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Hackett, JEC, Glidewell, L, West, R et al. (3 more authors) (2014) '*Just another incentive scheme: a qualitative interview study of a local pay-for-performance scheme for primary care.* BMC Family Practice, 15 (168). ISSN 1471-2296

<https://doi.org/10.1186/s12875-014-0168-7>

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1 **‘Just another incentive scheme.’ A qualitative interview study of a**
2 **local pay-for-performance scheme for primary care**

3 Julia Hackett,^{1§} Liz Glidewell,¹ Robert West,¹ Paul Carder,² Tim Doran,³ Robbie
4 Foy.¹

5

6 ¹Leeds Institute of Health Sciences, University of Leeds, Charles Thackrah Building,
7 101 Clarendon Road, Leeds, UK

8 ²West and South Yorkshire and Bassetlaw Commissioning Support Unit, Douglas
9 Mill, Bowling Old Lane, Bradford, UK

10 ³Department of Health Sciences, University of York, Rowntree Building, York, UK

11

12 [§]Corresponding author

13

14 Email addresses:

15 Hackett J j.e.hackett@leeds.ac.uk

16 Glidewell L l.glidewell@leeds.ac.uk

17 West R r.m.west@leeds.ac.uk

18 Carder P Paul.Carder@wsybcusu.nhs.uk

19 Doran T tim.doran@york.ac.uk

20 Foy R r.foy@leeds.ac.uk

21

22

23 **Abstract**

24 **Background**

25 A range of policy initiatives have addressed inequalities in healthcare and health
26 outcomes. Local pay-for-performance schemes for primary care have been
27 advocated as means of enhancing clinical ownership of the quality agenda and
28 better targeting local need compared with national schemes such as the UK Quality
29 and Outcomes Framework (QOF). We investigated whether professionals'
30 experience of a local scheme in one English National Health Service (NHS) former
31 primary care trust (PCT) differed from that of the national QOF in relation to the goal
32 of reducing inequalities.

33 **Methods**

34 We conducted retrospective semi-structured interviews with primary care
35 professionals implementing the scheme and those involved in its development. We
36 purposively sampled practices with varying levels of population socio-economic
37 deprivation and achievement. Interviews explored perceptions of the scheme and
38 indicators, likely mechanisms of influence on practice, perceived benefits and harms,
39 and how future schemes could be improved. We used a framework approach to
40 analysis.

41 **Results**

42 Thirty-eight professionals from 16 general practices and six professionals involved in
43 developing local indicators participated. Our findings cover four themes: ownership,
44 credibility of the indicators, influences on behaviour, and exacerbated tensions. We
45 found little evidence that the scheme engendered any distinctive sense of ownership

46 or experiences different from the national scheme. Although the indicators and their
47 evidence base were seldom actively questioned, doubts were expressed about their
48 focus on health promotion given that eventual benefits relied upon patient action and
49 availability of local resources. Whilst practices serving more affluent populations
50 reported status and patient benefit as motivators for participating in the scheme,
51 those serving more deprived populations highlighted financial reward. The scheme
52 exacerbated tensions between patient and professional consultation agendas,
53 general practitioners benefitting directly from incentives and nurses who did much of
54 the work, and practices serving more and less affluent populations which faced
55 different challenges in achieving targets.

56 **Conclusions**

57 The contentious nature of pay-for-performance was not necessarily reduced by local
58 adaptation. Those developing future schemes should consider differential rewards
59 and supportive resources for practices serving more deprived populations, and
60 employing a wider range of levers to promote professional understanding and
61 ownership of indicators.

62

63 **Keywords:** primary health care; pay-for-performance; financial incentives; social
64 deprivation

65 **Background**

66 Evidence is accumulating that the establishment in 2004 of the Quality and
67 Outcomes Framework (QOF) as a pay-for-performance scheme for UK primary care
68 has not fulfilled all hopes and expectations [1]. Not only is there a problematic
69 evidence base [2], but its effects appear mixed [3] with persistent variations in the
70 quality of primary care [4] and concerns that QOF may have undermined
71 professionals' intrinsic motivation, patient-centeredness, and continuity of care [3, 5-
72 9]. Professionals are reluctant to engage in quality improvement initiatives perceived
73 as ineffective or even harmful [10], including pay-for-performance schemes
74 misaligned with professional values [1, 6, 11-13]. The Darzi Review of quality
75 improvement in the National Health Service (NHS) placed much emphasis on
76 engaging professionals [14]. At a local level, active involvement of professionals is
77 presumed essential in promoting ownership, providing that perceived benefits of
78 change compensate for the effort required [15-17]. At face value, the establishment
79 of pay-for-performance schemes with locally negotiated indicators offered
80 advantages over the national scheme, as means of promoting clinical ownership by
81 addressing local health priorities and enhancing the effects of incentives [18].

