, and Ort, eds. 2014; Melim-McLeod 2012; Wahtes 2017, respectively) have developed frameworks and guides for PEA, many of which might be too detailed or theoretical for those who don’t have experience with PEA. We have provided links in Table 1 to the two guides that we believe are easy to use. While these frameworks have some differences, the general foundation for PEA is similar, with different areas of emphasis between frameworks. If you are aiming to keep your approach practical and simple, the Development Leadership Program’s ‘Everyday Political Analysis’ (Hudson, Marquette, and Waldock 2016) is a useful resource for how to conduct less formal, more streamlined PEA. The ‘Beginner’s Guide to PEA’ from the UK National School of Governance (Whaites 2017) is a useful guide for a mid-range PEA. A more detailed method with sample materials for applied PEA is presented in the USAID guide and supporting materials for Applied PEA (Menocal et al. 2018). Abt Associates has also developed a series of accessible guides for TWP and blogs with links to more resources on their Governance and Development Soapbox.\(^1\) Another practical approach for analysis, mainly focused on stakeholder analysis, involves using the PolicyMaker software.\(^2\)

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HOW DO I IMPLEMENT A PEA?

Now that you’ve figured out how and where PEA can be useful to you, what resources are available to you, and what your team will look like, what are the key steps for implementing a PEA? Here are some high-level steps that you can generally follow to implement your PEA. Keep in mind that the level of effort for each of these steps can vary based on how formal your PEA is.

Sample materials (a desk review and lines of inquiry) presented in Annexes A and B are from a formal PEA conducted to investigate a specific problem – the lack of accurate data in the public sector supply chain in Country X.

1. **Define the problem.** A clear problem definition is essential to guide the PEA. This could be something like “the lack of accurate data within the public sector supply chain for health commodities” or “chronic stock-outs of essential medicines” for a problem-focused PEA. For a planned reform, the problem definition might be, “How does reform/change happen in this sector, and with whose involvement?” For a persistent problem that you’re facing in your work, you should define the problem clearly, and then you could undertake an exercise to flesh out its various root causes using something like a fishbone or Ishikawa diagram (Figure 1) or a mindmap. As an alternative to the more linear fishbone diagram, you could apply a system thinking lens to create a causal loop diagram that acknowledges and shows that root causes are often deeply connected. Once you’ve created your diagram and have better insight into the various factors that may explain the problem, you can decide which of

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3 [https://www.businessanalyststoolkit.com/mind-mapping-for-problem-solving/](https://www.businessanalyststoolkit.com/mind-mapping-for-problem-solving/)
the root causes might be explained by political economy factors and should be further examined in your PEA.

**Figure 1. Example of Ishikawa diagram**

![Ishikawa diagram](image)

**Source:** Fritz, Levy, and Ort (2014)

2. **Engage key stakeholders.** Consider the stakeholders whose buy-in will benefit the implementation of your PEA and engage them from the beginning. Whom you engage and how will depend on who commissioned the PEA, who the audience is, and what the problem statement is. A participatory approach can be valuable for getting folks on the same page and producing practical and actionable interventions. You should consider conflicts of interest when you determine who to consult. If you suspect that there may be a conflict of interest with a stakeholder, you can still interview them, but approach sensitive issues carefully and see how they respond, following their cues and changing the line of questioning if they appear uncomfortable. Over time, as you build relationships with some respondents, you’ll begin to learn more and more. A trusted person in your network can help you figure out your engagement strategy. Do keep in mind that some of your stakeholders...
will not welcome this piece of work. You may be aiming to identify wrongdoing and perhaps even malpractice. In extreme circumstances, this sort of work might even put people at risk.

3. **Gather information.** A PEA framework of your choice will guide you on the types of information you should collect. Most frameworks will advise you to collect information on foundational factors, formal and informal rules of the game, and actors (individuals and organizations). This can be done through:

   a. **Desk review of existing documents.** This should include materials related to political economy in your country/sector/system as it relates to your issue, plus review of technical documents related to the issue you’re exploring (e.g., for the problem of lack of accurate data, assessments that have investigated data reporting and use). A lot of information can be found in the public domain, including in newspapers and online articles. See an example of a desk review in Annex A.

   b. **Key informant interviews.** Interviews should follow lines of inquiry that guide the discussion (see Annex B for an example). Interviews with local stakeholders are key to understanding informal rules of the game, power dynamics among actors, and their incentives and interests. A local staff person or consultant who has networks and understands the system may be best placed to conduct these interviews. Some interviews will be formal, while others can be informal interviews with people that are known to the team. Remember that you are likely asking sensitive questions. Do not immediately believe the answers – always triangulate!