82 We evaluated a scheme in one former PCT which was particularly motivated by the
83 need to address inequalities in healthcare provision and outcomes. The scheme ran
84 over 2007-11 at a cost of £3 million, and targeted five health priorities: alcohol;
85 learning disabilities; chlamydia; obesity; and osteoporosis (Table 1). The selection of
86 priorities, indicators and payment thresholds were negotiated between the PCT and
87 local health care providers, approved by the Local Medical Committee, and reviewed
88 and refined over the lifetime of the scheme. Our accompanying paper provides more
89 detailed information about the indicators [19]. We found that gaps in achievement

90 between practices serving less and more deprived patients were modest during the
91 first year of the scheme and closed over time for one and widened for one of the 16
92 indicators and possibly two other indicators. In addition, larger practices and those
93 serving more affluent areas earned more income per patient than smaller practices
94 and those serving more deprived areas.

95 These mixed findings somewhat contrasted with longitudinal analyses of the national
96 QOF which indicated that initial gaps in achievement between practices in deprived
97 and affluent areas these closed over time [20]. It was disappointing that a local
98 initiative intended to overcome the disadvantages of the national scheme did not
99 reduce inequalities as intended,

100 We undertook a qualitative study, in parallel to our above quantitative analysis, to
101 explore primary care professionals' experience of the local QOF, including
102 perceptions of the scheme and indicators, likely mechanisms of influence on
103 practice, and perceived benefits and harms. We investigated whether professionals'
104 experience of the local QOF did differ from that of the national QOF in relation to the
105 goal of reducing inequalities.

106

107 **Methods**

108 **Design and setting**

109 We undertook a retrospective semi-structured interview study within NHS Bradford
110 and Airedale, of its local pay-for-performance scheme.

111 **Participants**

112 We initially invited managers from all 83 practices to nominate themselves and other
113 practice staff to participate in interviews. We then purposively selected practices
114 according to practice population socio-economic profiles (deprived or not) and local
115 QOF achievement (high or low achievement). We then used snowballing to further
116 recruit participants through asking those interviewed to nominate additional practices
117 or participants. We also invited six PCT and practice professionals involved in
118 developing the scheme.

119 **Data collection and analysis**

120 Following consent, a social scientist researcher (JH) conducted face-to-face
121 interviews at venues of participants' choice (usually at work) over August 2011 to
122 June 2012. We reimbursed participants for their time and advised them that
123 responses would be treated confidentially. Interviews explored whether perceptions
124 of the indicators, mechanisms by which it influenced practice, benefits and harms,
125 and how future iterations of such schemes could be improved (Topic guide,
126 Appendix 1).

127 All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Transcripts were
128 anonymised and checked for accuracy. We used NVivo 8 to manage interview data
129 and a thematic framework approach to analysis [21]. Five transcripts were double
130 coded by (JH, LG and RF) and a coding schedule was developed (Appendix 2). JH
131 coded the remainder of the transcripts. Data were initially coded deductively to
132 areas pre-specified in the topic guide; further codes emerged from the data
133 inductively. Codes were grouped to form overarching themes which were iteratively
134 refined over the course of analysis. Recruitment and interviews continued until no

135 new codes had emerged. We compared and contrasted accounts from high and low
136 deprivation and high and low achieving practices, and sought discrepant accounts.

137 **Ethical review**

138 The study was approved by National Research Ethics Service East Midlands-
139 Nottingham 2 Committee (11/EM/0184).

140

141 **Results**

142 We interviewed 44 professionals involved in developing or implementing the local
143 scheme. Primary care staff from 16 practices participated in the interviews, eight of
144 these practices having been identified through snowballing. Eight practices served
145 relatively socio-economically deprived populations and 12 had relatively high local
146 QOF achievement (Table 2). Of the 38 practice staff interviewed, there were 15
147 practice managers, 10 GP partners, two salaried GPs, and 11 practice nurses. The
148 six additional participants who had been involved in developing the scheme
149 comprised four PCT managers, one salaried GP, and one practice nurse. Thirty-
150 three participants were female and 24 worked full-time. Median interview length was
151 44 minutes (range 18 to 88 minutes).

152 We report our findings in four overarching themes: credibility of the locally negotiated
153 indicators; ownership; influences on behaviour; and exacerbated tensions. Where
154 evident, we compare and contrast findings according to participants' practice
155 population socioeconomic status and achievement, and involvement in scheme
156 development.

157

158 **Credibility of the indicators**

159 The local scheme developers had sought to target locally relevant and, largely,
160 public health issues absent from the national QOF. Professionals perceived the
161 limited evidence base underpinning such indicators as less of an issue than practical
162 considerations around their implementation. Hence, the evidence base was often
163 taken at face value, especially by practice nurses:

164 'We appreciate that it is evidence based, obviously we wouldn't be been
165 asked to do anything that wasn't.' (P11, practice nurse, high performer,
166 affluent area)

167 'I don't know if I was told about the evidence, we should say, "What's the
168 evidence behind this?" but we're too busy.' (P37, practice nurse, high
169 performer, deprived area)

170 Professionals appeared more preoccupied by their lack of control in achieving
171 indicator targets, especially if dependent upon patient cooperation:

172 'I can see why the alcohol and obesity were thought of as important, I get
173 the clinical reason but I'm not sure that it worked in the real world. People
174 thought we'd get them in and we'd do this, but the fact is that they don't
175 come in and you don't capture them and so it doesn't work.' (P19, practice
176 manager, high performer, affluent area)

177 Limited availability of appropriate, supportive resources needed to address such
178 problems further undermined confidence in these targets.

179 'We've got a smoking cessation advisor within the practice, but there isn't
180 something with alcohol, and you wouldn't refer to the alcohol and drugs

181 services unless someone's quite bad.' (P12, salaried GP, high performer,
182 affluent area)

183 There was a range of opinion about relevance to local need, with the indicators being
184 seen as more salient to relatively deprived populations.

185 "It was certainly developed based on looking at measureable things that
186 were relevant to our population.' (P36, GP partner, low performer,
187 deprived area)

188 In contrast, professionals from practices in affluent areas questioned the value of
189 certain indicators to their population.

190 'The alcohol one for example for us is almost a bit of a waste of time,
191 because our patients don't fall into that category.' (P11, practice nurse,
192 high performer, affluent area)

193

194 **Ownership**

195 No clear sense emerged that the local pay-for-performance scheme was particularly
196 distinctive and offered anything over and above the existing national QOF. This was
197 partly because the scheme actually addressed national priorities.

198 'We know too many people are overweight so in that sense it was targeted
199 at areas where we had a particular problem...I'm not aware that we had a
200 specific problem with osteoporosis in Bradford, likewise with learning
201 disabilities, I don't think we've got any more of an issue than other areas.

202 There may have been other Bradford specific issues that we could have
203 included which we didn't...I think most GPs probably viewed it as just

204 another incentive scheme, and didn't really think of it as bespoke.' (P6,
205 scheme developer)

206 Ultimately then, practices tended not to differentiate between national and local
207 schemes, especially high performers.

208 'It makes me feel no different, it's just all part of my job, whether it's a local
209 thing or national, it makes no difference.' (P19, practice manager, high
210 performer, affluent area)

211 One practice manager in a low performing practice went further in stating that the
212 national scheme was more important.

213 'We were always aware it (the local scheme) was there but we didn't feel it
214 was as important as the (national) QOF.' (P39, practice manager, low
215 performer, affluent area)

216 Participants implicitly defined 'local' in different ways, including at the practice,
217 cluster of practices, and PCT levels.

218 'I think smaller cluster groups, because generally you'll have an area such
219 as ourselves here with about twelve surgeries where we've all got similar
220 problems, so I think it would have helped if practices were grouped rather
221 than it being a generic local QOF.' (P14, practice manager, low performer,
222 deprived area)

223 There was a further suggestion that 'buy-in' might be greater if the identification of at
224 least a limited number of priorities were delegated to practice level.

225 'From the start you'd be making them own it because you'd be saying
226 "right, here's a bit of money, you tell us how you want to spend it as a
227 practice to improve quality of your patients", so you've got the ownership

228 immediately because they've come up with the marker.' (P10, practice
229 manager, high performer, affluent area)

230 Some participants expressed views that initial dissemination was insufficient and a
231 familiarisation period would have helped embed targeted behaviours.