4. **Synthesize findings and develop an action strategy.** While conducting the desk review and interviews, the PEA team should review and synthesize findings at regular intervals, to follow up on interesting findings and validate them with other stakeholders. As your understanding of the issues deepens, you can go back to valuable informants and brainstorm with them possible practical interventions to address the problem at hand. These might be “second-best” solutions that are technically sound but also politically savvy. In this way, the PEA will result in not just a better understanding of the problem, but also some potential remedies that can be incorporated into your program design, project work plans, objectives, and so forth.

5. **Validate your findings and action strategy with stakeholders.** Depending on who commissioned the PEA and who the audience is, the findings and recommendations that come out of it should be validated with relevant stakeholders. This will help ensure that the findings are meaningful, and the recommendations are actionable. And keep in mind that
you will need to adapt and learn as you go – your planned actions may change over time (see step #7).

6. **Possibly disseminate findings and recommendations** (as appropriate). How you disseminate your findings will also be determined by the nature of your PEA. An informal exercise in your project would not require dissemination *per se*, but a more formal PEA might be shared more broadly – sometimes in redacted form to remove very sensitive issues. (See Annex C for an example of summary briefs developed in redacted form for a public audience.) Findings can be shared in written reports, oral presentations, or through an informal conversation with interested stakeholders if broader sharing seems difficult. Sharing with all stakeholders may not be possible. PEAs seek to identify what is going wrong and, in most cases -- particularly in nonfunctional supply chains -- the problems may involve individuals, and often groups of individuals acting in concert, deliberately gaming the system for their own advantage. This is not going to be welcome information, so careful attention must be given to distribution.

7. **Revisit PEA at regular intervals**. While you may be conducting a PEA at the start of a project or in the middle of an intervention, the local context, and the assumptions that underly your theory of change are likely to change over time. At regular intervals, perhaps once per quarter, you should revisit your analysis to identify what’s changed, whether the assumptions underlying your PEA were correct, and whether you should adapt your approach. Even with the best PEA, it’s difficult to anticipate obstacles that you may encounter, so be prepared to try out approaches, adapting and learning as you go. You may wish to test out a few different variations of an intervention, as part of a process of trial and error, to see which approach takes hold and will get you to a desired outcome. Figuring out what works, what doesn’t, and why, will allow you to change course as the learning deepens or when things don’t go according to plan.
WHAT ARE SOME PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR DOING PEA IN A SUPPLY CHAIN CONTEXT?

We hope that the content in this primer so far has helped you see that an understanding of political economy factors can be just as important as technical mastery when trying to understand supply chain problems. This final section contains some useful tips and considerations to keep in mind as you begin to apply PEA to your supply chain work.

DETERMINING WHO YOUR RESPONDENTS ARE

The quality of a PEA depends in large part on getting good-quality, insightful information. So, it is important that we talk to the right people. But who are they? How do we identify them? A good place to start is with the supply chain process itself. We can identify a large proportion of the people we need to speak to by writing down all the organizations (and key people within those organizations) that play a role in, have an important interest in, or are likely to be knowledgeable about the part of the supply chain that we’re looking at. In the example scenario that we looked at earlier in this primer, Lila and the rest of the team were investigating a problem of medicine shortages and had decided to visit a few districts to understand the problem better. They might have started out with a list like this:

- A small sample of district directors and mid- and junior-level officers at the district level. This would include a combination of people in supply chain roles and those in non-supply-chain roles.
- A small sample of health center staff and community health workers from different districts
- Retail pharmacies in rural areas in a sample of districts
- Patients’ rights groups
• Ministry of Health and Central Medical Stores officials who visit districts on outreach and programmatic activities
• Representatives from other government ministries who have an interest in the supply chain
• Representatives from multilateral and donor agencies, implementing partners and NGOs

It is usually a good idea to start interviews with the organizations and individuals that you know the best. These existing good relationships are likely to yield high-quality, honest conversations, and the interviewee will probably also be able to help validate your stakeholder list or suggest amendments. Your list of respondents is likely to develop organically over the course of the PEA activity. Consider including a couple people who are not particularly well connected to your specific problem but who have very good general local knowledge about politics and power in the health sector, such as journalists, academics, and members of think tanks or civil society organizations. Apply a gender and social inclusion lens to give a voice to populations that may lack power but can provide valuable information on how the supply chain works, from the perspective of an end user.