232 'If we'd been told a bit more we might have been more engaged.' (P23,
233 practice nurse, high performer, affluent area)

234 'If we had time to play about with it and start to monitor our own performance
235 that would be really useful.' (P10, practice manager, high performer, affluent
236 area)

237

238 **Influences on behaviour**

239 The scheme seemed to influence adherence to the targets primarily through
240 motivational means, supported by other mechanisms. Motivations were extrinsically
241 and intrinsically driven.

242 Professionals from practices serving both affluent and deprived populations felt the
243 scheme legitimised their intrinsic motivation to improve patient outcomes.

244 'It's a massive motivation to know that the patients out there are getting
245 the care that they need.' (P39, practice manager, low performer, affluent
246 area)

247 Others, particularly practices serving more deprived populations, appeared to be
248 directly amenable to financial reward as an extrinsic driver.

249 'We're so hard up at the moment, so desperate for income wherever we
250 can get it, you can't afford to pass up a chance of income, so that's

251 probably as much a driver...even if we didn't necessarily buy in completely
252 to the clinical benefit, it was worth doing to try and earn the money
253 because we needed to.' (P33, practice manager, high performer, deprived
254 area)

255 However, there were concerns that financial rewards from the scheme may not have
256 been worth the effort involved in achieving targets and that the scheme did not
257 directly target most of the people actually doing this additional work.

258 'Yes it's more money for the practice but the majority of people in general
259 practice are paid by the practice and they just see it's more work for them
260 to do, certainly our practice staff used to think of it [Local QOF] as a huge
261 amount of work' (P4, scheme developer)

262 For practice managers and GPs in affluent high-performing practices, competition
263 and implicit threats to status also emerged as motivators.

264 'It does feel a bit like a competition with other surgeries, I don't know how
265 others feel but I wouldn't like to come last in our locality.' (P19, practice
266 manager, high performer, affluent area)

267 There were three other ways in which the scheme appeared to influence clinical
268 behaviour. Firstly, several high-performing practices and one low-performer had
269 adapted templates provided by the PCT to support processes of care and recording
270 in consultations. Practitioners from these practices considered that such prompts
271 had been helpful.

272 'Before the patients come in you know that you have to do these things, so
273 it is a motivation. If the reminder didn't come up, you wouldn't remember
274 to do those things.' (P22, GP partner, low performer, deprived area)

275 Secondly, some health professionals and developers of the scheme felt that it
276 promoted standardised care and believed that adherence to the indicators had
277 become routine practice. Consultation templates supported this setting of new
278 norms within clinical routines.

279 'Once we start doing something, it does change your practice and you carry
280 on. The learning disabilities, because we saw the value of it we've kept the
281 template, we're still doing the checks, so I think because we put in all that
282 initial time and resource, actually then each year it will get less, so we're
283 happy to carry that on. I think where we've seen that there's clinical benefit,
284 once you start doing it, it becomes habit.' (P27, salaried GP, high performer,
285 affluent area)

286 Thirdly, the social influence of having a member of practice staff as the champion for
287 the scheme promoted engagement.

288 'It's having someone that's responsible for it, it's their baby, they've got an
289 interest in it, and they will drive it through. That's what you need if you
290 want to achieve with these things you need a champion, someone who will
291 champion it for you.' (P33, practice manager, high performer, affluent
292 area)

293 **Exacerbated tensions**

294 The scheme exacerbated tensions at three levels: between patients and
295 professionals within consultations; between doctors and nurses within practices; and
296 between affluent and deprived population practices within the PCT.

297 Perceived pressure to focus on targets and 'box ticking' during consultations both
298 undermined professionalism and alienated patients.

299 'A lot of patients know I'm ticking a box and they shouldn't feel like that, a
300 patient shouldn't have to come to a surgery and then I just say, "Oh can I
301 ask you this", "Oh yeah you're just ticking, ticking that box." They shouldn't
302 feel like that.' (P40, practice nurse, low performer, affluent area)

303 This generated conflict between GP and patient agendas, which many also
304 recognised as a consequence of the national QOF.

305 'It distracts from the consultation and it can leave you know feeling a bit
306 confused and perhaps as though that, the thing that the patient regards as
307 the problem hasn't been addressed properly.' (P6, scheme developer)

308 There were also concerns about adding more and more into consultations:

309 'The consensus among a lot of the GP's was that it moved away from
310 being patient centred to doctor centred consultations in that we never
311 actually got round to why the patient really had come to see us if we spent
312 so much time on QOF. There was a lot of discussion around running out
313 of time and then running over, and the impact that that had on the patient,
314 the practice and then personally. (P29, GP partner, high performer,
315 affluent area)

316 The scheme augmented perceptions of unfair distributions of workloads and
317 remuneration within practices, particularly between nursing and medical staff. Some
318 nurses were keen to emphasize that they did not think that they should receive
319 additional money for doing their job.

320 'We're paid money to do that anyway, why is it that there's extra money
321 given when you're given a wage to do it anyway? I don't know why a

322 carrot should be dangled to a health professional, personally I find it
323 immoral.’ (P37, practice nurse, high performer, deprived area)

324 However, several nurses were openly critical of the fact that whilst they did most of
325 the work, it was the GPs who benefitted financially.

326 ‘I think we feel that we do a lot of work towards the QOF and we probably
327 feel as though we ought to be recompensed, if we had a bonus that was
328 specifically because we knew that we’d hit QOF targets. I think people feel
329 well why should only certain parts of the team get it when everybody’s
330 worked as hard towards it?’ (P11, practice nurse, high performer, affluent
331 area)

332 Amongst practices serving relatively affluent and deprived populations, there was an
333 opinion that the scheme risked widening inequalities between ‘us and them’ if
334 universally applied, as opposed to focusing on practices and populations with most
335 scope for improvement:

336 ‘You’ll always get this top lot that will sign up to it all, always do it, know
337 how to do it, cause they’re whizzes. But you’ve always got the laggards at
338 the bottom. They’re the ones that really need to be doing the local QOF.
339 It really should have been targeted at those practices first.’ (P13, practice
340 manager, high performer, affluent area)

341

342 **Discussion**

343 Contrary to aspirations, this local pay-for-performance scheme did not engender any
344 distinctive sense of ownership nor avoid any of the conflicts associated with the
345 national scheme. The indicators were seen as reflecting national rather than

346 specifically locally-owned priorities; subsequent to the initiation of this scheme, three
347 out of the five health priorities had been included in the national QOF. Although the
348 indicators and their evidence base were seldom actively questioned, doubts were
349 expressed about their focus on health promotion given that eventual benefits relied
350 upon patient action and the availability of local resources (e.g. for alcohol or weight
351 problems).

352 Whilst practices serving more affluent populations focused on status and patient
353 benefit as motivators for participating in the scheme, those serving more deprived
354 populations also highlighted financial reward. However, the scheme appeared to
355 influence behaviour through a range of mechanisms beyond extrinsic reward such as
356 standardisation of patient care, practice champions and computerised prompts.
357 Unintended consequences included the exacerbation of tensions at three levels:
358 between patient and professional consultation agendas; between GPs seen as
359 benefitting directly from incentives and nurses who did much of the work; and
360 between practices serving more affluent populations where targets might be easier
361 to achieve and those serving more deprived populations.

362 There has been relatively little evaluation of local pay-for-performance schemes,
363 which are likely to continue emerging in various forms [18]. We identified similar
364 themes to qualitative studies of the national QOF scheme, including the credibility of
365 incentivised targets, tensions within consultations, changing professional identity and
366 roles, and inequities in the workload and remuneration balance among practice staff
367 [5-9, 22-25]. These suggest that the local scheme was not viewed or experienced
368 differently by targeted professionals and, taken with our findings suggesting sparse
369 ownership, casts doubt upon the notion that such a scheme achieved greater
370 professional 'buy-in.' Our findings are therefore consistent with an evaluation by

371 Kristensen et al of a national pay-for-performance initiative which centred on locally
372 negotiated indicators [26]. This also found a gap between the policy intention of
373 creating locally-owned indicators and actual experience of the initiative.

374 Interventions aiming to improve the quality of care are often conceived and
375 implemented based on a hopeful set of assumptions about professional behaviour
376 and contexts [27]. Like others, we found that this scheme appeared to operate in a
377 number of ways, beyond the direct influence of financial incentives [6, 22, 28].