HAVING PRODUCTIVE CONVERSATIONS

Getting your interviewees to talk freely will not be easy, especially if you don’t already have a close personal relationship. Using an informal and neutral setting can encourage interviewees to be open. A personal introduction from a common acquaintance can help. Do your best to maintain a curious, respectful, and nonjudgmental tone throughout the interview. Make it clear that you’re seeking to understand behaviors without pushing your interviewee to name individuals. If an interviewee seems reticent, try introducing an interesting point made by a previous interviewee (without attributing it) and ask your interviewee if they agree.

Your interviewees may have trouble understanding what you’re looking for if you ask them about political economy. Use simple language and don’t try to stop your interviewees from talking about technical issues, which are interlinked with political issues. Allowing your interviewee to talk about the technical aspects of problems may be a good way to get the conversation going. For instance, if you’re trying to examine a poorly performing procurement system, you may find that, to begin with, people feel more comfortable talking about poor skills or cumbersome IT systems than rent-seeking behavior. After they’ve spoken, you can gently guide them back to the political economy issues using the points they’ve just made — simply asking “why” these technical problems persist often leads to the underlying political problem.

Deciding on how and where to conduct the interviews may depend on whether you are conducting a formal PEA, perhaps with donor funding, that will finish with a written deliverable, or an informal
PEA that does not require you to share a written output. A formal PEA may require a letter of introduction from the government and a request for an interview. So, obtaining buy-in from the government at the start of the PEA is critical. Each country will have its own protocol, so it’s important that you establish the rules up front and make sure they’re followed. Some government officials may only agree to meet in government offices. But informal interviews with people in your network, in a more relaxed and neutral setting, can be very effective.

DISCUSSING POLITICALLY SENSITIVE ISSUES

A PEA will uncover issues that are politically sensitive and may make some of your interviewees uncomfortable. They may be involved in some corruption that you mention or may be uncomfortable talking about their own or others’ lack of oversight or lack of motivation. They may be afraid of repercussions for talking about others. Don’t forget to reassure your interviewee that their responses are confidential and will not be attributed to them, and instead of recording, consider taking notes. Explain the extent to which the findings will be made public. The safety and wellbeing of your researchers is paramount, so don’t push interviewees if they are feeling uncomfortable. Along the same lines, when discussing politically sensitive issues where money and power are involved, it’s extremely important to plan carefully and keep your team out of harm’s way.

BUILDING PEA INTO YOUR EVERYDAY WORK

Once you’ve completed the PEA you can continue to foster the relationships that you’ve built through your interviews. Earlier, we introduced the concept of TWP, which is a way of keeping an eye on political economy issues throughout a project or reform rather than only at specific times. A PEA that sits on a shelf will not benefit your work; TWP should become intrinsic to how your technical team works. One good way to use the TWP principle in your work is to check in with some of your PEA interviewees informally and find out what’s changed since your last conversation. This is an effective way of keeping up to date with changes in political and power dynamics and recognizing windows of opportunity for change. You can also hold routine ‘pause and reflect’ sessions to revisit the assumptions underpinning your original theory of change, to see whether they were correct, compare them to what you’ve learned, and adjust your approach as needed.

STAYING POSITIVE – YOU CAN DO THIS!

So, if PEA is such an important and useful tool in supply chain work, why isn’t it more widely used? First, there is limited awareness of PEA in the supply chain world and of how it can help. Second, there may be a misconception that you need to be an expert in PEA to do a good job.
We hope that reading this primer has convinced you that you can complete a PEA that is of great practical value to you and your work. Keep it focused, keep it simple, and make sure your findings and recommendations are clear and actionable – and you can be part of the solution! Lastly, exploring political economy issues in supply chains can make us feel powerless to effect change. We encourage readers to remember that the purpose of a PEA is not to help you make political change. Rather, it is to help you understand behaviors, incentives, and dynamics in a system and take them into account in all that you do. Without this vital layer of analysis, we all risk dedicating precious time and resources to beautifully designed strategies and reforms that have little chance of success.
ANNEX A: PEA DESK REVIEW (SAMPLE)

This annex presents the beginning sections of a desk review for a PEA in which the problem statement is “the lack of accurate data within the public sector supply chain for health commodities in Country X.” These sections give you an idea of what the content of a desk review can look like.

PURPOSE OF DESK REVIEW

The purpose of this desk review is to undertake a rapid assessment of the available published and grey literature on Country X and provide a high-level synthesis report that:

- Provides insights into the political economy of Country X as it relates to the health sector and supply chain
- Summarizes the current challenges facing the supply chain in Country X and identifies a critical bottleneck in the supply chain system that merits a deeper dive
- Explains how (within the supply chain system) the area identified as bottleneck should operate on paper and the common political factors that can lead to failure
- Provides a preliminary mapping of the key stakeholders operating in the supply chain

STRUCTURE OF DESK REVIEW

The review is organized into four sections.