378 Hence, the range of explicit and implicit behaviour change techniques associated
379 with pay-for-performance schemes, such as social influence and competition,
380 underline the need to conceptualise and evaluate them as complex interventions [29-
381 31]. Again, the notion of local ownership did not emerge as a strong additional driver
382 for change in our evaluation.

383 Our study limitations included the experiences of an intervention from the one former
384 PCT, the characteristics of participating practices, study participants and timing, and
385 the risk of social desirability bias. First, this study took place in one geographical
386 area and studied one local pay-for-performance scheme, thereby limiting
387 generalizability to other areas and schemes. Second, although we sought a range of
388 practice characteristics for our sample, we found that our participants under-
389 represented poorer performing practices. This could have affected the balance of
390 views and experiences, potentially towards an emphasis on positive experiences.

391 However, we encountered sceptical beliefs across the range of participants, even
392 amongst scheme developers. Third, we examined perspectives of both those
393 targeted by the scheme and its developers, and encountered little divergence of
394 views. We might have identified more differences had we been able to capture the
395 developers' ideas and expectations during the planning phase of the scheme. We

396 were unable to identify further information on how the indicators were ‘evidenced,’
397 which may have influenced perceived credibility. Fourth, we were aware that
398 professionals interviewed might tend to express socially desirable opinions or
399 behaviours. This could have steered responses either way – towards being seen
400 either to favour the scheme or critical of the PCT. We emphasized the anonymity
401 and confidentiality of study participation, and the interviews did not aim to judge
402 professional performance.

403 Potential indicators require testing for key attributes such as acceptability and
404 feasibility before they can be rolled out nationally [32]. Glasziou and colleagues
405 proposed nine criteria to help judge whether incentive schemes are likely to do more
406 good than harm [33]. Three of these seem particularly relevant viewed through the
407 lens of health professionals targeted by a local scheme: whether the desired clinical
408 action improves patient outcomes; whether benefits clearly outweigh any unintended
409 harmful effects, and at an acceptable cost; and whether systems and structures
410 needed for change are in place.

411 The Bradford and Airedale scheme’s focus on public health priorities – in contrast to
412 the national QOF which largely focuses on clinical monitoring and treatment –
413 illustrates some of the challenges inherent in fulfilling these criteria. Some health
414 professionals believed that the local preventive targets could be cost-effective in the
415 long-term. Others expressed uncertainty about their ‘real world’ effects, reflecting
416 wider doubts about their roles and competencies in promoting health [34-36] and
417 concerns that attainment depended upon patient adherence or supporting resources
418 in the wider community. Any perceived benefits may have been outweighed by
419 unintended knock-on effects on a range of professional and patient relationships
420 [25].

421 “Localism” is regularly recycled as a theme in NHS policy-making [37]. In order to
422 increase clinical autonomy and therefore have maximal impact upon patient care,
423 there are continuing calls for greater professional involvement in developing pay-for-
424 performance indicators [38]. This is order to increase professional buy-in with such
425 schemes and ensure that indicators are developed from within and not imposed from
426 the outside [26]. Yet it is difficult to get beyond such rhetoric in practice, particularly
427 in generating and implementing performance targets which are perceived as locally
428 relevant and owned. Professionals tend to voice opinions about the need for more
429 involvement in developing targets and their dissemination. In reality, there are only
430 so many consultations, working groups or educational events that they can actually
431 participate in. Furthermore, local groups are unlikely to have access to similar levels
432 of resources, such as those possessed by the National Institute for Care Excellence,
433 to derive robust, evidence-based indicators. There is a case for further efforts to
434 ensure that the underlying goals of performance targets are communicated to
435 targeted professionals and aligned with professional values, especially as a means
436 of overcoming some of the passive acceptance we found [11, 12, 22]. There is a
437 growing and increasingly robust evidence base on interventions to change
438 professional practice for policy-makers and quality improvement leaders to draw
439 upon [39].

440 Pay-for-performance itself has a problematic evidence base, with a Cochrane
441 Review concluding there is “insufficient evidence to support or not support the use of
442 financial incentives to improve the quality of primary health care” [2]. Given that one
443 of the intentions of such schemes is often to reduce inequalities in health outcomes,
444 any future local schemes may need to recognise the greater difficulties faced by
445 practices serving more deprived populations [40]. As well as financial reward,

446 suggested as a stronger motivator in such practices, the achievement of indicators
447 may also depend upon resources already available within practices and the wider
448 community. Persuasion about patient benefit and social comparison were also
449 critical levers, or implicit co-interventions. Pay for performance represents an
450 inherently complex intervention with variable effects according to context, the nature
451 of the behaviours targeted, and co-interventions, all of which need to be taken into
452 account in planning and evaluating such schemes [28, 41].

453 Policy-makers should not under-estimate the difficulties faced in promoting
454 ownership of local pay-for-performance schemes. Incentives alone are often
455 insufficient to bring about change; significant progress is likely to depend upon multi-
456 level approaches which launch and coordinate action across all levels of healthcare
457 systems (individual, team, organisational and wider system) [42]. These approaches
458 should draw upon evidence-based interventions to improve practice [39], tailored to
459 identified barriers to change. The costs of efforts to promote engagement with local
460 pay-for-performance schemes need to be considered against realistic appraisals of
461 their likely effects and alternative strategies.

462

463 **Conclusion**

464 We found little difference in the experience of a local pay-for-performance scheme
465 compared to a national scheme. Together, with the limited evidence of professional
466 ownership, it is hard to argue that it offered distinct advantages over and above the
467 existing national QOF scheme. Future developments of similar schemes should
468 study the impact of differential rewards for practices serving more and less deprived

469 populations, and consider a wider range of levers to promote professional
470 understanding and ownership of indicators.

471

472 **List of abbreviations**

473 PCT – Primary Care Trust

474 QOF – Quality and Outcomes Framework

475 GP – General Practitioner

476 NHS – National Health Service

477

478 **Competing interests**

479 All authors declare that they have no competing interests.

480

481 **Author contributions**

482 LG, RF, RW, PC and TD conceived the original idea for the study. JH collected data
483 and conducted the analyses. All authors contributed to the interpretation of the
484 analyses. JH, LG, and RF drafted the manuscript, and all authors read and
485 approved the final manuscript.

486

487

488 **Acknowledgements**

489 This paper summarises independent research funded by the National Institute for
490 Health Research (NIHR) under its Research for Patient Benefit Programme (Grant
491 Reference Number PB-PG-0909-20081). The views expressed are those of the
492 authors and not necessarily those of the NHS, the NIHR or the Department of
493 Health.

494 We thank staff from participating practices who contributed to the project, the former
495 NHS Airedale and Bradford, *Health On The Streets* (our public and patient
496 involvement partner); and Wendy Hobson and Sandra Holliday, Leeds Institute of
497 Health Sciences.

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Tables

Table 1: Indicators for the local pay-for-performance scheme

Domain	Indicator	Description	Number of points
Alcohol	A1	The practice can produce a register of patient aged 16 years and over with a record of the number of units of alcohol consumed on a weekly basis in the past 27 months	10
	A2	Patients who drink equal or greater than 14 units a week for females and 21 units a week for males in a 7 day cycle with a period of at least 2 days abstinence are offered a brief intervention	10
Chlamydia	C1	The practice can produce a register of patients aged 15 to 24 of both sexes	2
	C2	Patients between 15–24 years old who have been offered screening by their practice and have a recorded test result	£5 for every screen recorded
Learning Disabilities	LD1	The practice can produce a register of people over 18 with LD	£50 per registered patient
	LD2	The % of patients with LD with a review recorded in the preceding 15 months. Checks include accuracy of prescribed medication, physical health and co-ordination with secondary care	£50 for every health check completed
Weight Management	OB1	Production of a register of patients between 16–75 with a BMI equal of greater than 25 recorded in the last 5 years	3
	OB2	Production of a register of patients between 16–75 with	7

		a BMI equal or greater than 25 recorded in the last 15 months	
	OB3	Patients with a BMI equal or greater than 25 receive appropriate intervention in the past 15 months	20
Osteoporosis	OST1	Production of a register of female patients aged 65–74 with a fracture in the previous 15 months	2
	OST2	Female patients 65–74 that have had a fracture are referred for a BMD scan	4
	OST3	The practice can produce a register of male and female patients aged 16–74 years who have received at least one repeat prescription for oral prednisolone in the previous 6 months	2
	OST4	The % of patients on register (OST 3) who have a record of a DXA scan being performed at any time or a referral for a DXA scan in the previous 15 months	5
	OST5	The percentage of patients on register (OST 4) who have a record of a DXA scan being performed at any time, or a referral for a DXA scan in the previous 15 months, or have been assessed for osteoporosis risk	2
	OST6	The practice can produce a register of male and female patients aged 75 years and over who have had a fragility fracture of the vertebrae, hip, wrist, or humerus since their 75 th Birthday	2
	OST7	The percentage of male and female patients aged 75 years and over who have had a fragility fracture of the vertebrae, hip, wrist, or humerus since their 75 th Birthday, who have been assessed and treated for Osteoporosis risk ever	5