First, it draws on published literature to provide an overview of the political context in Country X and how the country’s political economy has historically affected development and health outcomes. It then looks specifically at political developments under the current administration.

Second, using a review of the grey literature, it summarizes the key challenges facing public health supply chains in Country X in this political economy context.

Third, it assesses the issues surrounding the severe bottleneck of poor data and reporting (the focus of the PEA). As background for the field work, it explains the role and importance of data in supply chain management in public health in low- and middle-income countries and some of the common political root causes. It then outlines important supply chain data related challenges and insights in Country X.

The final section presents a preliminary mapping of key stakeholders to inform the choice of interviewees in country.
ANNEX B: PEA INTERVIEW GUIDANCE AND KEY LINES OF INQUIRY (SAMPLE)

The purpose of this document is to guide the interviewer as they conduct interviews and data analysis for the PEA. It reiterates the core problem that the PEA should unpack, presents overarching issues interviewers should be investigating as they ask questions, and the specific lines of inquiry to follow during the interview.

OVERARCHING PEA PROBLEM AREA AND INVESTIGATIVE QUESTIONS

Keep in mind the overarching problem area for this PEA: the lack of accurate data within a country’s public sector supply chain for health commodities. Consider the high-level issues we want to investigate. These are for you to keep in mind – not necessarily to ask respondents, though some are repeated in the lines of inquiry:

• What are the political factors contributing to the lack of accurate data?
• Define the “system” and determine how it works. Who or what is blocking change? (Identify communication flow around health commodity supply chain.)
• Who benefits from this problem not being addressed?
• Why have donor projects or government-led reforms related to improving the accuracy of data failed or had slow progress?
• If there has been success in some areas – how and why?
• What are the windows of opportunity to influence change? How do those align with (or go against) formal policy?
• What are the potential implications of your learnings? What are some actionable strategies to address the challenge of lack of accurate data?
• How can we address the need for inclusion?

INTERVIEWS – GETTING STARTED

• Introduce yourself and make your respondent comfortable.
• Explain the purpose of the interview:
  o The goal of our activity is to understand technical and political root causes of challenges in supply chain.
  o We want our what we learned to lead to practical, realistic recommendations on how to address data challenges.
• Explain that anything they share will be confidential and will not be attributed to them. All learnings will be synthesized into a final report and no individual responses will be shared.
• Remind them that you want them to be comfortable – they can ask questions at any time, or even stop the interview if they don’t wish to continue for any reason.
  o Ask if they are comfortable with you taking light notes.
  o At the end of the interview, reassure them again that their responses will not be attached to their name, department, or agency.

INTERVIEWS – KEY LINES OF INQUIRY

There are some key lines of inquiry you will want to cover during your interviews. These are here as guidance for obtaining the information we’re looking for and are not meant to be followed exactly. Go with the flow of the discussion. Listen actively, ask questions to clarify, probe into topics of discussion that sound interesting and promising from a political economy perspective.

1. We’d like to start by first understanding technical challenges around collecting/reporting data.
   a) What do you see as the main technical challenges impacting the supply chain? We’re particularly interested in the issues surrounding the collection and reporting of data. Please think about all levels – national, district, and provincial.
      • Issues around coordination, integrated platforms for collecting data?
      • Issues around analysis – how is it processed and packaged for use?
      • Perception of value/quality of data – how is it perceived and what happens in the absence of data?

2. To help understand what creates problems such as these, we are keen to understand the different functions and roles of the key actors in the health commodity supply chain.
   a) What is the communication flow for data?
   b) Which are the agencies/actors who collect, report, and use data? Which of these are the key/primary agencies/actors?
   c) What is the role of data in making decisions?
      • How much is data regularly used? Is it an important factor, or do other motivations come into play when decisions are made?
d) How would you describe the relationships between the key agencies (those with key roles related to collecting, reporting, and using data) with other stakeholders?
   - Is it cooperative, disjointed, or more adversarial? Why?

e) Is the role of the key agencies recognized or contested?

f) Who are the most influential individuals in the Ministry of Health and elsewhere (staff of other ministries, businesspeople, politicians)?
   - How did they get to the position they are in?
     - How important are connections versus merit? Do individuals have to work hard to keep their positions? Are they expected to provide kickbacks to politicians (or others)?
     - How frequently do positions rotate? What do you have to do to maintain your position as a senior official?

g) How do stakeholders relate to each other – are there informal networks between officials, politicians, and businesspeople? Are networks stable or fluid? Obvious or subtle? Approachable or very impenetrable?
   - Does favoritism, nepotism, or corruption come into play, and if so, how?