Table 2: Spread of practices and practice staff across performance and deprivation*

QOF score	Deprivation Level	
	Deprived	Affluent
High	5 practices <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - GP Partner (3) - Practice Nurse (2) - Practice Manager (5) 	7 practices <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Practice Manager (8) - GP Partner (5) - Practice nurse (8) - Salaried GP (2)
Low	3 practices <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Practice Manager (1) - GP Partner (2) 	1 practice <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Practice nurse (1) - Practice Manager (1)

*In addition, there were six other people interviewed who were involved with the development of the local scheme: four PCT members, one salaried GP, and one practice nurse.

Appendix 1:

Topic guide

Section	Types of questions/prompts
Background	What is your professional background?
	How many years have you been qualified?
	How many sessions do you work in a usual week?
	How would you describe your role in the practice?
General	What has your involvement been in <u>developing</u> the local QOF?
	What has your involvement been in <u>implementing</u> the local QOF within your practice?
Your opinions	
Appropriateness of incentivised targets	Robustness/credibility of evidence base
	Costs
Relevance	Clinical benefit
	Local population needs
Fairness of indicators	Distribution of workload
	Scope for gaming
	Implications for tackling inequalities
Acceptability of targets	Compare to national targets
How does the local scheme work?	
How does the scheme influence what you do?	Ownership of change / engagement
	Motivation (intrinsic and extrinsic)
	Social comparison, performance management and surveillance

	Organisational means employed to achieve targets
Consequences	Effect on practice staff and consultations - Benefits and unintended consequences
	Effect on patients and patient care - Benefits and unintended consequences
	Change required to achieve targets
	Are you still maintaining these targets even though the scheme has ended?
How could local QOF be modified and/or improved?	How it should be introduced
	How implemented on a day to day basis in the practice
	Local versus national benefits and harms?
Anything else that you would like to add?	

Appendix 2:

Coding schedule

Deductive coding to areas taken from literature	Inductive codes emerging from interviews	Iterative refining of deductive and inductive codes and themes		Final themes
Influences on behaviour:		Motivation: Patient benefit	Practitioner motivation: Financial reward Patient benefit Competition with other practices	Influences on behaviour
Ownership of change Motivation (intrinsic and extrinsic) Social comparison Organisational means	Support among practices Financial reward			
Relevance:		Opinions: Don't agree with localisation Lack of knowledge/interest in evidence	Attitudes towards the scheme: Role of general practice Acceptance/rejection of an externally defined way of working Faith in the evidence	
Clinical benefit Local population needs	Clinical value Credibility Prevalence			
Fairness:				
Distribution of workload Scope for gaming Implications for tackling inequalities	Uneven workload Minimal change The bigger picture Failed to address inequalities Adjusting role of general practice	Credibility: Other guidelines Clinical value Conflict with/supported by prevalence in population		Credibility of the locally negotiated indicators
Appropriateness of incentivised targets:				
Robustness of evidence base Costs	Conflict with professional identity Conflict among practice staff Conflict with patient benefit Funding improves credibility	Effect on professionals: Created an uneven workload	Effects of implementing a local scheme: Allowed local issues to be addressed Caused inequalities	
Acceptability:				
Compare to national QOF	Just another income stream Conflicting credibility with NQOF			
Consequences:		Effect on patients: Standardised care	Consultation consequences Target became routine practice	Exacerbating tensions
Effect on practice staff Effect on patients and patient care	Adapt consultations Impact on patient experience Time pressure Conflicting agendas Distracting in consultations Embedded behaviour Standardised care			
Recommendations:		Effect on consultations: Adapt templates as aids Embedded behaviour Required minimal change		
How it should be introduced Local versus national benefits and harms	Evolving assessment process Extension of NQOF Conflict with NQOF Bottom up approach Setup time			
		Recommendations: LoQOF champion Patient involvement Bottom up approach Based at cluster level Outside support Protected learning time for <i>all</i> staff Data support	Experience of engagement: Highlight available external support for data extraction and management Familiarisation period before data collection	Ownership