3. We are now interested in comparing the **formal system** (i.e., the rules and regulations on paper) with **how things work in practice** (as they relate to collecting, reporting, and using data).

a) What is the ‘culture’ around collecting/reporting/using data? In other words, how do things actually work (compared to how they are ‘supposed’ to work).
   - To what extent are data actually used to inform decisions?
   - Do the leaders in the health system set expectations and explain why data are important?
   - Do those required to report data consider this task a priority?

b) What drives the way things actually work in collecting/reporting/using data – formally and informally?

c) How does data-related behavior link to maintaining power and authority?
   - Is it your position, your political connections, access to money-making opportunities, or all of the above?
d) Do the way things work mean some people are left out or don't have much of a say in key decisions?
   • Who doesn't have a voice (in other words, is there inequity)? Why?
     o Do current practices have adverse effects on certain marginalized groups?
   • What is the status of women (are they respected as equals or marginalised)?

e) Is there tension between centralized control and decentralization (mandates, revenues, formal/informal)? How does this play out in terms of data collection? Who is winning?

f) Is there tension – over data collection/reporting (or other issues) within different agencies / factions / groups within the Ministry of Health? Or between other ministries (e.g., Finance or Local Government) and the Ministry of Health? Between NPSP and other departments?
   • Does this tension prevent change or mean the system has an internal logic that goes against effective delivery (and accurate data)?

4. We'd like to better understand what are the incentives that drive behavior.

a) In general, in matters related to health commodities, how are deals struck that lead to change (or block change)?

b) What are the incentives and ideas that influence behavior and drive decisions (related to collecting/reporting/using data on health commodities)?
   • Are there acknowledged negative consequences for not fulfilling data-related tasks?
   • Or positive incentives? [Note: Positive incentives can include professional (i.e., someone responsible for capturing or reporting data can see how that effort translates into better availability of products); or personal (i.e., through recognition and praise for efforts related to data capture and reporting)]

c) Who are the actors who benefit from this problem not being addressed? Who stands to lose or gain?

d) How is pay and working conditions for public servants and others? Leadership? Culture? Patron-client relationships of mutual obligation?
   • Does this impact who does or does not get access to training or better pay or better working conditions?
   • Does this impact who gets posted to the district or the ability to attract the strongest officials to work in remote areas?
• How might this influence commodity management (e.g., which regions have more or less access to drugs)? How might this influence data reporting?

5. Next, we’d like to talk a bit about how business and politics come into play (in this issue of supply chain data).

   a) How does the pharmaceutical market work?

      • Who are the main manufacturers and traders?
      • What are the links between bureaucrats, the private sector (traders, manufacturing) and politicians? Are there opportunities for corruption? Is this an important driver and explainer for how things work?
      • How does this influence data collection/reporting in health commodity supply chains?

6. Finally, we’d like to understand previous efforts for reform related to accuracy of data and consider what strategies for action can help us change the status quo.

   a) Why have donor projects or government-led reforms related to improving the accuracy of data failed?

   b) For reforms that were successful, how did positive change come about? What were the factors (political, technical, financing, etc.) that helped create this change?

   c) What are possible windows of opportunity to influence change regarding culture of data?

   d) What are some strategies for action that can address the challenge of lack of accurate data?

      • Who will you need to engage with and how do you need to work to test the scope for reform and create buy-in for the final recommendations?
      • How will you identify and build coalitions around shared interests?
      • What is your strategy for managing potential spoilers?
      • How do you think we (implementing partners, donors, other stakeholders) can support these strategies?

ADDITIONAL TIPS AS YOU ABSORB AND SYNTHESIZE INFORMATION

Try to identify inconsistencies in how people describe how the health system works on paper and how it works in reality (e.g., in collecting data on stocks) and sensitively press to find out why there is a difference.

Follow the money – from national budgets down to the front line (do medicines and supplies make it to citizens? Do sub-national govs receive budgets etc.?). How can following the money help us uncover issues with inaccurate data?
Use your interview as an opportunity to triangulate findings – mention (anonymously) one person’s views to another, to see how they react. You can also take the opportunity to ask your respondent if they can suggest other people for you to talk to.
ANNEX C: SAMPLE SUPPLY CHAIN PEA BRIEFS

The following policy briefs describe findings from PEA in a supply chain context:


REFERENCES


